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HISTORY  
OF  
THE WARS OF THE  
FRENCH REVOLUTION,

FROM THE BREAKING OUT OF THE WAR, IN 1792, TO THE  
RESTORATION OF A GENERAL PEACE, IN 1815;

COMPREHENDING  
THE CIVIL HISTORY  
OF  
GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE,  
DURING THAT PERIOD.

---

BY EDWARD BAINES.

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IN FOUR VOLUMES.

*WITH NOTES, AND AN ORIGINAL HISTORY OF THE LATE WAR  
BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN.*

EMBELLISHED WITH PORTRAITS  
OF THE  
MOST DISTINGUISHED CHARACTERS OF THE AGE, AND  
ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS, PLANS, AND CHARTS.

VOL. III.

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PHILADELPHIA:  
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY M'CARTY & DAVIS,  
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1819.



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D. CALDWELL,  
Clerk of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania



# CONTENTS

OF THE

## THIRD VOLUME.

### BOOK IV.—CONTINUED.

#### CHAPTER III.

**BRITISH HISTORY:** Meeting of Parliament—Debates on the late Negotiation with France—Financial Statements—Lord Henry Petty's Plan of Finance—Bill for the better Regulation of Courts of Justice in Scotland—Mr. Whitbread's Plan for reforming the Poor Laws and amending the Condition of the Poor—Total Abolition of the Slave Trade—Catholic Bill—Change of Ministry consequent thereon—New Administration—General Election, 9

#### CHAPTER IV.

**EXPEDITIONS:** To the Dardanelles—To Egypt—Against Monte Video—Against Buenos Ayres—Capture of the Dutch Settlement of Curacao—Expedition to Copenhagen—War declared by Russia against England—New System of Commercial Interdiction—Disputes with the United States of America—French Decrees—British Orders in Council, - - - - - 32

#### CHAPTER V.

**FOREIGN HISTORY:** State of France—The Code of Conscription—The Emperor's Address to the Assemblies—Territorial Changes in Holland—State of Portugal—Threats of French Invasion held out to the Court of Lisbon—Removal of the British Settlers—Emigration of the Court to the Brazils—Entrance of the French army into Lisbon—Situation of Spain—Conspiracy against the King by his Son—Secret Treaty for the Partition of the Kingdom of Portugal—Introduction of a French Force into Spain—Abdication of Charles IV.—The Royal Family of Spain allured to Bayonne to meet the Emperor Napoleon—Intrigues at that Place—Abdication of Charles and Ferdinand in Favour of Bonaparte—Insurrection at Madrid—Prostration of Spain at the Feet of the Invaders, 70

#### CHAPTER VI.

**CAMPAIGN IN THE PENINSULA OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL:**—Formation of the Juntas, and general Burst of Patriotism throughout the Provinces of Spain—Declaration of War against France, and Restoration of Peace with England—Succours afforded to the Spanish Patriots by Great Britain—Surrender of the French Fleet at Cadiz—Defeat and Capitulation of the French Army under General Dupont—Gallant Defence of Saragossa—Battle of Rio Seco—Operations in Biscay—Repulse of the French Army at Valencia—Joseph Bonaparte proclaimed King of Spain by Napoleon—



Sketch of the New Spanish Constitution—Entrance of Joseph Bonaparte into Madrid—His precipitate Retreat from that Capital—Installation of the Supreme Junta—Failure of the Spanish Armies in their Efforts to drive the French beyond the Pyrenees—Liberation of the Spanish Troops in the Baltic under the Marquis de la Romana—Conference at Erfurth—Letter from the Emperors of France and Russia to the King of England—Failure of the Negotiation consequent thereon—Situation of the French and Spanish Armies in the Peninsula at the Beginning of November—Defeat and partial Dispersion of the Army under General Blake in Biscay—of Count Belveder's Force in Estramadura—and of the Army under General Castanos on the Ebro—Advance of Napoleon to the Capital of Spain—Fall of Madrid—Disposition of the Spanish Colonies. CAMPAIGN IN PORTUGAL: Situation of that Kingdom—Oporto wrested from the French—Arrival of a British Expedition under Sir Arthur Wellesley off the Coast of Portugal—Debarkation of the British Troops—Battle of Roleia—Battle of Alenquer—Convention of Cintra—Sir John Moore appointed Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in the Peninsula—Advance of the Expedition under his Command to Salamanca—Perilous Situation—Disastrous Retreat—Battle of Corunna—Death of Sir John Moore—Embarkation of the Troops—Termination of the Campaign, - - - - -

92

## CHAPTER VII.

FOREIGN HISTORY: Mediation of Austria—Perilous Situation of Sweden—Subsidiary Treaty between Great Britain and Sweden—Invasion of Finland by the Russians, under Count Buxhovden—Surrender of Abo and Borneberg to the Russians—Fall of Sweaborg—Armistice between the Russian and Swedish Forces—Unsuccessful Efforts of Sweden against Norway—English army despatched to the Baltic—Operations of the Squadron under Sir Samuel Hood—Predominant Influence of French Politics at the Court of St. Petersburg—Expulsion of the Swedes from Finland—Death of Christian VII. King of Denmark—Changes in Italy—Establishment of an Order of Hereditary Nobility in France—Nomenclature of the Court of the Emperor Napoleon—(note)—French Annual Expose—Relations between the United States of America and the belligerent powers of Europe, - - -

130

## CHAPTER VIII.

BRITISH HISTORY: Meeting of the Parliament of 1808—Debates on the Bombardment of Copenhagen and the Seizure of the Danish Fleet—Petitions for Peace—Mr. Whitbread's Motion of Censure for the Rejection of the proffered Mediation of Russia and Austria—Bill for the Prevention of Reversionary Grants—Sir Francis Burdett's Motion on the Appropriation of the Droits of Admiralty—Lord Castlereagh's Proposal for reviving the Practice of Enlistment for Life—for the Formation of a Local Militia—National Finances—Sir Samuel Romilly's Bill for Ameliorating the Criminal Code—Mr. Sheridan's Appeal in favour of the Spanish Patriots—Rejection of a Bill for fixing a *minimum* Price on Labour—The Session of Parliament closed by a solemn Pledge to support the Cause of the Spanish Patriots, - - -

142

## CHAPTER IX.

FOREIGN HISTORY: Military Preparations of the House of Austria—Rupture between France and Austria—Passage of the Inn by



the Archduke Charles—Departure of Bonaparte from Paris, to place himself at the head of his Army in Germany—Battle of Ebensburg—Fall of Landshut into the hands of the French—Napoleon and the Archduke meet for the first time at Eckmühl, where the Austrians sustain a signal Defeat—Fall of Ratisbon—Advance of the French Army to Vienna—Battle of Esling—Operations in Poland and the North of Germany—Campaign in Italy—Battle of Wagram—Retreat of the Austrian Army—Termination of the Fourth *Punic* War by an Armistice—Treaty of Peace—Gallant Resistance of the Tyrolese—Annexation of the Papal Territories to France—Excommunication of the Emperor Napoleon—Imperial Divorce—Revolution in Sweden, - - - 161

## CHAPTER X.

BRITISH HISTORY: Meeting of the Parliament of 1809—Monument voted to the Memory of Sir John Moore—Thanks of Parliament voted to Sir Arthur Wellesley, and the Officers and Troops under his Command—Augmentation of the Military Force of the Country—Discussions on the Convention of Cintra—Charges exhibited against His Royal Highness the Duke of York—Nature of the Evidence—Decision of the House of Commons at variance with the Public Voice—Resignation of the Commander-in-Chief—Expressions of Public Gratitude to Colonel Wardle—Abuse of India Patronage—Charge against Lord Castlereagh of trafficking in Seats in Parliament—Public Finances—Extortionate Conduct of the Dutch Commissioners—Charge of Corrupt Practices preferred by Mr. Madocks against Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Spencer Perceval—Sir Francis Burdett's Plan of Parliamentary Reform—Mr. Wardle's Motion relative to the Public Expenditure—Prorogation of Parliament—Destruction of the French Fleet in Basque Roads—Naval Operations in the Mediterranean—Colonial Conquests—Relations between Great Britain and the United States—Disastrous Expedition to the Scheldt—Dissensions in the Cabinet—Duel between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning—Dissolution of the Ministry—Ministerial Arrangements—The Jubilee, 184

## CHAPTER XI.

SPANISH CAMPAIGNS: State of the hostile Armies at the Beginning of the Year 1809—Capture of Oporto by the French—Defeat of the Spaniards at Medellin—Treaty of Peace and Alliance between Spain and Great Britain—Return of Sir Arthur Wellesley to the Peninsula—Expulsion of the French Army from Oporto—Second Siege and Fall of Saragosa—Defeat of General Blake in Catalonia—Battle of Talavera—Retreat of the British and Spanish Armies after the Victory of Talavera—Elevation of Sir Arthur Wellesley to the Peerage—Appointment of the Marquis of Wellesley as Ambassador Extraordinary to Spain—The Nature of his Mission—Recall of the Marquis—Defeat of General Venegas near Toledo—Signal Defeat of the Spanish Army under General Ariezaga—Defeat of the French Army at Zamames—Battle of Alba—Fall of Gerona—Popular Commotion at Seville—Fall of that City—Advance of the French Armies to Cadiz—Dissolution of the Supreme Central Junta and the Appointment of a Council of Regency—Abortive Attempt to rescue Ferdinand VII.—Military Operations in Portugal—Plan of the Campaign—Advance of the French Army under Massena into Portugal—Fall of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida—Battle of Busaco—Retreat of Lord Wellington to the Lines of Torres Vedras—Close of the Campaign—



Election of the Spanish Cortes—Meeting of the Cortes in the Isle of Leon—The Proceedings of that Body—Appointment of a new Council of Regency—Situation of the Peninsula at the Close of the Year 1810, - - - - -	216
---	-----

## CHAPTER XII.

BRITISH HISTORY: Meeting of Parliament—Inquiry into the Policy and Conduct of the Walcheren Expedition—Standing Order of the House of Commons for the exclusion of Strangers, enforced by Mr. Yorke—John Gale Jones committed to Newgate for a Breach of Privilege—Mr. Yorke appointed Teller of the Exchequer, and First Lord of the Admiralty—Deprived of his Seat for Cambridgeshire—Motion of Sir Francis Burdett for the Liberation of Mr. Gale Jones—Sir Francis Burdett pronounced guilty of a Breach of Privilege, and committed to the Tower—His Liberation—Public Finances—Appointment of the Bullion Committee—Mr. Brand's Plan of Parliamentary Reform—Motions for Catholic Emancipation—Earl Grey's Motion on the State of the Nation—Prorogation of Parliament—Death and Character of Mr. Windham—Capture of Guadaloupe—Gallant Naval Exploit—Capture of the Dutch and French Settlements in the East—Death of the Princess Amelia—Indisposition of the King—Abrupt Meeting of Parliament—Repeated Adjournments—Appointment of a Regency in the Person of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, 246	246
---	-----

## CHAPTER XIII.

FOREIGN HISTORY: Sudden Death of the Crown Prince of Sweden—Marshal Bernadotte elected Crown Prince—Marriage of the Emperor Napoleon to the Archduchess Maria Louisa—Rapid Advances made by the Emperor Napoleon towards the Establishment of an Absolute Despotism—Decree for the Establishment of State Prisons—for the Registration of Domestic Servants—for restricting the Operations of the Press—Abdication of Louis Bonaparte in favour of his Son—Annexation of Holland and the Hanse Towns to France—Death of the Queen of Prussia—Annexation of Hanover to the Kingdom of Westphalia, - - -	273
--	-----

## CHAPTER XIV.

NAVAL AND COLONIAL CAMPAIGN: Gallant Exploit performed by a small British Squadron under Captain Hoste—Destruction of the Enemy's ships in the Bay of Sagone—Descent on the Coast of Naples—Capture and Destruction of the Enemy's Convoys on the Coasts of Calabria, Normandy, and the Adriatic Sea—Capture of a French Convoy within the mouth of the Gironde—Desperate Action in the Indian Seas—Dreadful Shipwrecks—Surrender of the Island of Java, the last of the Enemy's Colonies in the East Indies—The actuating Motives of the Policy of the French Government—Energy in the Naval Department—Substitutes for Colonial Produce—State of the Gallican Church—System of National Education—Birth of the King of Rome, - - -	281
--	-----

## CHAPTER XV.

DOMESTIC HISTORY: Opening of the First Regency Parliament—Refusal of the Prince Regent to accept a Provision for the Royal Household—Motion regarding his Majesty's Health in 1804—Commercial Distresses—The Bullion Question—Lord King's Demand of Cash Payments from his Tenants—Lord Stanhope's Act for upholding the National Currency—Ex-Officio Informations—New	
--	--



Office created in the Court of Chancery—Amelioration in the Discipline of the Army—British Subjects carrying on the Slave Trade made liable to Transportation—Lord Sidmouth's Bill to amend and explain the Toleration Act—Public Finances—Re-appointment of the Duke of York to the Office of Commander-in-Chief—Lord Milton's Motion thereon—State of his Majesty's Health—Affairs of Ireland—Letter of Mr. Wellesley Pole—Convention Act—Proceedings of the Catholics—Arrest and Trial of the Delegates to the Catholic Committee—National Education—Population Returns of 1811, - - - - -	294
---	-----

## CHAPTER XVI.

CAMPAIGNS IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL: State of the Peninsula at the Commencement of the Year 1811—Death of the Marquis de la Romana—Siege of Badajoz, and the Surrender of that Fortress to the Duke of Dalmatia—Retreat of Massena from Santarem to the Spanish Frontier—Battle of Albuera—Battle of Fuentes d'Onoro—Escape of the Garrison of Almeida under General Bennier—The Command of the French Army of Portugal transferred from Massena, Duke of Rivoli, to Marmont, Duke of Ragusa—Badajoz besieged by the Allies—Siege raised—Battle of Barrosa—Ciudad Rodrigo invested by Lord Wellington—Retreat of the British Army—Gallant Exploit performed by General Hill at Arroyo del Molinos—Siege and Storm of Tarragona—Fall of Valencia—Repulse of General Victor at Tarifa—Guerilla War—Court of Madrid—Cortes.—CAMPAIGN OF 1812: Ciudad Rodrigo carried by Storm—Lord Wellington's Services in the Peninsula rewarded by an Earldom—Siege and Fall of Badajoz—Battle of the Bridge of Almaraz—Retreat of the French Army under the Duke of Ragusa—Forts of Salamanca stormed by the British—Battle of Salamanca—Madrid entered by the Allies—Siege of Burgos raised—Retreat of the Allies, and Close of the Campaign, 319	319
---	-----

## CHAPTER XVII.

BRITISH HISTORY: Meeting of Parliament—Establishment of the Royal Household—Negociations for an extended Administration—The Prince Regent invested with the unrestricted Powers of the Sovereign—Mr. Perceval retained in his Situation as Prime Minister—Alarm occasioned by the Murders in the Metropolis—Inquiry instituted into the Policy and Operation of the Orders in Council—Assassination of Mr. Perceval—Trial and Execution of Bellingham, the Assassin—Sketch of the Life and Character of Mr. Perceval—Motion of Mr. Stuart Wortley for an Address to the Prince Regent, beseeching his Royal Highness to appoint a strong and efficient Administration—Carried by a Majority of four—Negociations for a New Ministry consequent thereon—Failure of the Negotiations, and Continuance of the existing Administration in Office under certain Changes and Modifications—List of the Administration as constituted in June, 1812—Revocation of the Orders in Council—Finances—Motion in favour of the Catholics—New Toleration Act—Dissolution of Parliament—Overtures for Peace made by France—Political Relations between Great Britain and America—Captain Henry's Mission—War declared by the United States against England—Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Suppression of the Commotions in the Manufacturing Districts of England, popularly styled "Luddism," 352	352
---	-----



## CHAPTER XVIII.

**RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN :** Causes of the War—Austria and Prussia become Parties in the War against Russia—Preparations for Opening the Campaign—Bonaparte quits Paris to assume the Command of the French Army—Opening of the Campaign—Passage of the Niemen by the French—Retreat of the Russian Army, and Advance of the French to the Capital of Russian Poland—The French interpose between the First and Second Russian Armies—Concentration of the First Russian Army on the Dwina, under the Commander-in-Chief, General Barclay de Tolly—Critical Situation of General Bagration—Advance of the French Army to the Dwina—The French possess themselves of Vitepsk—Defeat of Marshal Oudinot by Prince Wittgenstein on the Dwina—Junction of Prince Bagration with the First Russian Army—Advance of the Russians under Admiral Tschichagoff, from the Danube into the Government of Minsk—Operations in the North—The Intention of Marshal Oudinot and General St. Cyr to penetrate to St. Petersburg, defeated—Battle of Smolensk, and advance of the French Army—Arrival of the French at Viasma—Command of the Russian Armies transferred from General Barclay de Tolly to Prince Kutusoff—Battle of Borodino—Extrance of the French into Moscow—Destruction of that magnificent City,

388

## CHAPTER XIX.

**RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN :** Napoleon, impressed with the perilous Situation of his Army, proposes to open a Negotiation for Peace—Repeated Rejection of these Overtures—Moscow abandoned by the French—Battle of Touratino—Retreat of the French Armies—Advance of the Russian Auxiliary Corps from the North and South to close in upon the Enemy and cut off his Retreat—Battle of Malo-Jaroslavitz—Battle of Viasma—The Winter sets in—Its Effects on the French army—Passage of the Vope—Arrival at Smolensk---Battles of Krasnoi---Junction of all the Russian armies---Dreadful Passage of the Beresina---Capture of the Bavarian Auxiliaries under General Wrede---Arrival of Napoleon at Molodetschno---The Twenty-ninth Bulletin of the French Army---The Emperor Napoleon abandons his Army and repairs to Paris---Disorganization of the French Army---Ruin and Dispersion---Defection of the Prussians under General D'Yorck---Surrender of the Prussian Fortresses, garrisoned by French troops, to the Russians under Wittgenstein---Permission granted by the Russians to Prince Schwartzberg to retire with the Wreck of his Army into Austrian Gallacia---Result of the Campaign,

419

## CHAPTER XX.

**BRITISH HISTORY :** Observations on the declining Power of France---Meeting of Parliament---Parliamentary Pledge to support the Government in the War with America---Sir Samuel Romilly's continued Exertions to ameliorate the Criminal Code---Motion of Sir Francis Burdett to provide against any Interruption in the Exercise of the Royal Functions---Case of the Princess of Wales stated---Her Appeal to the House of Commons through the Medium of the Speaker---Complete Justification of her Honour and Character, followed by Expressions of National Sympathy towards her Royal Highness---The Views of the Friends of Catholic Emancipation developed in a Bill brought into Parliament by Mr. Grattan---Failure of that Measure---The Benefits of the Tole-



ration Act extended to Unitarians---New Measure of Finance---  
Taxes---Stipendiary Curates' Bill---Important Appeal Cause  
regarding Scottish Marriages---Renewal of the East India Com-  
pany's Charter with certain Modifications, - - - 449

## CHAPTER XXI.

SPANISH CAMPAIGN: Plan of Operations—Relative Force of the  
Contending Armies—Advance of the Allies—Madrid finally aban-  
doned by the French—Battle of Vittoria—The Invading Army  
driven across the Spanish Frontier—Operations on the Eastern  
Coast of Spain—under General Sir John Murray—under Lord  
William Bentinck—Marshal Soult appointed Lieutenant-General  
of the French Army—Unsuccessful Effort to relieve the Fortresses  
of St. Sebastian and Pampluna—Battle of the Pyrenees—Fall of  
St. Sebastian—of Pampluna—Invasion of France by the Army  
under Lord Wellington, - - - 477

## CHAPTER XXII.

CAMPAIGN IN GERMANY: Gigantic Preparations made by France  
—Reconciliation between Napoleon and Pope Pius VII—The Em-  
press appointed Regent—Advance of the Russians from the Vis-  
tula—Invitation held out by the Emperor Alexander to the King  
of Prussia—Singular Situation of Prussia at this Moment—Offer  
made by Frederick William to mediate between the Belligerents  
—Rejected—Prussia declares against France—The Allies enter  
Saxony—Prussian Preparations—Political Relations between  
France and Sweden—Re-establishment of Peace between Sweden  
and Great Britain—Treaty of Alliance formed by those Powers  
—Situation of Denmark—Hamburg entered by the Russians---Re-  
occupied by the French---Napoleon takes the Field---Approxima-  
tion of the Grand Armies---Battle of Lutzen---Retreat of the  
Allies---Entry of the French into Dresden---Battle of Bautzen---  
Advance of the French---Armistice under the Mediation of Aus-  
tria---Terms of Peace proposed by the Emperor Francis---  
Rejected by Napoleon---Denunciation of the Armistice, - 499

## CHAPTER XXIII.

GERMAN CAMPAIGN (continued): Austrian Declaration of War  
against France---Opening of the Campaign---Victory of the Katz-  
bach---Battle of Dresden---Death of General Moreau---Battle of  
Jüterbock---War in Italy---Extraordinary Meeting of the French  
Senate---Napoleon quits Dresden---Battle of Leipzig---Retreat of  
the French Army to the Rhine---Battle of Harau---Arrival of the  
Emperor in Paris---Dissolution of the Confederation of the Rhine  
—Emancipation of Holland—Exertions of Great Britain—Hano-  
ver liberated by the Crown Prince of Sweden—The Danes sepa-  
rate from the French—Capitulation of Dresden—Biographical  
Sketches of Prince Kutusoff, Marshal Duroc, Duke of Frulli, and  
General Moreau, - - - 524

## CHAPTER XXIV.

CAMPAIGN IN FRANCE: Declaration of the Allied Powers pre-  
vious to the Invasion of France—Meeting of the French Legisla-  
tive Body—Abstract of the Report of the Committee appointed  
to examine the Diplomatic Correspondence—Napoleon's indignant  
Observations thereon—Passage of the Rhine by the Allied Armies  
—Proclamation of Prince Schwartzemberg, the Commander-in-  
Chief, to the People of France—Disposition of the French Ar-



mies—Capture of Geneva by the Allies—The Invasion of France announced to his Senators by Napoleon---Congress assembled at Chatillon---Advance of the invading Army into the interior of France---The Emperor quits Paris to place himself at the Head of his Army---Battle of Brienne---of La Rothiere---Retreat of the French, and Advance of the Allies---Prince Schwartzenberg and Marshal Blucher divide their Force, and advance on Paris, the former by the Banks of the Seine, and the latter on the Course of the Marne---Vigorous and successful Exertions of Napoleon--- Repulse of Marshal Blucher---of Prince Schwartzenberg—their Retreat—Negociations at Chatillon—Belgium released from French Dominion---Battles of Craone and Leon---The Allies again assume the offensive---Last Conferences at Chatillon---Rup- ture of the Congress, - - - - -	563
---	-----



# HISTORY OF THE WARS

OF THE

## FRENCH REVOLUTION.

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### BOOK IV.

CONTINUED.

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1807.

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### CHAPTER III.

**BRITISH HISTORY:** *Meeting of Parliament—Debates on the late Negotiation with France—Financial Statements—Lord Henry Petty's Plan of Finance—Bill for the better Regulation of Courts of Justice in Scotland—Mr. Whitbread's Plan for reforming the Poor Laws and amending the Condition of the Poor—Total Abolition of the Slave Trade—Catholic Bill—Change of Ministry consequent thereon—New Administration—General Election.*

THE first session of the third parliament of Great Britain assembled on the fifteenth of December, 1806, and was opened by commission in his majesty's name. The office of speaker again devolved by unanimous choice on the Right Honourable Charles Abbot, and the interval between the 15th and 19th of December, was occupied in administering the usual oaths to the members. On Friday, the 19th, his majesty's speech was read by the lord chancellor. the object of the speech was to prepare the nation for the awful crisis then impending, and to animate them to adequate exertions against the formidable and increasing power of the enemy. His majesty acquainted his parliament, that his efforts for the restoration of general tranquillity, on terms consistent with the interest and honour of his people, and good faith to his allies, had been disappointed by the ambition and injustice of the enemy, who in the same moment had kindled up a fresh war in Europe, and of which the progress had been attended with the most calamitous events. Prussia, threatened by the



near approach of that danger, which she had vainly hoped to avert by so many sacrifices, was at length compelled to adopt the resolution of openly resisting the unremitting system of aggrandizement and conquest pursued by France; but neither this determination nor the succeeding measures of hostility were previously concerted with his majesty; nor had any disposition been shewn to offer any adequate satisfaction for those aggressions which had placed this country in a state of hostility with Prussia. Yet, in this situation, his majesty did not hesitate to adopt, without delay, such measures as were calculated to unite their councils and interests against the common enemy. The speech extolled the good faith of his majesty's remaining allies; and concluded with a solemn appeal to the bravery and public spirit of his people. The address on his majesty's speech, which was moved in the house of lords by the Earl of Jersey, and seconded by Lord Somers; and in the house of commons by the Hon. Mr. Lambe, and seconded by Mr. John Smyth, called forth a number of observations from Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Canning, but was passed in both houses without a division.

On Monday, the 22d of December, the unanimous thanks of both houses of parliament were voted to Major-general Sir John Stuart, and also to the Hon. Brigadier-generals Cole and Ackland, for the distinguished ability and valour manifested by them in the signal victory obtained over the French troops at Maida, on the 4th of July, 1806, and to the officers under their command; as well as to the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers serving under the same, for their bravery and good conduct in the glorious battle of Maida.

On the 2d of January, the subject of the late negotiation with France for the restoration of a general peace was brought under the consideration of the house of lords. The discussion was introduced by the prime minister, Lord Grenville, in a speech of considerable length, the leading points of which were embraced in the following motion:

“That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to assure him that this house has taken into its serious consideration the papers relative to the late negotiation, which he has been graciously pleased to lay before them, and that they see with gratitude, that he has employed every means to restore the blessings of peace, in a manner consistent with the interest and glory of his people, and at the same time with an observance of that good faith with our allies, which this country is bound to maintain inviolate. That while we lament that, by the unbounded ambition of the enemy, those laudable endeavours have been frustrated, no exertions shall be wanting on our part to support and assist his majesty in the adoption of such measures as may be found necessary, either for the restoration of peace, or to meet the various exigencies of the war in this most important crisis.”



Lord Hawkesbury and Lord Eldon expressed their complete concurrence in the leading points of the address, but their lordships contended, that there was nothing in the whole of the papers laid upon the table, that proved that the French government, from the commencement of the negotiation to its close, had agreed to proceed on the basis of the *uti possidetis*—the state of actual possession; yet they most heartily acquiesced in the general result of the negotiation, and with this exception, joined in the address, which was carried *nemine contradicente*.

On the 5th of January the same subject was brought under discussion in the house of commons, on the motion of Lord Howick, when his lordship said:—"In rising to perform the duty that now devolves upon me, I cannot but feel deep regret—a deep and poignant regret, at the failure of an effort, on our part made with sincerity, and pursued with good faith, to put an end to the war upon terms advantageous to this country, and to all Europe; a regret, in any circumstances justifiable and becoming; but at present, aggravated by the events which have lately occurred upon the continent, and which seem to render the attainment of that object more difficult and more distant than ever. But, besides these subjects of regret and of sorrow, I feel myself affected by painful emotions of a more private and personal nature. It is impossible for me to forget by whom, had it so pleased God, this important business would have been opened to this house. I cannot therefore present myself to your notice on this occasion, without being reminded of the infinite loss I have personally sustained, in being deprived of my friend, of my instructor, without whom I should have felt no confidence in myself; and in reflecting upon the worth and the talents of Mr. Fox, the loss which the public have sustained is irresistibly forced upon my recollection. But, if any thing could support and encourage me in the discharge of the duty now imposed upon me, it is the knowledge I possess of the principles and opinions which Mr. Fox held upon this subject. In the last conversation I held with that great statesman, which was on the 7th of September, the Sunday before his death, three great cardinal points were insisted upon by him. 1st. The security of our honour, in which Hanover was concerned. 2d. Fidelity to our Russian connection. 3d. Sicily. The grounds on which the negotiations broke off were in direct conformity with these opinions. On this occasion he told me, that the ardent wishes of his mind were to consummate, before he died, two great works on which he had set his heart; and these were, the restoration of a solid and honourable peace,



and the abolition of the slave trade." The noble lord then proceeded to give a clear and detailed statement of the whole transaction concerning the negotiation, for the purpose of shewing, that on the one hand, the honour of the crown and the interests of the country were not committed by any unworthy concessions; and on the other, that no means were left unemployed, to obtain such a peace as might be consistent with the honour, the interests, and the prosperity, of this nation. With this view he shewed, first, that the overture for peace originated with France; next, that the basis agreed upon for conducting the negotiation was that of actual possession; and, lastly, that owing to the tergiversation and ambitious views of the French government, no terms could be procured that were consistent with the interests of Europe and the maintenance of inviolable good faith towards our allies. Having, as he hoped, established these points, his lordship concluded by moving an address similar to that moved in the other house of parliament by Lord Grenville.

Lord Yarmouth said, that in the communications he had held with M. Talleyrand, that minister distinctly admitted that the basis of the negotiation should be the principal of actual possession, and his lordship was well assured, that had it not been for the melancholy event of the death of Mr. Fox, no objection would have been started against that principal by the French government.

Mr. Montague thought that the negotiation was objectionable both in its commencement and prosecution. The French minister had, he conceived, taken Mr. Fox on the weak side, and by impressing him with the notion that he was ready to treat on the basis of the *uti possidetis*, had "duped and bamboozled him."

Mr. Whitbread, after making some remarks on the extraordinary speech of Mr. Montague, proceeded to observe, that he could not, without experiencing the bitterest anguish, express his sentiments on this negotiation, commenced by one sincere friend, and conducted by others for whom he felt the greatest esteem. When he read the documents which were lying on the table of the house, and perused them most attentively, he found in them parts of which he highly approved, and others of which he greatly disapproved. All that part which preceded the political death, as it had been called, of that illustrious man, Mr. Fox, claimed his approbation and support; but when death closed the career of his ever-to-be-lamented friend, he saw, between the beginning and the end of the negotiations, obvious characters which distinguished them. Adverting to the unfortunate words, *uti possidetis*, he said

that the real ground of the negociation in the first instance was the stipulation of honourable terms for both nations and for their allies ;\* and next, that Russia should be admitted to the negociation conjointly with this country. He considered it unfortunate that the noble Lord (Lauderdale) should have been sent over to Paris with the abstract basis of *uti possidetis*, and likewise that it should have been so peremptorily demanded. On the whole he was of opinion, that all the time which elapsed in the discussion of the abstract terms was completely wasted, particularly when the general ground had been already well explained and fully understood, namely, mutual exchange and compensation for cessions. He did not think that we were justified in saying that the negociation had wholly failed in consequence of the injustice and ambition of France, and it was still his opinion, that peace was attainable. Under the influence of these impressions, he moved an amendment to the address :

“ To assure his majesty of our firm determination to co-operate with his majesty in calling forth the resources of the united kingdom, for the vigorous prosecution of the war in which we are involved, and to pray his majesty, that he will, in his paternal goodness, afford, as far as is consistent with his own honour, and the interests of his people, every facility to any just arrangement by which the blessings of peace may be restored to his loyal subjects.”

Mr. Canning expressed his surprise that no attempt was made by any of his majesty's ministers to answer the observation of the honourable gentleman (Mr. Whitbread) whose consistency he admired, though he differed from him widely in his conclusions. Adverting to the three points insisted upon in Lord Howick's speech, he said, he was now perfectly satisfied that the first overture for negociation came from France ; with respect to the *uti possidetis*, the more he considered the subject, the more he was convinced that the papers on the table did not make out the charge against the enemy—that he opened the negociation on that basis, and that he afterwards departed from it ; and though he derived great satisfaction from observing the good faith which government had preserved towards our allies, yet he did not think that a concert so perfect in principle had been acted upon, either towards Russia or Prussia, as the nature of our relations with those powers would have entitled us fairly to pursue.

Mr. Perceval, from a review of all the circumstances connected with the negociation, concluded, that the enemy were never seriously desirous of peace, and that ministers were the

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\* Mr. Fox's Letter to M. Talleyrand, dated March 26th, 1806.—Book III. Chap. VIII. p. 480.



dupes of the article of the French government. He lamented that a man of Mr. Fox's great talents and incorruptible mind, had been betrayed into a private and confidential correspondence with such a man as the friend to whom he was attached,\* Talleyrand. He blamed ministers for not having sooner put an end to the negotiations, and declared his firm conviction, that no peace could take place with France, at least, such a peace as would be worthy of the acceptance of this country, so long as the force and councils of the enemy were directed by two such men as Bonaparte and Talleyrand.

Lord Howick observed, that some honourable gentlemen blamed his majesty's ministers for having done too much in the way of negotiation, while his honourable friend and relation, Mr. Whitbread, censured them for doing too little. But he thought it was not a little in their favour that they had steered a middle course between the two extremes. In this opinion the house seemed to concur, and Mr. Whitbread having withdrawn his amendment, the address was put and carried without a division.

On the 29th of January Lord Henry Petty, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, brought forward a statement of the supplies and the ways and means for the year, combined with a permanent plan of finance, which had for its object to provide the means of maintaining the honour and independence of the British empire, during the necessary continuance of the war, without perceptibly increasing the burthens of the country, and with manifest benefit to the interest of the public creditor. The total amount of the supplies for the year 1807, he stated at 40,527,065*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* and the ways and means at 41,100,000*l.*

The new plan of finance was adapted to meet a scale of expenditure nearly equal to that of the year 1806; and assumed, that during the war, the annual produce of the permanent and temporary revenues would continue equal to the produce of that year. Keeping these premises in view, it was proposed that the war loans for the years 1807, 1808, and 1809, should be twelve millions annually; for the year 1810 fourteen millions; and for each of the ten following years sixteen millions. Those several loans, amounting in the fourteen years to two hundred and ten millions, were to be made a charge on the war taxes, which were estimated to produce twenty one millions annually. The charge thus thrown on the war taxes was meant to be at the rate of ten per cent. upon each loan. Every such loan would therefore pledge so much of the war

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\* See Mr. Fox's Letter to M. Talleyrand—vol. II. page 480.

taxes as would be sufficient to meet this charge : that is, a loan of twelve millions would be pledged for 1,200,000*l.* of the war taxes. And in each year, if the war should be continued, a further proportion of the war taxes would in the same manner be pledged. And consequently, at the end of fourteen years, if the war should be of that duration, twenty-one millions, the whole produce of the war taxes, would be pledged for the total of the loans, which would at that time have amounted to two hundred and ten millions. The ten per cent. charge thus accompanying each loan, would be applied to pay the interest of the loan, and to form a sinking fund, which sinking fund would evidently be more than five per cent. on such of the several loans as should be obtained on a less rate of interest than five per cent. As a five per cent. sinking fund, accumulating at compound interest, would redeem any sum of capital debt in fourteen years, the several proportions of the war taxes, proposed to be pledged for the several loans above-mentioned, would have redeemed their respective loans, and be successively liberated, in periods of fourteen years from the date of each such loan. The portions of war taxes thus liberated might, if the war should still be prolonged, become applicable in a revolving series, and might be again pledged for new loans ; it was, however, material, that the property tax should not be pledged beyond the period for which it was granted, but should, in every case, cease on the 6th of April next after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace.

In the result therefore of the whole measure, there would not be imposed any new taxes for the first three years from this time. New taxes of less than 300,000*l.* on an average of seven years, from 1810 to 1816, both inclusive, were all that would be necessary, in order to procure for the country the full benefit and advantage of the plan here described, which would continue for twenty years ; during the last ten of which again no new taxes whatever would be required.

“ Important as are the advantages which this plan presents,” continued the chancellor of the exchequer, “ its principal benefit consists in the impression which it must make, both in this country and out of it, where it will be seen that, without any further material pressure on the resources of the country, and by a perseverance only in its wonted exertions, parliament now finds itself enabled to meet with confidence all the exigencies of the present war, to whatever period its continuance may be necessary, for maintaining the honour and independence of the empire.

The favourable impression made by the new method of sup-



ply (which was ultimately agreed to by the house) was immediately obvious upon the funds, which advanced very considerably, and gave the minister an opportunity of negotiating a loan on terms highly advantageous to the public, and yet by no means unproductive to the contractors.\*

## \* FINANCES.†

PUBLIC INCOME of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1806.

<i>Branches of Revenue.</i>	<i>Gross Receipts.</i>			<i>Paid into the Excheq.</i>		
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Customs, - - -	9,104,799	4	1½	7,192,889	15	11½
Excise, - - -	17,833,226	15	6½	16,352,885	10	10¾
Stamps, - - -	4,194,285	12	10½	4,123,527	3	2
Land & Assessed Taxes, -	6,106,920	10	10½	6,261,778	19	4½
Post Office, - -	1,446,073	4	6	1,237,004	19	10½
Miscel. Permanent Tax, -	150,469	7	9½	146,072	1	1½
Hered. Revenue, -	122,723	19	2	157,373	11	10¾
Extraord. Resources,						
War Taxes { Customs, -	2,659,229	15	9	2,632,147	19	10½
{ Excise, - -	6,406,870	17	7¾	6,360,229	13	9¾
{ Property Tax, -	4,546,883	10	10	4,426,986	19	7¼
Miscel. Income, -	2,470,288	6	8¾	2,448,149	0	3¾
Loans, including } 1,450,000 <i>l.</i> for the } Service of Ireland, }	25,130,404	19	6½	25,130,404	19	6½
Grand Total,	1,80,172,176	5	3¾	1,76,469,450	15	4¾
<i>Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, } 22d of March, 1806.</i>				(Signed) N. VANSITTART.		

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1806.

<i>Heads of Expenditure.</i>	<i>Sums.</i>		
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Interest, - - - - -	19,598,305	18	11½
Charge of Management, - - - - -	271,911	11	9¾
Reduction of National Debt, - - - - -	7,615,167	7	9¾
Interest on Exchequer Bills, - - - - -	1,478,316	3	3½
Civil List, - - - - -	1,827,184	10	6½
Civil Government of Scotland, - - - - -	86,918	15	3¾
Payments in anticipation, &c. - - - - -	646,000	14	7
Navy, - - - - -	14,466,998	3	5½
Ordinance, - - - - -	4,732,286	1	3
Army, - - - - -	10,758,342	12	11
Extraordinary Services, - - - - -	6,261,386	16	2
Ireland, - - - - -	3,211,062	10	0
Miscellaneous Services, - - - - -	2,845,728	7	11½
Deductions for Sums forming no part of the } Expenditure of Great Britain, }	73,799,609	14	0¾
	3,211,062	10	0
Grand Total,	1,70,588,547	4	0
<i>Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, } (Signed) 24th of March, 1806.</i> N. VANSITTART.			

† This Return, which, owing to a delay in the arrival of the parliamentary documents, was omitted in its proper place, is introduced here to preserve the series.

On the 16th of February, Lord Grenville, conformably to a notice given by his lordship in the last session of parliament, introduced into the house of lords a bill for the better regulation of the courts of justice in Scotland, and for instituting in certain cases the trial by jury in civil causes. The bill which his lordship had to offer, made no alteration in the law of Scotland, but related solely to the manner in which the law

**PUBLIC INCOME of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1807.**

<i>Branches of Revenue.</i>	<i>Gross Receipts.</i>			<i>Paid into the Excheq.</i>		
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Customs, - - -	9,456,255	8	2½	7,774,049	4	9
Excise, - - -	18,979,151	5	3	17,377,213	11	4½
Stamps, - - -	4,422,198	0	4¾	4,338,913	8	0¾
Land & Assessed Taxes, - - -	6,310,797	2	1½	6,438,260	3	8½
Post-Office, - - -	1,511,859	11	0	1,291,736	4	0½
Miscel. Permanent Tax, - - -	161,093	19	5½	157,850	11	10½
Hered. Revenue, - - -	60,482	11	7	84,345	3	3
Extraord. Resources,						
War Taxes { Customs, - - -	2,923,728	10	11	2,779,244	15	0¾
{ Excise, - - -	6,260,039	1	10¾	6,248,509	3	2¾
{ Property Tax, - - -	6,162,559	4	8½	6,000,057	13	6¼
Miscel. Income, - - -	2,513,694	16	1¼	2,491,855	10	1¼
Loans, including } £2,000,000 for the } Service of Ireland. }	19,699,263	12	1	19,699,263	12	1
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>£78,461,123</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>8½</b>	<b>£74,681,299</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0¾</b>

*Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, }*  
*25th March, 1807.*

(Signed)  
N. VANSITTART.

**PUBLIC EXPENDITURE of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1807.**

<i>Heads of Expenditure.</i>	<i>Sums.</i>		
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Interest, - - - - -	20,410,716	8	1½
Charge of Management, - - - - -	292,127	9	10
Reduction of the National Debt, - - - - -	8,323,328	14	1¼
Interest on Exchequer Bills, - - - - -	1,310,686	18	9
Civil List, - - - - -	1,582,572	2	8¾
Civil Government of Scotland, - - - - -	83,750	14	3¼
Payments in anticipation, - - - - -	534,261	0	11
Navy, - - - - -	16,084,027	17	10
Ordnance, - - - - -	4,511,064	1	7
Army, - - - - -	9,282,491	0	0
Extraordinary Services, - - - - -	5,828,999	7	8
Ireland, - - - - -	1,768,000	0	0
Miscellaneous Services, - - - - -	2,766,693	0	11½
Deductions for Sums forming no part of the } Expenditure of Great Britain, }	72,778,718	16	9¼
	1,768,000	0	0

**Grand Total**  
*Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, }*  
*25th March, 1807.*  
VOL. III.

(Signed)  
N. VANSITTART.



ought to be administered. The general outline of the change now proposed, related to three objects :

1st. To divide the court of sessions, which consists of fifteen judges, into three chambers of five judges each, having concurrent jurisdictions.

2d. To introduce, or rather to revive in Scotland, the trial by jury in civil actions of a certain description, namely, those which relate to personal rights ; all questions relative to landed property being left to be decided on in the usual manner.

3d. To constitute an intermediate chamber of appeal between the court of session and the house of lords. In forming this chamber of appeal it was proposed to make one new lord of session, and also to make the lord chief baron a member of the same court, in order that he might also sit in the chamber of revision. These judges, and one member from each of the other three chambers, would make five judges for the chamber of revision.

It was his lordship's intention to propose, that the bill should not be read a second time until three weeks after this notice, that further time might be afforded for considering the subject.

Lord Eldon and Lord Hawkesbury gave their approbation in general to the measure, but reserved to themselves the right of proposing alterations in the detail of the bill. Lord Ellenborough declared his decided approbation of the bill, and stated with great energy the inestimable advantages derived by this country from the trial by jury in civil cases, and the great boon which its introduction into Scotland would confer on that country. The bill was then read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time at the period proposed by Lord Grenville.

This measure, which under certain modifications, was calculated to produce the most beneficial effects in the administration of justice in the sister kingdom, and to diminish the immense number of appeals that are continually flowing into the house of lords from that part of the united kingdom, was arrested in its progress by the dissolution of parliament, which soon after occurred, and which, for the present, defeated the object contemplated by the framers of the bill.

Three days after the introduction of Lord Grenville's bill in the house of lords for the better regulation of the courts of justice in Scotland, Mr. Whitbread moved for permission to bring a bill into the house of commons for amending the condition of the poor in England. "I rise," said the honourable gentleman, "to submit to the consideration of this house, one of the most interesting propositions which ever occupied the attention of any deliberate assembly upon earth. I wish to engage you in an attempt at the solution of one of the most difficult of all political problems ; namely, how to

reduce the sum of human vice and misery, and how to augment that of human happiness and virtue, among the subjects of this realm." Mr. Whitbread then proceeded to state, that by the abstracts then upon the table of the house, which were made up in the year 1803, it appeared, that upon a population in England and Wales (exclusive of the army and navy) of eight millions eight hundred and seventy thousand souls, not less than one million two hundred and thirty-four thousand were partakers of parochial relief; and that in the year ending in Easter, 1803, the sum of 4,267,000*l.* had been raised in poor rates, being almost double the sum raised on an average in the years 1783-4 and 5. His wish was not to get rid of the poor laws, but, by taking proper steps, to render them in time almost obsolete; and the principles on which he would proceed, to effect this most desirable object, were these:—to exalt the character of the labouring classes of the community: to excite the labourer to acquire property that he may taste its sweets; and to give him inviolable security for that property when it is acquired; to mitigate those restraints which now confine and cramp his sphere of action; to hold out a hope of reward to his patient industry; to render dependent poverty in all cases degrading in his eyes, and at all times less desirable than independent industry. After a number of other preliminary remarks, the honourable gentleman proceeded to open the details of his plan, which may be compressed into the following outline:—

"In the front of his scheme for the exaltation of the character of the labourer, he proposed a plan of general national education, and upon its effects he mainly relied for the consummation of his wishes. In Scotland the poor laws were almost totally in disuse, and yet, all in that country was regularity and order. What was the day-star which shone forth on the other side of the Tweed, was it not education?

"In order to excite the labourer to acquire property, he would propose the establishment of one great national institution, in the nature of a bank, for the use and advantage of the labouring classes alone; that it should be placed in the metropolis, and be under the control and management of proper persons; that every man who should be certified by one justice to subsist principally or altogether by the wages of his labour, should be at liberty to remit to the accountant of the poor's fund, in notes or cash, any sum from twenty shillings upwards, but not exceeding more than twenty pounds in one year, nor more in the whole than two hundred pounds; that this money should be placed at interest in government securities; and that facilities should be given for the transmission of the remittances through the post office. This plan might also unite an annuitant society and an insurance office for the poor.

"The next point which he wished to urge on the consideration of the house, was the law of settlement, and he should propose, in addition to the means by which a settlement may now be acquired, that a residence as a householder, for five years, in any parish, without being chargeable to that or any other parish, should confer a settlement.

"Mr. Whitbread next proposed a number of regulations respecting parish-vestries, parish-rates, &c. and said that societies for offering pre-



miums to the meritorious poor might be established in favour of the great object that he was now labouring to promote.

“He then adverted to a circumstance very materially concerning the health and comfort of the poor, and recommended the revival of the power formerly given to the church-wardens and overseers to build cottages ; to which he would add the power of buying land to a certain extent, not exceeding in the whole, perhaps, five acres in one parish.

“The last subject to which he should direct the attention of the house, was one of primary importance, and comprehended a variety of details ; he meant the mode of administering relief to the poor. To age, infancy, and sickness, he would hold out the hand of support, protection, and care, widely extended, filled with blessings the most copious charity could afford. But he would distinguish between the unfortunate and the criminal, he would do justice to misfortune and punish profligacy. He would remedy one very great grievance which prevails, as much to the disadvantage of the parishes as to the oppression of the objects relieved, he meant the custom of depriving a man of every worldly possession before relief was administered. He would propose, in case of sickness, or any other great emergency, that the possession of furniture, tools, and live stock, to the value of thirty pounds, and a cottage not exceeding the annual value of five pounds, should not preclude the possessor from receiving relief. Thus a man who, as the law now stands, must by the acceptance of the most trifling assistance, be overwhelmed, would be able to get afloat again in the world, and recover his independence when the afflictive visitation should be at an end.

Mr. Whitbread concluded a very elaborate, comprehensive, and animated speech, with the following peroration : “ During the hours of anxious thought and laborious investigation which I have given to this subject, I have been charmed with the pleasing vision of the melioration of the state of society, and the eventual and rapid diminution of its burthens. In the adoption of the system of education I foresee an enlightened peasantry, frugal, industrious, sober, orderly, and contented. Crimes diminishing, because the enlightened understanding abhors crimes. In the provisions for the security of the savings of the poor, I see encouragement to frugality, security to property, and the large mass of the people connected with the state, and indissolubly bound to its preservation. In the enlarged power of acquiring settlements, the labourer directed to those spots where labour is most wanted. Man, happy in his increased independence, and exempt from the dread of being driven in age from the place where his dearest connections exist, and where he has used the best exertions and passed the best days of his life. Parochial litigation excluded from our courts, and harmony reigning in our different parishes. In the power of bestowing rewards, I contemplate patience and industry remunerated, and virtue held up to distinction and honour. In the power of building habitations for the poor, their comfort and health promoted. And, lastly, in the reform of the work-house system, and the power of discrimination in administering relief, an abandonment of

filth, slothfulness, and vice, and a desirable and marked distinction between the profligate and the innocent. I move, sir, for leave to bring in a bill 'for promoting and encouraging industry among the labouring classes of the community, and for the relief and regulation of the criminal and necessitous poor.' ”

From every side of the house Mr. Whitbread was complimented on the ability he had displayed, and the attention he had bestowed on this great and complicated subject, and leave was given to bring in the bill. On the 23d of February the bill was read a second time, and ordered to be printed and sent to the quarter sessions in the several counties for the consideration of the magistrates, who were requested to give their opinions upon the provisions it contained. But the progress of the measure was interrupted by the change of administration, and the concomitant dissolution of parliament. In the new parliament this subject was again taken into consideration, on the motion of the original mover, and the bill for the general education of the poor was passed through the house of commons; it was, however, ultimately doomed to a fate that so enlightened a measure did not merit; and on the 11th of August the bill was, on the motion of Lord Hawkesbury, the Secretary of State for the home department, thrown out of the house of peers.

The anxiety that was shewn by the British parliament to place the financial affairs of the country on a permanent basis, and to ameliorate the condition of the labouring classes at home, did not close the ears of the legislature against the voice of outraged humanity in more distant regions. During the last session of parliament two resolutions were passed in both houses; the former declaring, that the African Slave Trade, being contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and sound policy, ought to be abolished with all possible expedition; and the latter, that an address should be presented to the throne, beseeching his majesty to take such measures as might appear most effectual for obtaining the concurrence and concert of foreign powers in the abolition of the slave trade.\* In pursuance of these resolutions, Lord Grenville, on the 2d of January, brought into the house of peers a bill for the total Abolition of the African Slave Trade, which bill was read a first time, and printed. On the 4th of February, counsel were heard at the bar of the house in favour of the continuance of the trade, and on the following day, Lord Grenville concluded an elaborate speech on the subject, by

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\* See Vol. II. Book III. Chap. VIII. p. 467.



moving that "the bill be now read a second time." The motion was supported by the Duke of Gloucester, the Bishop of Durham, the Earls Moira, Selkirk, and Roslyn, and the Lords Holland, King, and Hood. The opponents of the bill were the Duke of Clarence, the Earls Westmoreland and St. Vincent, and the Lords Sidmouth, Eldon, and Hawkesbury. At four o'clock in the morning the house divided, when there appeared for the motion one hundred; and against it, thirty-six voices. On the 10th the bill was read a third time, and having passed, it was ordered to the commons for the concurrence of that assembly.

On the 23d, Lord Howick, at the conclusion of a luminous and eloquent speech, moved for the commitment of the bill, and was supported by Mr. Lushington, Mr. Fawkes, Lord Mahon, Lord Milton, Sir John Doyle, Sir Samuel Romilly, Mr. Wilberforce, and Earl Percy, the latter of whom wished that a clause might be introduced into the bill by which all the children of slaves born after January, 1810, should be made free. General Gascoyne and Mr. Hibbert opposed the bill; Mr. Hiley Addington preferred a plan for gradual abolition. All these gentlemen having delivered their sentiments, there appeared on a division, for the question two hundred and eighty-three, and against it only sixteen voices! The enthusiasm in favour of this measure, which pervaded all parts of the house, was of a moral nature, and seemed to extend to a conversion of the heart; for several of the old opponents of this righteous cause went away, unable to vote against it; while others of them staid in their places and voted in its favour. The bill, which was debated with great animation in all its stages, enacted, that no vessel should clear out for slaves from any port within the British dominions after the 1st of May, 1807, and that no slave should be landed in the colonies after the 1st of March, 1808. On the 16th of March, on the motion of Lord Henry Petty, the bill was read a third time, and passed without a division.

On Wednesday, the 18th, Lord Howick, accompanied by Mr. Wilberforce and others, carried the bill to the lords for their concurrence in certain amendments that had been introduced in the house of commons. Lord Grenville instantly moved that it should be printed, and taken into consideration on Monday. The reason of this extraordinary haste was, that his majesty, displeased with the introduction of the Roman catholic officers' bill into the house of commons, had resolved to displace the existing administration. On Monday, the 23d, the house of Lords met; and such extraordinary diligence had been used in printing the bill, that it was then

ready. Lord Grenville immediately brought it forward, and the amendments were adopted without a division. Thus the bill received the last sanction of the peers. Lord Grenville then congratulated the house on the completion, on its part, of the most glorious measure that had ever been adopted by any legislative body in the world.

But though the bill had now passed both houses, there was an awful fear throughout the kingdom lest it should not receive the royal assent before the ministry was dissolved. This event took place the next day ; for on Wednesday, the 25th of March, at half-past eleven o'clock in the morning, his majesty's message was delivered to the different members of administration, commanding them to wait upon him, to deliver up the seals of their respective offices. It then appeared, that a commission for the royal assent to this bill, among others, had been obtained. This commission was instantly opened by the Lord Chancellor (Erskine,) who was accompanied by the Lords Holland and Aucland ; and as the clock struck twelve, just when the sun was in its meridian splendour, to witness this august act—this establishment of a Magna Charta for Africans in Britain, it was completed. The ceremony being over, the seals of the respective offices were delivered up ; so that the execution of this commission was the last act of an administration, which, were it only for its unremitting and successful exertions in behalf of the oppressed African race, would pass to posterity, living through successive generations in the love and gratitude of the most virtuous of mankind. Thus ended one of the most glorious contests, after a continuance for twenty years, ever carried on in any age or country. A contest, not of brutal violence, but of reason. With respect to the end obtained by it, no man can appreciate its importance. To our own country, as well as to Africa, it is invaluable. It proclaimed, in language too clear to be misunderstood, that even commerce itself should have its moral bounds. They who supported this wicked traffic virtually denied that man was a moral being. They substituted the law of force for the law of reason. But the great act now under consideration banished the impious doctrine, and restored the rational creature to his moral rights. The sympathies called into action by the long-continued agitation of this great question were useful in the preservation of national virtue, and contributed greatly to form a counter-balance against the malignant spirit, generated by the almost incessant wars which prevailed during the same period.\*

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\* Clarkson's "History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade," from which publication this account is principally extracted.



For upwards of three centuries, during which period this detestable traffic in the bones and sinews of men had prevailed, benevolent individuals, men of piety, genius, and learning, had from time to time declared its existence to be diametrically opposite to the principles of the christian religion, and the dictates of humanity ; Mr. Granville Sharpe was the first individual in England who boldly stood forth the avowed protector of the Africans. With this benevolent man the first movement towards the abolition of the negro slavery originated, in the year 1765 ; and history only discharges its duty in recording his name as the foundation stone on which was erected this glorious edifice, to the honour of liberty and humanity. Other philanthropists, inspired with the same spirit, afterwards came forward in the same cause, and Wilberforce, Clarkson, and a number of other illustrious characters; acting with a society of private individuals, encouraged by men of all ranks, and of all religious denominations, but particularly by the Quakers, both in England and America, succeeded, at length, in putting a period to a traffic, which, in the course of the ten years immediately preceding its abolition, had torn from their homes upwards of three hundred and sixty thousand of the natives of Africa ! who had either been sold into slavery, or had miserably perished in their passage to the West Indies.\*

The political situation of the British empire, in consequence of the aggrandizement of France upon the continent, rendered the union of its members, and the concentration of its energies, now, more than ever, desirable. Almost every regular power of Europe lay prostrate at the feet of Bonaparte. He was surrounded by kingdoms of his own formation, and at the head of which were men who had fought under his banners, or were allied to him by blood, and whom the combined influence of gratitude and policy bound indissolubly to his interest. The complacency with which he surveyed his elevation seemed impaired only by the circumstance that the British nation appeared both to possess the power and the inclination to resist his advances towards universal empire. Here, amidst all the devastation and convulsions of the continent, a barrier was erected, against which the waves of his fury were impotent and unavailing. Here, notwithstanding some unhappy deviations from the general system, was an asylum for justice, and a sanctuary for freedom. In such circumstances, the attention of ministers was very naturally

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\* Sir Samuel Romilly's Speech in the House of Commons, June 11, 1806, grounded on documents laid before that assembly.

directed to the production of national unanimity and harmony. They knew, that by the removal of those disabilities under which certain classes of his majesty's subjects laboured, they should suppress the murmurs of discontent, and convert the lethargy of indifference into the activity of willing service, and thus procure a reinforcement of strength equal to the pressure of the crisis. They knew that the vigorous hand will ever follow the conciliated heart; and that all the compulsory conscriptions of power are infinitely inferior to those voluntary exertions which originate in the gratitude and happiness of a free people. Accordingly, on the 5th of March, a bill was brought into the house of commons by Lord Howick, which, without having for its object what was called the emancipation of the catholics, was adapted to afford them great satisfaction, and was doubtless intended as the precursor of a system of enlarged toleration, which contemplated the removal of all the disabilities under which the catholic and protestant dissenters of the united kingdom had still the misfortune to labour.\*

In the year 1793, an act had been passed by the Irish parliament, by which the catholics of Ireland had been enabled to hold any rank in the army, except that of commander-in-chief of the forces, master-general of the ordnance, or general on the staff. No similar act had been passed by the British parliament; the consequence of which was, that if any circumstances demanded the presence of an Irish regiment in Great Britain, its officers would be disqualified by law from remaining in the service, and must either subject themselves to cer-

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\* The following is an enumeration of the disabilities to which, by the subsisting laws of this realm, the catholics of Ireland are liable:—

They cannot sit in either of the houses of parliament. They cannot be appointed to any of the following offices—chief governor or governors of this kingdom; chancellor, or keeper, or commissioner of the seal; lord high treasurer; judge in any of the courts of law, or in the admiralty court; master of the rolls, secretary of state; keeper of the privy seal; vice-treasurer, or his deputy; teller, or cashier of the exchequer; auditor-general; governor, or custos rotulorum of counties; chief governor's secretary; privy-counsellor; king's counsel; serjeants, attorney, or solicitor-general; master in chancery; provost, or fellow of Trinity College, Dublin; post-master-general; master and lieutenant-general of ordnance; commander-in-chief; general on the staff; sheriff, and sub-sheriff; or to the office of mayor, bailiff, recorder, Burgess, or any other office in a corporation, unless the lord-lieutenant shall grant a written dispensation for that purpose. No catholic can be guardian to a protestant; and no catholic priest can be guardian at all. Catholics are only allowed to have arms under certain restrictions. No catholic can present to an ecclesiastical living. The pecuniary qualifications of catholic jurors is made higher than that of protestants, and no relaxation of the ancient rigorous code is permitted, except to those who shall take the oath and declaration prescribed by the 13th and 14th Geo. III. c. 3.



tain consequent penalties, or relinquish a profession in which they had been educated, and to which alone they could look for their respectable establishment in life. At the time of passing the Irish act it had been distinctly promised that this inconsistency should be corrected without delay ; this pledge however had not been redeemed ; and it was one of the objects of the present bill to do away so absurd an incongruity.\*

The objections to this measure of conciliation and union may be resolved into that dread of innovation which influences strong as well as imbecile minds. Innovation, it must be confessed, has sometimes led to the most violent and convulsive movements, in which institutions the most valuable and venerable have been swept away, and horror and massacre have in different degrees characterised every devolution of power through a long series of rapid changes. Yet a comprehensive survey will discover that such evils have been often, if not always, imputable to the want of previous innovation, to that continuance of unnecessary and oppressive restriction, and that connivance at experienced abuse, which have eventually exhausted the patience of the sufferers, and urged on to

\* ABSTRACT of a bill introduced into the house of commons by Lord Howick, on the 5th of March, 1807, " for enabling his majesty to avail himself of the services of all his liege subjects in his naval and military forces :"—

This bill provides, 1st,—That it shall be lawful for his majesty to confer any commission or appointment whatever, in his majesty's naval or military forces, upon any of his subjects without exception, provided that every such person shall take and subscribe the following oath :—

" I, A. B. being by this commission appointed to be—(here set forth the appointment) do hereby solemnly promise and swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will be faithful, and bear true allegiance to his Majesty King George III. and that I will do my utmost to maintain and defend him against all treasons and traitorous conspiracies, and against all attempts whatever that shall be made against his person, crown, or dignity ; and that I will, to the utmost of my power, resist all such treasons, conspiracies, or attempts, and will also disclose and make known the same as soon as they shall come to my knowledge : and I do also promise and swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will, to the utmost of my power, maintain and support the succession to the crown of Great Britain and Ireland, as the same now stands limited by law ; and that I will also, to the utmost of my power, maintain and support the established constitution and government of the said united kingdom, against all attempts whatever that shall be made against the same."

The second, and only other clause of the bill, provides, " That no person, employed in his majesty's sea or land service, shall, under any pretence, or by any means, be prevented from attending such divine worship of religious service as may be consistent with or according to his religious persuasion, or opinions, at proper and seasonable times, and such as shall be consistent with the due and full discharge of his naval or military duties ; nor shall any such person be compelled or compellable to attend the worship or service of the established church."

remedies more desperate than the disease. Without innovation, human affairs must necessarily be retrograde or stationary, and the detected errors and ascertained abuses of former times must be permitted to stain and darken every succeeding age.

It soon became a matter of notoriety that objections to the catholic bill existed in a quarter to which the British public naturally look up with respect and deference. His majesty, who had already gone far beyond all his predecessors in regard to religious toleration, and particularly in concessions to his Roman catholic subjects, having maturely considered the nature and extent of this bill, regarded it as contrary to the obligations of his coronation oath,\* and the principles of the British constitution. Under such circumstances, ministers found it necessary to abandon the measure, and it was required from them to give a written obligation, pledging themselves never more to propose any thing connected with the catholic question. This demand they resisted, as incompatible with their honour and duty. Some portion of irritation now operated in both parties; the breach had extended too far to admit of being closed; confidence was mutually impaired; and the necessary consequence, the resignation of ministers, almost immediately ensued.

After a period of suspense and agitation, such as might be expected to occur on so comprehensive a change, the names of the new ministers were announced on the 25th of March.†

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\* See Vol. II. Book II. Chap. XVIII. p. 118.

† LIST OF THE NEW MINISTRY.

*Cabinet Ministers.*

Earl Camden,	- - -	President of the Council.
Lord Eldon,	- - -	Lord High Chancellor.
Earl of Westmoreland,	- - -	Lord Privy Seal.
Duke of Portland,	- - -	First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Min.)
Lord Mulgrave,	- - -	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Earl of Chatham,	- - -	Master-General of the Ordnance.
Earl Bathurst,	- - -	President of the Board of Trade.
Lord Hawkesbury,	{	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Rt. Hon. George Canning,	{	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Lord Castlereagh,	- - {	_____ for the Department of War and Colonies.
Rt. Hon. Spencer Perceval,	{	Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, and also Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

*Not of the Cabinet.*

Rt. Hon. Robert Saunders Dundas,	{	President of the Board of Control for the Affairs of India.
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A trial of strength between the newly appointed and the late ministers speedily took place in the house of commons, on a motion deprecating ministerial pledges, and the result of which served to shew that power and office have a close affinity. The majority on the part of ministers, however, only amounted, in a house of four hundred and eighty-four members, to thirty-two; and Mr. Canning intimated, that in the event of administration finding any impediment, from the numbers of their opponents, a dissolution of parliament would be resorted to. This menace was soon after carried into effect, and on the 27th of April the session and the parliament were brought to an end by a speech from the throne, in which the commissioners were charged to state, "that his majesty was anxious to recur to the sense of his people, while the events which had recently taken place were yet fresh in their recollection."

This abrupt dissolution of parliament was arraigned by the late possessors of authority in terms of no ordinary energy. It was denounced as impolitic, unconstitutional, and a mere wanton abuse of power. His majesty, however, had only exercised the right indisputably vested in him by the constitution. A reference to the opinions of the people upon important topics of national policy is rather a subject of congratulation than of censure; and one of the worst indications of the worst times in British history was the indifference or aversion manifested by the throne to these appeals to the people. The cry of the danger of the church, which was first started in parliament by Mr. Perceval, on the introduction of the catholic bill, and reiterated in his address to his constituents at Northampton, was urged with inexpressibly more energy than truth, and was eagerly adopted by many who had more

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Right Hon. George Rose, - - -	{	Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and Treasurer of the Navy.
Sir James Pulteney, Bart. - - -		Secretary at War.
Lord Charles Somerset, - - -	{	Joint Pay-Masters-General.
Right Hon. Charles Long, - - -		
Earl of Chichester, - - -	{	Joint Post-Masters-General.
Earl of Sandwich, - - -		
William Huskisson, Esq. - - -	{	Secretaries of the Treasury.
Hon. Henry Wellesley, - - -		
Sir William Grant, - - -		Master of the Rolls.
Sir Vicary Gibbs, - - -		Attorney-General.
Sir Thomas Plumer, - - -		Solicitor-General.

#### PERSONS IN THE MINISTRY OF IRELAND.

Duke of Richmond, - - -	Lord-Lieutenant.
Lord Manners, - - -	Lord High Chancellor.
Sir Arthur Wellesley, - - -	Chief Secretary.
Right Hon. John Foster, - - -	Chancellor of the Exchequer.

zeal than understanding. But the increased information and tolerant spirit of every class of the people, served in general as a counterpoise against the zeal of the weak, or the insinuations of the artful, and prevented any extensive injury from the application of so critical an engine of policy. At Bristol, however, the populace were excited to a high pitch of resentment against one of their representatives, who had voted with the late administration on the catholic bill, and though his election was secured, the symptoms of popular violence became so manifest, that the ceremony of chairing was left incomplete. At Liverpool, the indications of public feeling announced that state of exasperation, in which a contest of many days could not be presumed possible, without circumstances accompanying it at which every feeling heart must shrink with horror; and under such circumstances Mr. Roscoe deemed it prudent to withdraw his pretensions. In Surrey, Lord Russel was unable to carry his election. In the city of London, a decline of that interest which had formerly predominated for Alderman Combe was strikingly observable; and he was indebted perhaps for his return to the death of Alderman Hankey, who had started as a new candidate, with the most flattering prospects of success, but who died in the midst of anticipated triumph, furnishing a characteristic illustration of the pathetic remark of Mr. Burke, from the hustings at Bristol, on a former occasion—"What shadows we are, and what shadows we pursue."

In Yorkshire, the contest was carried on with a vigour and expense unexampled perhaps in the history of elections. Mr. Fawkes, one of the late representatives, declined to offer himself to the suffrages of the freeholders on the present occasion; alleging, "that after what had lately passed, a seat in the house of commons, which was the first wish of his heart, had ceased to be an object of his ambition;" and that he "could not, consistently with the duty he owed to a numerous and increasing family, consent to expose himself to the danger of these sudden and unexpected dissolutions." On the subject of expense, Mr. Wilberforce cast himself upon the liberality of his friends, and the subscription was found more than sufficient to defray all his demands. The other candidates were, the Hon. Henry Lascelles, second son of Lord Harewood, and Lord Milton, the only son of Earl Fitzwilliam, both men of high respectability, and the most opulent connections. The two houses of Wentworth and Harewood had fixed their ambition so perseveringly upon success, as to anticipate the necessary absorption of immense property in the conflict. Notwithstanding the limitations of the Grenville act, and the



preclusion of that vast expenditure which used to attend the system of open houses, a hundred thousand pounds were calculated upon by each of these two candidates as requisite to defray the expense of their election; and the event proved that this immense sum was not more than adequate to the demands. Mr. Lascelles, in his address to the freeholders, deprecated the bill introduced into parliament by the late ministers for granting enlarged privileges to the catholics; he professed himself no courtier, but when the king called upon his subjects to support him, he would be so far a courtier as to obey the call. Lord Milton, on the contrary, avowed himself a friend to the relaxation of the existing laws against dissenters, both catholic and protestant; he too would support the king, but it should be a constitutional support; he was zealously attached to the constitution, but his attachment was to the whole of that venerable edifice, and not merely to one of its parts. Such were the public grounds taken by the adverse candidates; and after a contest continued for fifteen days with unremitting energy and various success, victory at length ranged herself on the side of Lord Milton, and ultimately gave to his lordship a majority of one hundred and eighty-eight votes over his rival.\* In the prosecution of this memorable struggle, all the machinery of contested elections was brought into action. Every topic, both national and local, that seemed calculated to advance the interests of the respective candidates, was urged by their partisans. The dangers of the church, and the benefits of an enlarged toleration, were alike relied upon. The conflicting interests of the merchants and manufacturers, which had been long in collision, served to rouse the populous dis-

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\* YORKSHIRE ELECTION.—DAILY STATE OF THE POLL.

	<i>Mr. Wilberforce.</i>		<i>Lord Milton.</i>		<i>Mr. Lascelles.</i>
1st Day,	751	-	655	-	774
2d Day,	923	-	1295	-	914
3d Day,	1173	-	1081	-	1010
4th Day,	1422	-	1126	-	1196
5th Day,	1641	-	1037	-	1403
6th Day,	1354	-	949	-	1160
7th Day,	936	-	871	-	845
8th Day,	766	-	698	-	689
9th Day,	600	-	561	-	592
10th Day,	459	-	444	-	465
11th Day,	486	-	619	-	503
12th Day,	373	-	506	-	363
13th Day,	291	-	471	-	341
14th Day,	381	-	502	-	401
15th Day,	250	-	362	-	334
Total, . .	11,806	-	11,177	-	10,989

tricts of the West-Riding into a state of unexampled activity ; and at the close of the contest, the exultation of victory or the depression consequent upon defeat, spread from the city of York, and pervaded every part of that extensive county.

The Westminster election, generally so productive of interest and adventure, did not on this occasion, vary from its usual character. The candidates for public suffrage were, Mr. Paull, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Elliot, and Lord Cochrane. Of these four gentlemen, Lord Cochrane alone was returned along with Sir Francis Burdett, who during the whole election stood at the head of the poll, though he had declined to offer himself as a candidate, and was, in fact, at that time confined to his house, by a wound received in a duel with Mr. Paull.\*

Of the late ministry, Mr. Thomas Grenville was the only commoner in the cabinet, who, at the assembling of the new parliament resumed his situation for the place he had represented. Mr. Windham declined standing for Norfolk ; Lord Henry Petty was unsuccessful at Cambridge ; and Lord Howick, after representing his native county of Northumberland for a series of twenty years, was obliged to resign his pretensions to a more opulent candidate. Indeed the object intended by the new ministry in the dissolution of parliament, seemed to be effectually gained. They acquired that accumulation of power which prevented any impediment to their measures, and gave them that command and confidence, without which it is impossible for any administration to secure public estimation or to despatch the public business. The new parliament assembled on the 22d of June, and during the

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\* It appeared that Mr. Paull, without the authority, and even without the knowledge of Sir Francis Burdett, had caused an advertisement to be inserted in the public papers, announcing that Sir Francis would preside at a public dinner, connected with the arrangements respecting the choice or nomination of proper persons for the representation of Westminster. The surprise of Sir Francis at the appearance of such an advertisement, was very considerable, and his displeasure little inferior to his astonishment. He immediately communicated these feelings to Mr. Paull, by express, and peremptorily declined the honour intended him. Irritated by this refusal, Mr. Paull repaired to the residence of Sir Francis Burdett, at Wimbledon, after midnight, and conducted himself in such a manner as to produce a duel, in which, at the second fire, both parties were wounded, Mr. Paull in the leg, and Sir Francis in the thigh. Although the public were not in possession of all the information requisite to form a clear and full estimate of the conduct of the parties, yet, from appearances, striking and impressive, they almost unanimously agreed in censuring Mr. Paull for indecorum and brutality ; and the consequence was, not merely the loss of his election, but his entire extinction as a public character. Affording a fatal instance of the effects of disingenuousness and precipitancy, and of the want of that good sense in the conduct of life which is to be preferred to even the most splendid talents.



short session which ensued, much mutual recrimination took place between the contending parties ; but no business, of a nature demanding the notice of general history, occupied the attention of either of the houses of legislature.

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## CHAPTER IV.

**EXPEDITIONS :** *To the Dardanelles—To Egypt—Against Monte Video—Against Buenos Ayres—Capture of the Dutch Settlement of Curacao—Expedition to Copenhagen—War declared by Russia against England—New System of Commercial Interdiction—Disputes with the United States of America—French Decrees—British Orders in Council.*

It has already been seen that the war between Russia and Turkey led to an interruption of the harmony which had so long subsisted between the latter power and Great Britain.—Russia being engaged in a war with the Porte by the instigation of France, it was incumbent upon England to attempt an accommodation of the existing differences, and to prevent, if possible, the direction of the strength of her ally towards the south of Europe. For this purpose, negotiations were entered into with the cabinet of Constantinople, and Admiral Sir John Duckworth was instructed to proceed, with seven sail of the line, a frigate, and two sloops, to force the Dardanelles, and bombard the Turkish capital, if certain terms should not be acceded to by that government. On the 19th of February the British admiral proceeded to force the passage. The fire of the enemy from the outer castles inflicted but little injury on his ships ; but in the narrow passage of Sestos and Abydos, a very heavy cannonade was directed from both castles, within point blank shot of each other, which opened their fire on the English ships as they continued to pass in succession. The very spirited return made to this fire considerably diminished its force, and prevented the sternmost ships from receiving any material injury. A small Turkish squadron, consisting of a sixty-four gun ship, four frigates, and several corvettes, at anchor to the north-east of the castles, was attacked by Sir Sidney Smith, and driven on shore, where it was destroyed ; while the guns of a formidable battery at Point Pesquies, were spiked by a detachment of marines. On the evening of the 20th, the squadron anchored near Prince's Islands, about eight miles from the city. The negotiations between Mr. Arbuthnot, the British ambassador to the Porte, who was then on board Admiral Duckworth's fleet, and the Turkish government, continued till the 27th, and in

the interval, such was the unfortunate state of the weather, that it was not at any time in the power of the British admiral to occupy such a situation as would have enabled him to commence offensive operations. At length it became necessary to terminate an exhibition thus humiliating. The time which had been occupied by the English commander in empty menaces, had been employed by the Turks in the most active repairs and preparations. The whole line of the coast now presented a chain of batteries. Twelve line of battle ships were ready, with their sails bent, and filled with troops; an innumerable multitude of small craft, with five vessels, had been collected; and near two hundred thousand troops, meant to march against the Russians, were said to be in Constantinople. Had the weather favoured an attack, these accumulated means of resistance by the enemy must have been attended with a doubtful issue to the British squadron; and even had Sir John Duckworth overcome all this opposition, the re-passage of the Dardanelles was still requisite to complete his triumph. The idea of waiting for a wind to bombard the city was therefore now abandoned; and wounded, as the British commander acknowledges himself to have been, in pride and in ambition, he weighed anchor on the first of March, and by the next day, before noon, every ship under his command had cleared the passage of the Dardanelles. This escape, however, was only from destruction, but by no means from serious loss and injury. The fire of the inner castles, which had been severe in the first passage, was more than doubly formidable on the return. The Windsor Castle was struck by a granite shot of eight hundred pounds weight; and the number of killed and wounded, which in the first instance had not been considerable, was swelled to nearly three hundred men. The damage done to most of the ships, in their hulls, masts, and rigging, was very severe, and the expedition was productive of nothing but disaster and humiliation.

While Admiral Duckworth was advancing to Constantinople, to fix between the two countries those relations which were in a situation highly critical, an English expedition was proceeding towards another point of the Turkish dominions. On the 6th of March, a detachment, consisting of about five thousand men, under the command of General Fraser, was embarked at Messina, in forty-nine transports, for the purpose of taking possession of Alexandria; and on the 16th, they came to anchor before that city. The intelligence which was received from Major Missett, the British resident at that place, stated, that the inhabitants were well affected to the British, and that he had sanguine hopes that our troops would



be able to gain possession of this important station without firing a gun. Accordingly, on the morning of the 19th, the British commander occupied the spot rendered memorable by the victory under the heroic Abercrombie; and on the 21st General Fraser took possession of the place, in virtue of a capitulation executed by Sced Mahamed Naim Effendi, on behalf of his excellency Femen Bey, the governor.

Immediately after the fall of Alexandria, Major-general Wauchope, with a detachment of fifteen hundred men, consisting of the 31st regiment, and chasseurs Britanniques, was despatched to take possession of Rosetta and Rhamanie, under the persuasion that the possession of these places was necessary, to prevent the inhabitants of Alexandria from being exposed to the horrors of famine. The troops despatched on this service encountered no opposition on their march towards Rosetta, and the heights of Abourmandour, which command that city, were occupied without any loss. Instead of retaining possession of this post; General Wauchope was induced, without any previous examination, to enter the town with his whole force. Here he found, to his surprise, that preparations had been made for his reception. The Turks and Albanians, in great numbers, had posted themselves in various buildings and advantageous situations; and from every window and roof in the streets through which the British troops marched, they were assailed by such a severe fire of musketry, that they were obliged at length to evacuate the place, with a loss of three hundred men killed and wounded. The commander himself was among the slain; and Brigadier-general Meade, on whom the command now devolved, was severely wounded in the retreat. In this trying situation, to which the troops, were thus rashly exposed, they conducted themselves with the most admirable courage and discipline, and succeeded in effecting their retreat to Aboukir, from whence they soon after returned to Alexandria.

Provisions were now become extremely scarce in this place, and the renewed representations of Major Missett, on the necessity of taking Rosetta, were corroborated by the Sorbagi or Chief Magistrate of Alexandria, who stated that famine must be the inevitable consequence if this measure was not promptly executed. Another corps, amounting to about two thousand five hundred men, under Brigadier-general Stewart, was accordingly despatched on this important and indispensable service. On the 9th of April this force took post opposite the Alexandrian gate of Rosetta, and began to form their batteries. From the great extent of the town, it was found impossible that the small British army sent on that service

could invest more than one half of it ; and a line was in consequence taken up from the Nile to the front of the Alexandrian gate, thence retiring towards the plain where the dragoons were posted. A mortar and some guns were brought into play early in the afternoon ; these were answered by the shouts of the Albanians from their walls ; and by incessant discharges of musketry through the loop-holes and crevices, which were innumerable. From the 12th to the 20th, the operations against the city were prosecuted with much vigour. Great damage was done to the town, and not fewer than three hundred shells, from mortars alone, were thrown into it. During all this time General Stewart was in daily and almost hourly expectation of assistance from the Mamelukes ; but after waiting for this promised assistance till the 21st, a resolution was taken on the evening of that day, to retire from before Rosetta on the following morning. Early in the morning of the 22d, Colonel Macloed, who had been despatched to defend the post of Hamet, informed the general that sixty or seventy large vessels, full of hostile troops, were descending the Nile. The danger was now alarming, and not a moment was to be lost. Orders were immediately despatched to the colonel to abandon his position, and return to the main body ; but these orders were most unfortunately intercepted. General Stewart himself immediately withdrew, with his army, formed in a hollow square, taking with him all the cannon and ammunition which the circumstances of the case would permit. The British troops, impressed with the exigencies of their situation, kept the most compact order, and presented in each direction so formidable a front, that the pursuers, with all their superiority of numbers, and impetuosity of attack, found them impervious to all their assaults. The detachment at Hamet, however, was completely cut off, and the whole loss in killed, wounded, and missing, from the commencement of the expedition under General Stewart, consisted of upwards of a thousand men.

This succession of disasters made a strong impression on the public mind. To be defeated on the plains of Egypt, which had produced some of the fairest wreaths to adorn the brow of British valour, was particularly mortifying. Disaster, however, was totally unconnected with ignominy in the British troops, who, in both the cases above related, exhibited all that discipline, intrepidity, and perseverance, for which they are so nobly distinguished. The expedition itself to Egypt appears to have been by no means either necessary or prudent at the time it was undertaken. The influence of such an enterprise upon the operations on the Vistula must have



been extremely remote, and the troops engaged in this expedition might have been much more beneficially employed on the shores of the Baltic.

The anticipations entertained of a famine at Alexandria were happily not verified by events. For several months the British troops remained in possession of that city, and although Rosetta was not added to their conquests, provisions became daily more plentiful. Preparations, however, were making at Cairo upon a large scale, to effect their expulsion; and on the 8th of August, the Governor of Egypt, at the head of a formidable force of infantry and cavalry, advanced towards Alexandria. The views of the new ministry with respect to the possession of this place had, no doubt, regulated their instructions to the commander with regard to his conduct; and the diminished state of his forces, the disaffection of the inhabitants towards the invaders, and the vast body now collected to proceed against them, induced General Fraser to abandon the idea of defence. On the approach of the enemy to the town, he sent a flag of truce, announcing, that on condition of the British prisoners being delivered up, the army under his command should immediately evacuate Egypt. This condition was accepted with as little hesitation as it was made. The English force almost immediately embarked, and on the 22d of September the standard of Mahomet again waved on the towers of Alexandria.

Intelligence was received by the British ministry of the enterprise undertaken by Sir Home Popham, against Buenos Ayres, in the month of June, 1806,\* just at the moment when the negotiations between this country and France were pending; and it was not until October, when all hope of the successful termination of that negotiation was at an end, that a reinforcement was sent from England to co-operate with the troops under Gen. Beresford in Maldonado. The command of the troops was given to Sir Samuel Auchmuty, and Sir Charles Sterling was appointed to convoy the transports in the Ardent ship of war, and on their arrival at La Plata to supersede Sir Home Popham on that station. On the 5th of January this force arrived at Maldonado. An attack on Monte Video was now determined upon, and on the morning of the 18th a landing was effected in a small bay on the coast. The enemy, who were in possession of the surrounding heights, in great force, suffered the troops to disembark, and to take possession of a strong post about nine miles from the town, without opposition. On the 19th the army moved

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\* See Vol. II. Book III. Chap. IX. page 497.

towards Monte Video. Two heights, in the front and to the left, were occupied by about four thousand of the enemy's horse, and a heavy fire of round and grape shot was now opened ; but by a spirited charge from the light battalion under Colonel Brownrigg, the corps opposed to him was dispersed, and one of their guns taken. The enemy on the flank also commenced a retreat, and the British commander was permitted to occupy a position two miles from the citadel, without any further opposition. On the following morning, the whole force of the Spaniards, consisting of about six thousand men, came out of the town to meet the English, and commenced an attack in two columns, one of which was defeated and driven back with the loss of about twelve hundred men ; and the other retreated without coming to action. The siege of Monte Video almost immediately commenced ; batteries were in a few days opened upon the town, and all the frigates and smaller vessels approached as closely as possible to assist in the cannonade. A battery was erected as near as possible to the wall, by the south gate of the citadel, which communicated with the sea, from which a vigorous fire was kept up, and on the 2d of February a breach was reported practicable. Orders were now given for the assault to commence an hour before day-break on the following morning. The troops destined for this service were commanded by Colonel Browne ; and the remainder of the British force, including a corps of seven hundred marines and seamen, were encamped under Brigadier-general Lumley, to act as a corps of reserve and protect the rear. The morning was extremely dark, and the troops had approached near to the breach before they were discovered. But no sooner had the garrison become aware of their danger, than a destructive fire, from every gun that could be made to bear upon the breach, was opened, and showers of musketry were poured down upon the assailants. The head of the British column, owing to the continued darkness, had the misfortune to miss the breach, which, in the course of the night, had been closed up and strongly barricaded with hides, notwithstanding all the fire of the besiegers. In this situation the troops remained, under a heavy fire, for a quarter of an hour, when the breach was discovered by Captain Renny, who pointed it out, and gloriously fell as he mounted it. The soldiers, difficult as was the access, forced their way to the ramparts, and from thence into the town, overturning the cannon which had been placed at the head of the principal avenues, and clearing the batteries and the streets with their bayonets. By eight o'clock in the morning, every thing was completely in their possession ; per-



fect tranquillity reigned throughout the place, and the women were seen walking about the town without the slightest alarm. From the first landing to the complete occupation of the citadel, the British loss amounted to about six hundred men; Major Dalrymple was killed, and Lieutenant-colonels Vassal and Brownrigg died of their wounds. The loss sustained by the enemy was about eight hundred killed, and five hundred wounded; about two thousand Spaniards were made prisoners, including the Governor, Don Pasquil Ruis Huidobro; and fifteen hundred were supposed to have escaped in their boats or to have secreted themselves in the town.\*

In the month of June, a British expedition, under General Crawford, consisting of about five thousand troops, arrived in the river Plata, and was joined by the troops which had at different times arrived in South America since the first attack upon the Spanish settlements, by General Beresford. The command of this united force was given to General Whitelocke, and an attack upon Buenos Ayres was immediately resolved upon. After several delays occasioned by the unfavourable state of the weather, a landing was effected on the 28th of June without opposition at Ensenada, about thirty miles eastward of the town. Colonel Mahon, to whom the bringing up of the heavy artillery was intrusted, was directed to wait at Reduction till further orders; and the army, divided into two columns, after surmounting various difficulties, arrived before Buenos Ayres on the following day, when the fortress was summoned to surrender. This demand, as might have been anticipated, was peremptorily declined, and preparations were made for the attack. The British line was formed by placing General Auchmuty's brigade on the left, extending within two miles of Recoleta; the 36th and 88th regiments were on the right; and the brigade of General Crawford occupied the principal avenues to the town, about three miles distant from the great square and fort, his right being well supported by an appointment of dragoons, and the 45th regiment extending to the Residencia. The town was thus nearly invested.

Understanding that the inhabitants meant to occupy the flat roofs of their houses for defence and annoyance, and that the town was divided into squares of about one hundred and forty yards each, General Whitelocke resolved to adopt the following plan of attack:—Every division, being provided with cannon, was to proceed along the street directly in its

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\* Sir Samuel Auchmuty's Despatches, dated Monte Video, February 6th, 1807.

front, till it arrived at the last square adjoining the river, there to occupy the flat roofs of the houses, and to await further instructions ; a corporal's guard was to march at the head of each column with instruments to break open the doors of the houses ; and the muskets were to be kept unloaded till the columns were formed at their appointed final stations.

These arrangements having been given out, the strong post of the Retiro and Plaza de Toros, was approached early in the morning of the 5th of July by General Auchmuty ; and notwithstanding the severe discharges of grape shot and musketry from the Spaniards, the general gained possession of the place, taking thirty-two pieces of cannon, six hundred prisoners, and a vast quantity of ammunition. The 5th regiment advanced to the river, after experiencing very little opposition, and took possession of the church and convent of St. Catalina. The 36th and 88th regiments, under Brigadier-general Lumley, moving in the appointed order, were opposed in their march by an incessant fire of musketry from the tops of the houses, the doors of which were so firmly barricaded, that scarcely any effort could force them open, while the streets were intersected by deep ditches, in the inside of which were planted cannon, which poured grape shot on the advancing columns. The 36th regiment, however, was enabled to overcome all this opposition, and to reach its final destination.—The 88th regiment, which was more exposed to the fire of the forts, and to the principal defences of the Spaniards, was completely overpowered and taken. This misfortune rendered unavailing the success of the other regiment, and both the 36th and the 5th regiments were at length obliged to retreat upon the post of General Auchmuty. In the mean time, the British six-pounders, which had been appointed to move down the principal streets, covered by four troops of carabineers, led on by Lieutenant-colonel Kingston, advanced to take the battery ; but this gallant officer being unfortunately wounded, as well as Captain Burrell, next in command, and the fire, both from the battery and the houses, proving very destructive, they were obliged to fall back on a position in front of the enemy's principal defences. Lieutenant-colonel Pack, with the left division of General Crawford's brigade, had advanced nearly to the river, where he was to occupy the Jesuits' College, which commanded the principal Spanish line of defence ; but on turning to the left, the fire of the enemy became so overwhelming as to render all further advance absolutely impracticable. Part of this division took possession of a house, which was almost immediately found untenable, and no alternative remained but surrender or absolute destruction.



The remainder of the division, after sustaining with intrepidity the incessant discharges of the enemy, by which their commander was wounded, retired upon the right division, commanded by General Crawford in person. The general, learning the fate of his left division, and being now opposed by immense superiority of numbers, thought it advisable to take possession of the Convent of St. Domingo. The Residencia had been gained by Colonel Guard, with very slight opposition, and leaving this position in possession of his light companies, the colonel advanced with his principal force towards General Crawford, and joined him at the convent.—The building was almost instantly surrounded by the enemy. In this emergency, General Crawford was obliged to confine himself to the defence of the convent; but the quantity of round shot, grape, and musketry, to which the troops were exposed, at length obliged them to quit the top of the building; and the Spaniards, to the number of six thousand, bringing up cannon to force the wooden gates, the general, with all the troops under his command, surrendered at four o'clock in the afternoon.

“The result of this days action,” says General Whitelöcke, “left me in possession of the Plaza de Toros, a strong post on the enemy’s right, and the Residencia, another strong post on his left, while I occupied the advanced position towards his centre; but these advantages had cost two thousand five hundred men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The nature of the fire to which the troops were exposed was violent in the extreme. Grape-shot at the corners of the streets; musketry, hand-grenades, bricks, and stones, from the tops of all the houses; every householder, with his negroes defending his dwelling, each of which was in itself a fortress; and it is not, perhaps, too much to say, that the whole male population of Buenos Ayres was employed in its defence.”\*

The night of the 5th exhibited an impressive pause in the work of destruction. On the following morning General Liniers addressed a letter to the British commander, offering to deliver up the prisoners taken on this occasion, and also those taken from General Beresford, on condition that the attack on the town should be discontinued, and that, within two months from that date, Monte Video, and the other stations on the river Plata, occupied by the English troops, should be evacuated. It was stated, in this despatch, that the exasperation of the populace against the English prisoners was unbounded,

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\* General Whitelocke’s Despatches, dated Buenos Ayres, July 7, 1807.

and that, if hostilities were persisted in by General Whitelocke, it would be impossible to insure their safety. These terms were no sooner proposed than they were yielded to by the British general, who was determined to this assent principally from a reference to the situation of the prisoners, which, from unquestionable intelligence, he understood to be highly critical; and from the consideration that the possession of a country, whose inhabitants were so decidedly hostile to the conquerors, could be attended with no permanent advantage.

The conduct of General Whitelocke, in conducting this expedition, called forth the most severe reprehension; and the entire failure of the enterprise produced universal dissatisfaction and disappointment. The general, on his return to England, after the entire evacuation of South America, was put upon his trial before a court-martial, assembled at Chelsea, on the 28th of January, 1808, and continued by adjournment for two and thirty days. By this tribunal he was pronounced guilty of all the charges preferred against him, except that part of the second which related to the order, that the muskets of the columns should be unloaded, and that no firing should be permitted on any account, and being declared totally unfit and unworthy to serve his majesty in any military capacity whatever, was cashiered.\*

An enterprise of considerable consequence, and terminating in a much more happy result than the expedition against Buenos Ayres, was accomplished the first day in the year 1807, by a squadron of four frigates,† commanded by Captain Brisbane, under the orders of Vice-admiral Dacres. The expedition was directed against the Dutch settlement of Curacoa. The

\* The charges against General Whitelocke were four, and were in substance as follows:—

1st. Having, contrary to the tenor of instructions, in the summons to Buenos Ayres, required that the civil officers and magistrates should be made prisoners of war, which, it is averred, is contrary to all the customs of war, and had a decided effect in inflaming the civil population to resistance

2d. Exposing the army, in marching against Buenos Ayres, to a destructive discharge of musketry from the town, without providing that army with the proper means of offence or attack, and ordering the whole of his brigades to be unloaded, and no firing to be permitted on any account.

3d. Not being present personally on the advance against Buenos Ayres; also not keeping open a communication between the main body of the troops and the detachment under General Crawford, which compelled that officer to surrender.

4th. Surrendering the fortress of Monte Video, without necessity, which was capable of making an effectual resistance against any force that could be brought against it.

† The Arethusa, Latona, Anson, and Fishguard.



harbour was defended by regular fortifications of two tiers of guns ; Fort Amsterdam alone containing sixty-six pieces of cannon. The entrance was only fifty yards wide, and across it were moored two frigates and two large schooners of war. A chain of forts was on the commanding height of Myselburg ; and Fort Republique, deemed nearly impregnable, was within the distance of grape-shot, and enfiladed the whole harbour. Soon after day-break, the British frigates made all possible sail in close order of battle. The vessels appointed to intercept their entrance were taken by boarding ; and the lower forts, the citadel, and the town of Amsterdam, by storm. The port was entered at about six o'clock in the morning ; before ten a capitulation was signed ; the British flag was hoisted on Fort Republique, and the whole island was in complete possession of the assailants. The loss of the British amounted only to three men killed, and eleven wounded ; and the inhabitants of the town, to the amount of thirty thousand, swore allegiance to the British government.

The year 1807 beheld the continent of Europe apparently prostrate at the feet of France. The discipline of Austria and Prussia had disappeared before the numbers and the enthusiasm of the French armies, and the predominant genius of their leader. The sovereigns of those countries had seen their capitals filled with hostile armies, and their flying courts hovering on the frontiers of their former dominions. The house of Hapsburg had ceased to give emperors to Germany ; and the downfall of a constitution transmitted from the feudal ages, was beheld without astonishment, and probably without regret. The battle of Friedland had convinced the Emperor of Russia of the necessity of peace ; and the treaty of Tilsit, concluded on the 8th of July, rather proclaimed than confirmed the power of Bonaparte, and the weakness of his adversaries. In these circumstances, the eyes of all Europe were fixed upon England. In her they beheld a power which had uniformly resisted with vigour, and with comparative effect, the encroachments of the continental Colossus ; and in struggling to support the political system of civilized Europe, she had respected the laws by which it was regulated. In the midst of the disasters and errors of the continent, Denmark had remained unmolested—protected by the firm but temperate politics of her court ; by the attachment of the inhabitants to the family of the sovereign, and to their own national independence ; by the rigid observance of a strict neutrality ; and by the moral turpitude attached to unprovoked aggression. From the general policy of the French Emperor, every thing was to be apprehended ; and the Crown Prince of Denmark, draining the rest of his dominions of their forces,

had for three years kept the flower of the Danish youth assembled on the borders of Holstein, to protect the only quarter in which aggression seemed to be possible, from the entrance of that army which had long hovered on its frontier.

Such was the posture of affairs when the British government determined to despatch to the Baltic a powerful armament, consisting of twenty thousand troops, under the command of Lieutenant-general Lord Cathcart ; and a fleet of twenty-seven sail of the line, and vessels of all other descriptions, to the number of nearly ninety pendants, under Admiral Gambier. When the intelligence of this expedition first arrived in Copenhagen, it was universally supposed, in that city, that the English army was intended to co-operate with the Swedes in the defence of Stralsund, and in the re-conquering the rest of Pomerania ; and the only apprehension was, that it would arrive too late. The illusion was, however, speedily dissipated, by the arrival of Mr. Jackson in the Danish capital, on the 1st of August, as plenipotentiary on behalf of his Britannic Majesty. The English negociator, as might have been expected, failed in convincing the Crown Prince that it was incumbent upon him to deprive his own kingdom and capital, during a period critical beyond example, of a defence, provided at an enormous expense, in order to add to the naval power or to promote the security of Great Britain. Accordingly, on the 16th of August, Lord Cathcart disembarked his forces at Wybeck, and nearly at the same time the British troops from Stralsund effected a landing in Keoge Bay, swelling the land force under the British commander to twenty-eight thousand men. On the day after the landing of the troops, they advanced in three columns, with very trifling opposition, to invest Copenhagen, which was effected on the north and south by the military force, and by the naval power on the east. The regular works were now commenced and carried on with great spirit ; and while they were rapidly advancing, the frigates and gun-boats took advantage of a favourable breeze to station themselves near the entrance of the harbour, from which they might throw shells into the town. Brigadier-general Decken, who had been sent against Frederickswerk, succeeded in surprising that important post, by which a *depot* of cannon and powder, and upwards of eight hundred Danish soldiers, fell into the hands of the besiegers. The country being now roused into an extreme state of irritation against the invaders, General Castenschild was enabled to accumulate a formidable voluntary force, and in addition to these irregular troops, three or four battalions of disciplined soldiers contributed to swell the general's ranks. On the 26th



this army was attacked by Sir Arthur Wellesley, and defeated, with a loss of sixty officers, eleven hundred men, and ten pieces of cannon. Having dispersed these troops, the British general moved towards the centre of the island, with a view to disarm and keep down the rising spirit of the country, in which endeavour he so effectually succeeded as to prevent the besieging army from experiencing any further molestation from this quarter.

In the mean time, the contest was carried on with great vigour between the Danish gun-boats and praams, supported by the crown battery, a block-house, and some other works, and the advanced squadron of the British gun-boats, when the latter were at length obliged to retire before the destructive fire of the red-hot shot of the enemy. Between the British batteries on shore, and the enemy's gun-boats, the conflict on the part of the former was more successful, and the Danes were, in their turn, obliged to retreat with considerable loss. The besieging army had now advanced its positions to the inundation in front of the city; and the moment rapidly approached in which the more serious operations of the siege were to commence. As no overtures for accommodation had been made or yielded to by the Danes, and as every thing evinced their determination to endure the horrors of a bombardment, the heavy ordnance were landed on the 26th, and by the 31st the platform was laid, and the mortar batteries were ready for action. A summons was now despatched by the British Commanders to General Pieman, the Governor of Copenhagen, containing the same offers which had been originally made by Mr. Jackson, and which were now again most peremptorily refused.\*

\* SUMMONS TO THE CITY OF COPENHAGEN,

Addressed to his Excellency General Pieman, Governor.

*"British Head-quarters, before Copenhagen, September 1, 1807.*

"SIR,—We, the commanders-in-chief of his majesty's sea and land forces now before Copenhagen, judge it expedient at this time to summons you to surrender the place, for the purpose of avoiding the further effusion of blood, by giving up a defence, which, it is evident, cannot long be continued. The king, our gracious master, used every endeavour to settle the matter now in dispute, in the most conciliating manner, through his diplomatic servants. To convince his Danish Majesty, and all the world, of the reluctance with which his majesty feels himself compelled to have recourse to arms, we, the undersigned, at this moment, when our troops are before your gates, and our batteries ready to open, do renew to you the offer of the same advantages and conciliatory terms which were proposed through his majesty's ministers to your court.

"If you will consent to deliver up the Danish fleet, and to our carrying it away, it shall be held as a deposit for his Danish Majesty, and

“The mortar batteries, which had been erected by the army in the several positions they had taken round Copenhagen, together with the bomb vessels, which were placed in convenient situations, began the bombardment on the morning of the 2d of September, with such power and effect, that in a short time the town was set on fire, and, by the repeated discharges of our artillery, was kept in flames in different places till the evening of the 5th, when a considerable part of it being consumed, and the conflagration, arrived at a great height, threatened the speedy destruction of the whole city, the general commanding the garrison sent out a flag of truce, desiring an armistice to afford time to treat for a capitulation.”\* It was explained to General Pieman, in reply, that the basis of the capitulation must be the delivering up of the fleet; which in a subsequent letter from the general was admitted; and on

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shall be restored, with all its equipments, in as good a state as it is received, as soon as the provisions of a general peace shall remove the necessity which has occasioned this demand. The property of all sorts, which has been captured since the commencement of hostilities, will be restored to its owners, and the union between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, and Denmark, may be renewed. But if this offer be rejected now, it cannot be repeated. The captured property, public and private, must then belong to the captors, and the city when taken must share the fate of conquered places.

“We must request an early decision, because, in the present advanced position of the troops, so near your glacis, the most prompt and vigorous attack is indispensable, and delay would be improper. We have the honour to be,

“J. GAMBIER,  
Commander-in-chief of his Majesty’s ships and vessels.  
“CATHCART,  
Commander-in-chief of the land forces.”

#### ANSWER,

Addressed to his Excellency Admiral Gambier and Lord Cathcart.

“*Copenhagen, September 1, 1807.*

“MY LORD,—Our fleet, our own indisputable property, we are convinced is as safe in his Danish Majesty’s hands as ever it can be in those of the King of England, as our master never intended any hostility against yours. If you are cruel enough to endeavour to destroy a city, that has not given any the least cause for such treatment at your hands, it must submit to its fate; but honour and duty bid us to reject a proposal unbecoming an independent power; and we are resolved to repel any and every attack, and defend to the utmost the city and our good cause, for which we are ready to lay down our lives.

“PIEMAN,  
Commander-in-chief of his Danish Majesty’s land forces.”

Appendant to General Pieman’s reply, was a proposal to send to his royal master, at Kolding, for his final instructions; but the British commanders did not consider themselves authorised to acquiesce in this proposal.

\* Admiral Gambier’s Despatches, dated Copenhagen-Road, September 7, 1807.



the morning of the 7th, the articles of capitulation, which had been settled during the night of the 6th, were ratified. By these articles the British forces were to be put in immediate possession of the citadel and dock yards; all the ships of war and naval stores of his Danish Majesty were to be delivered up; the prisoners were to be mutually restored; private property was to be respected; the functions of the civil and military officers were to receive no interruption; and within six weeks the citadel was to be restored to his Danish Majesty, in the state in which it was occupied, and the British troops were to have evacuated the island of Zealand. The navy, delivered up in consequence of this agreement, consisted of sixteen ships of the line, fifteen frigates, six brigs, and twenty-five gun-boats, besides vessels on the stocks; in the arsenals were found stores sufficient to fit for sea all this formidable fleet; and all the ships of the line and frigates were laden with the masts, spars, and timber that remained. A considerable part of the stores of this description were put on board the *Leyden* and *Inflexible*; and some of the more valuable articles on board others of his majesty's ships; notwithstanding which there still remained sufficient to load ninety-two transports, and other vessels, chartered for this purpose, and whose cargoes, at least, amounted to twenty thousand tons. The loss sustained by the British, before Copenhagen, did not exceed two hundred men; that of the Danes was much more considerable, it amounted to about two thousand persons; four hundred houses were destroyed, and the venerable edifice of Frederick Kirk was laid in ruins.

In calculating the amount of the gain by this unprecedented operation, England had obviously to set off, first, the expense attending the expedition to Copenhagen, which probably amounted to the prime cost of the captured vessels; second, the implacable animosity of the whole Danish nation against this country, devoting them, with all the resources of Denmark, to the service of Bonaparte; third, the resentment expressed and acted upon by the Emperor of Russia, which cemented, if it did not dictate his alliance with France; and lastly, and above all, the diminution of that high national character, and consequent influence, which Great Britain had hitherto enjoyed among the nations of Europe. It was indeed asserted, in justification of this measure, that "his majesty had received the most positive information of the determination of the present ruler of France to occupy with a military force the territory of Holstein, for the purpose of excluding Great Britain from her accustomed channels of communication with the continent; or inducing or compelling the court of Denmark to

close the passage of the Sound against British commerce and navigation ; and of availing himself of the aid of the Danish marine for the invasion of Great Britain and Ireland ; and further, “ Holstein once occupied, Zealand would be at the mercy of France, and the navy of Denmark at her disposal.”\* The evidence of the positive information here alluded to was never exhibited ; but it was contended, and from high authority, that ministers had no occasion to produce proof of their assertion ; that the facts which justified the seizure of the Danish fleet were public and notorious, and were to be found in the power and animosity of France ; the weakness and hostile disposition of Denmark ; and the importance of her navy towards the success of any plan which the enemy might adopt for the invasion of these realms. These circumstances, it was insisted, made out a case of necessity ; and the measure adopted was one of self-preservation, the first law of nature. To establish these positions, it was necessary to shew the inability of Denmark to resist the seizure of her fleet by France ; and that, even in such case, Great Britain was menaced with a danger so imminent as to justify an attack on a neutral power. On the first of these points, it was affirmed by Earl St. Vincent, one of the best naval authorities in this country, in the presence of Lords Cathcart and Gambier, in the house of peers, and uncontradicted, that it was easier to invade Great Britain from Boulogne, than Zealand from Funen ; and consequently, that “ Holstein once occupied, Zealand was (*not*) at the mercy of France, and the navy of Denmark at her disposal.” On the second, it cannot be seriously stated, that this nation would have been in a state of tremendous and unparalleled peril, although the navy of Bonaparte had been actually augmented by sixteen ships, fifteen frigates, six brigs, and twenty-five gun-boats. When the war was renewed in 1803, the victories of our naval heroes had not completed the destruction of the French marine. France had still a powerful fleet ; and Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark, were united in a confederacy hostile to this country. Yet, did our measures at that time argue pusillanimity, or beget despondency ? Did any man then venture to state to the British nation, that the imminent peril which menaced these realms had rendered obsolete the political code of our ancestors, and that safety could only be found in imitating the violence and atrocity of the enemy ? It ought also to be recollected, that at the time she was required to surrender up her fleet to British protection, Denmark could not consent to the sacri-

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\* British Declaration, dated September 25, 1807.



fice demanded. Her continental possessions were exposed to French invasion; her capital might be laid in ruins by an English fleet; and her foreign possessions were at the mercy of Great Britain. A strict neutrality was therefore a line of conduct imperiously prescribed to the Crown Prince, by the local peculiarities of his territory; and it is a circumstance highly honourable to the people of Great Britain, that no consideration of present advantage, or of permanent security, ever fully reconciled them to an enterprise, by which they conceived the national honour to be tarnished, and felt that their moral sensibilities were outraged. (59.)

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(59.) The momentous events of the last ten years have had the effect of throwing into a partial oblivion one of the most wanton outrages that the powerful ever inflicted upon the weak and unoffending. The author of the invasion of Spain is an exile upon the rock of St. Helena, while those who planned the attack upon Copenhagen still direct the councils of England, and exercise a controlling influence over the rest of Europe. But although the armies of her great antagonist may have given to the cause of England a temporary advantage, yet the best interests of society require that such events should not be suffered to pass away with the ordinary occurrences of history, without some stronger animadversions than the partialities of Mr. Baines for his own country have allowed him to express. What has once happened may happen again, and if the pretext of retaliation be admitted by mankind as a justification of crime, the future wars of the civilized world will be general and destructive beyond those of any former period. By acquiescing in the invasion of Denmark, the monarchs of Europe have torn in pieces the book of international law, and sanctioned a precedent which will never want followers when power and a disposition to injustice are combined. It may be useful, therefore, briefly to recapitulate the principal features of this enterprise, as a memorial of the disposition of the government by which it was undertaken, and because many of the most important facts are omitted or glossed over by Mr Baines.

While the other powers of Europe had taken an active part in the wars which succeeded the French revolution, Denmark alone, under the administration of a wise and honest statesman, preserved a pacific policy, until the aggressions of the British upon her commerce compelled her to become a party to the armed neutrality, which was dissolved by the death of the Emperor Paul in 1801. After the renewal of the war in 1803 between France and England, she observed a strict impartiality, careful to give offence to neither, and studious only to preserve herself from injury by the conflicts of her more powerful neighbours. She suspected no danger, because she had given no offence, and because her comparative weakness could have afforded no cause of alarm to any other nation. From the British government especially, nothing was feared, because in the diplomatic intercourse of the two countries offence was not even hinted at. Suddenly, and without even a whisper of complaint, a British fleet makes its appearance in the Baltic. The ambassador of that nation proposes to the Danish government an alliance offensive and defensive with England, the conditions of which were the surrender of the Danish fleet, and of the fortresses of Cronenburgh and Copenhagen into the hands of the English. To such proposals but one answer could be given. "History," said the Prince Royal, "affords no example of a more wanton outrage than that with which Denmark is menaced. The treachery of the pirates of Barbary loses its

The conduct of the Emperor of Russia, in acceding to the treaty of Tilsit, had tended considerably to relax the bond of union between the courts of London and St. Petersburg; and the long interviews held on the Niemen between the two emperors, the exchanges of imperial insignia at Tilsit, and the ascendancy of Bonaparte's understanding, rendered it far from improbable that Russia might soon join in hostility against England, with which she had so long, but so unsuccessfully co-operated. At length, every doubt on this subject was dissipated; and apprehension was converted into certainty. The season of the year having arrived in which annoyance from Great Britain could not be apprehended, the British ambassador was ordered to leave Petersburg, and on the 31st of October, a declaration of war was issued against England.

In this paper, the emperor regrets the existing alienation of his Britannic Majesty in proportion to the great value which he had placed upon his friendship. Twice had the emperor taken up arms in a cause in which England was peculiarly concerned, but in the accomplishment of her projects he had in vain solicited her co-operation. When peace was re-established with France by Russia, the latter had offered her mediation to England. This had been rejected, unquestionably on a

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enormity when compared with that of the English." When the British envoy added, that his government would make a compensation in money for the value of the fleet, "What compensation," asked the Prince, "can you make for our violated honour?" Immediately after receiving the Danish reply, the British army was debarked to the number of 28,000 men, and the siege of Copenhagen commenced. Against so powerful a force, supported by a numerous fleet, the Danish militia could offer little resistance. After several days bombardment, during which the suburbs of the city were totally destroyed, three hundred houses consumed, and upwards of two thousand lives sacrificed, the city capitulated. Then began a scene of plunder and devastation, to the relation of which it would be difficult to give credit, if the experience of our own wars with the English had not afforded us serious proofs of its probability. Not merely was the greater part of the fleet carried away by the conquerors, but the magazines, which the prudent caution of the Danish government had filled with the munitions of war, were stripped of their contents, and even the tools of the workmen did not escape the rapacity of the British officers. The principal part of what was thus acquired was sent to England, the remainder was committed to the flames in the presence of the unfortunate inhabitants, to whose feelings they might have spared this last indignity. These operations being concluded, the British army retired, after some weeks possession of the town, on the approach of the Prince Royal, with an army of regular troops, whose patriotic indignation they did not choose to meet. Such was the expedition to Copenhagen, from which the rulers of nations ought to derive a solemn warning of the utter inefficacy of the existing laws of nations. The "tyrant's plea, necessity," used by the British government in defence of their conduct on this occasion, will continue to be the pretext of future outrages, and unless some better system of international union can be devised, by which the strong may be subjected to the restraints imposed upon individuals in a state of society, historians will write and moralists declaim in vain.



determination to break off all the existing ties between the two nations. At the moment when it was thus in the power of England to complete that general peace which was so much desired, her fleets and troops were summoned to execute an act of outrage unparalleled in history, and to attack a power which, by its moderate conduct and wise neutrality, maintained a sort of moral dignity amidst surrounding and conflicting monarchies. The Prince Royal of Denmark had communicated all the insidious propositions of England to the emperor, and reposed in him a just confidence. The emperor, touched with the confidence reposed in him, and having considered his own peculiar complaints against England, and his engagements with the powers of the north, had resolved to recall his embassy from England; to terminate all communication with her; to act on the principles of the armed neutrality, and never to recede from them; to procure the restoration of all unjustly detained vessels and merchandise; not to re-establish any communication before complete satisfaction was given to Denmark; and to require of his Britannic Majesty, instead of "suffering his ministers to scatter the seeds of fresh war, to conclude such a treaty with the Emperor of France, as should prolong interminably the invaluable blessings of peace."

To this declaration, an answer was returned by the British government on the 18th of December, in which it was stated,

"That his Britannic Majesty was aware of the nature of those engagements imposed on the Emperor of Russia by the peace of Tilsit, but had hoped that, in a season of reflection, he would have extricated himself from the new councils and connections which had been adopted in a moment of despondency and alarm, and returned to that policy which he had so long professed, and which had conducted so much to the prosperity of his dominions; but the declaration of Russia had disappointed these expectations. With respect to the charge against Great Britain, of having neglected to support the military operations of Russia, it is observed, that the war with the Porte was undertaken by Great Britain at the instigation of Russia, and solely for the purpose of maintaining Russian interests. The offer of mediation by Russia was not declined, but accepted, on conditions in themselves perfectly natural, and which it would have been highly improper to omit. The conditions required by his majesty were—a statement of the basis upon which the enemy was disposed to treat; and a communication of the articles of the treaty of Tilsit; but these conditions had neither of them been fulfilled. With respect to the expedition to Copenhagen, it ill became those who were parties to the secret arrangements at Tilsit to demand satisfaction for a measure to which those arrangements gave rise, and by which one of the objects of them was happily defeated. The requisition of an immediate conclusion of peace with France, was as extraordinary in substance as it was offensive in its manner. His majesty would never admit the pretensions of the Emperor of Russia to dictate the time or the mode of his negotiations with other powers, nor would ever endure that any government should indemnify itself for the humiliation of subserviency to France, by adopting an insolent and peremptory tone towards Great Britain. His majesty," continues the declaration, "proclaims anew those principles of maritime law, against which the armed neutrality was originally directed; and against which the present hostilities of Russia are denounced. Those principles which have been recognised and acted upon in the best periods of the history of Europe, it is the right, and the duty of his majesty to maintain; and against every confederacy, his majesty is determined, under the blessing of divine providence, to maintain them. When the opportunity for peace between Great Britain and Russia shall arrive, his majesty will embrace it with

eagerness. His majesty, as he has nothing to concede, so he has nothing to require : satisfied, if Russia shall manifest a disposition to return to her ancient feelings of friendship towards Great Britain ; to a just consideration of her own true interests ; and to a sense of her own dignity as an independent nation."

One immense power now occupied Europe, arranging and controlling every thing in conformity to its views. The subjugation of Russia to French influence was, on this account, sincerely to be deplored ; nor could it be concealed, that the substitution of her hostility for her alliance, was greatly to be lamented by this country, as adding to the pressure of a situation already full of embarrassment. Amidst the difficulties pressing upon this country, the vast territory of Europe being now subservient to the designs of an enemy, meditating its downfall as the consummation of his policy, there was something calculated to produce inspirations of the noblest heroism. The antipathy of the enemy arose principally from that effectual opposition afforded by England to the universal dominion of his arms ; and the magnitude of the confederation of nations, united willingly or by compulsion against her, was a confession that her prowess and resources were incapable of being subdued but by the most extraordinary means, and implied, indeed, those doubts of success, which never fail to add confidence to the spirit with which aggression is opposed. This impressive, because reluctant compliment from an adversary, was felt at this moment by the British nation in its full force, and all hearts and hands were united to sustain the urgency of the crisis.

The efforts of Bonaparte to exclude English commerce, and to establish his "continental system," were, this year, continued with rigorous perseverance and undiminished pressure. To embarrass the trade and finances of Great Britain, Europe was obliged, in a great degree, to abandon those luxuries which long habit had almost rendered necessary supplies. The restrictions enforced against England were followed on her part by a system of retaliation, which deprived multitudes in France of the means of honest industry, and even of relief under disease and pain. The cotton manufactures languished for want of raw material. Sugars, and various other articles of colonial produce, had attained a price that exceeded by three hundred per cent. their former value ; and rhubarb and bark, the usual palliatives of disease, were scarcely to be procured. Similar distresses, flowing from the same causes, extended to almost all the countries of the continent, which presented a striking picture of privation and patient endurance. At the same time, this country felt with no common pressure the consequences of these restrictions. The regular channels



of communication, through which British manufactures and colonial produce had poured in immense supplies, extending in opposite directions to the remotest points of the continent, were now dried up. Those connivances and elusions which had formerly rendered positive restraints formidable only upon paper, were in a great measure precluded, and the distress in the manufacturing and commercial districts of the kingdom was such as to excite the most poignant regret in the philanthropic observer, who could derive no consolation from the idea that these evils were felt with equal force throughout the greatest part of Europe. The distress of the West India planters, in consequence of the exclusion of their produce from the usual markets, excited particular attention; and to remedy this evil, a committee of the house of commons, appointed to inquire into the most effectual means of affording them relief, recommended a decrease of duty upon colonial produce, an advance of bounty upon its importation, and the interruption of the intercourse carried on by American ships between the colonies of Cuba, Porto Rico, Martinique, and Guadaloupe, through the medium of the United States, to Europe.

The suggestion of the committee relative to the suspension of French and American intercourse, leads to a view of the relative situation of the United States and Great Britain. The spirit of disaffection between the two countries originated in causes that have already been stated and discussed.\* With respect to the practice of searching American vessels for British seamen, incidents were perpetually occurring to keep alive the spirit of exasperation. In the former year, John Pierce, an American seaman, was killed by a shot fired from on board the *Leander*; and in the course of the present year another fatal occurrence took place, which threatened consequences of the most serious nature. A British squadron, under Admiral Berkeley, had been for some time stationed at the entrance to the river Chesapeake; and while the American frigate, the *Chesapeake*, of forty-four guns, was equipping for the Mediterranean, under Commodore Barron, several seamen had deserted from the English ships, and engaged themselves to serve on board the American frigate. Representations of these circumstances having been made to the agents of the American government without effect, an order was in consequence issued by Admiral Berkeley to the captain of the *Leopard* frigate (60.) to cruise off the cape for

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\* Vol. II. Book. III. Chap. IX. p. 501.

(60.) The *Leopard* was rated as a 50 gun ship, and carried probably about 60 guns.

the purpose of intercepting the Chesapeake, after she had passed the limits of the American waters, and examining her for deserters. In compliance with these directions, Captain Humphries sent a boat on board the American frigate on the 23d of June, as she was advancing on her voyage, apprising the commodore that he had deserters on board, and that he had received orders to search for them. The demand of Captain Humphries not being acceded to, he fired several shots, without injuring the American vessel; no attention being paid to these demonstrations, a broadside was poured into the Chesapeake, which she returned with six or seven detached shots, and, on receiving a second broadside, struck her colours. On examination, several deserters were found; and the object of the conflict being accomplished, the Chesapeake, which had suffered a loss of six men killed, and twenty-one wounded, was dismissed in a shattered condition to her port. (61.)

No sooner had intelligence of this distressing event reached the American government, than a proclamation was issued by the president, in which, after stating the hovering of British vessels on the coast, the insubordination of British officers to the laws, their violence towards the persons, and trespasses on the property of the citizens of the United States, while they were enjoying all the means of refitment; the affair of the Chesapeake was noticed as a deed transcending all which the Americans had seen or suffered, and which brought their sensibilities to a crisis, and their forbearance to a pause. Hospitality, in such circumstances, ceased to be a duty; and all armed vessels of Great Britain were ordered immediately to quit the American harbours, and were interdicted entrance into any of the ports of the United States. That a high tone of animation should have been assumed on this occasion, is by no means surprising, nor that interdiction should be considered necessary, in return for an aggression of such violence. The right of searching the ships of war of neutral states, though formerly claimed by the British government, had been tacitly abandoned, and its exercise had latterly made no part of the instructions of British officers. With respect to the abstract question of such a right, if it attached to Great Britain, it might be presumed equally to belong to America; and unless right was to be regulated by power, this reciprocity was indispensable. On the arrival of the first intelligence of the unfortunate affair of the Chesapeake in England, considerable

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(61.) Four seamen were taken out of the Chesapeake, all of whom were afterwards proved to be American citizens, who had been impressed into the British service, and had subsequently deserted from it. The loss on board the Chesapeake is incorrectly stated. Three only were killed, and seventeen wounded.



surprise and regret were universally expressed ; and ministers hesitated not to declare in parliament, their readiness to make every reparation, for whatever might appear, on full and accurate information, an unauthorised act of hostility. In pursuance of this disposition, Admiral Berkeley was, not long after, recalled from the American station ;(62.) and in a proclamation issued for recalling British seamen, it was stated, that force might, if necessary, be exercised for the recovering of deserters on board the merchant vessels of neutrals, but that, with respect to ships of war, a requisition only should be made to deliver up deserters ; and on their refusal, information was to be given to the British ministers at the neutral courts, or to the British government at home. By this proclamation, the conduct of Admiral Berkeley was tacitly disavowed, and Mr. Rose, the son of the treasurer of the navy, was soon after despatched on a special mission to America with overtures of conciliation.

Had the dispute between the two countries been confined to the question of impressing seamen, it is probable that an accommodation would have taken place ; but it involved also the rights of American commerce. Ever since the breaking out of the present war, America had been made the medium of commerce between the colonies of France and the mother country. This trade, which now began to be considered as a species of war in disguise, was eminently advantageous to both countries, and some idea may be formed of its extent, when it is known, that in one year forty-five thousand hogsheads of sugar were introduced, in American bottoms, into the single port of Amsterdam. To terminate this connection appeared an important object of policy with Great Britain ; but the case involved questions of great delicacy, and demanded deep consideration. The inevitable consequences of a war with America would be to cut off one of the most extensive and beneficial sources of British commerce. The exports of British manufactures to that country were immense, and the growing population, and consequently increasing consumption, would every year enlarge its demand upon English industry and ingenuity. The enterprise of the Trans-Atlantic merchants was perpetually enlarging their connections with distant markets, already opened to them, or discovering others still more remote, to which they conveyed the merchandise of Great Britain, pouring in return into her lap, both the price of the commodity and the profits of the voyage. All these ad-

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(62.) Admiral Berkeley was, like Captain Whitby, only recalled to be promoted and appointed to another station.

vantages would not merely be put to hazard, but in many cases absolutely destroyed, by an appeal to arms.\* The ba-

\* AMERICAN COMMERCE.

RETURN of the average IMPORTS of America, for the three years 1802, 1803, 1804,

(From a Report made to Congress in 1806.)

Imports from the Dominions of Great Britain, - -	18,093,000
from Holland, France, Spain, and Italy, - - -	5,731,000
from Northern Powers, Prussia, Germany, and Portugal, - - - - -	1,845,000
from China, and other native powers of Asia, -	1,093,000
from all other Countries, - - - - -	188,000

Total amount of Imports, 21,695,000

Of the annexed Imports, Manufactured Goods of Cotton, Wool, Silk, Leather, Glass, Iron, Paper, &c. constitute about 19,000,000, and come from the following countries:—

The Dominions of Great Britain, - - - -	16,845,000
Russia, - - - - -	280,000
Germany, Sweden, and Denmark, - - - -	550,000
Holland, - - - - -	255,000
France, - - - - -	275,000
Spain, Portugal, and Italy, - - - - -	270,000
China, - - - - -	525,000
	<u>19,000,000</u>

EXPORTS from America, on an average of the same years.

(Collected from the same authority.)

Exported in domestic produce, - - - -	19,000,000
in foreign produce re-exported, - - - -	6,400,000

Total amount of Exports, 25,400,000

American Imports from Great Britain and her Dependencies, 18,093,000	
Exports to them, - - - - -	5,200,000

Leaving a balance in our favour of 12,893,000

The Exports of America are distributed in the following manner:

To the Dominions of Great Britain, - - - -	15,200,000
Viz. In Europe, - - - - -	13,525,000
Asia, - - - - -	29,000
The West Indies, - - - - -	1,458,000
North America, - - - - -	188,000
To the Dominions of all the other Powers, - - - -	10,200,000
	<u>25,400,000</u>

Thus it appears, that the value of the importations from the dominions of Great Britain, are equal to that from all the countries of Europe and their colonies together; and notwithstanding European manufactured articles are admitted from all countries at the same rate of duties,



lance of property also, due from America to England, amounted, at this time, to at least eight millions sterling; and the mere suspension of the payment of this sum, would involve incalculable distresses. The calamity to which the West India islands themselves might be exposed, from a measure intended chiefly for their relief, was also an important consideration, as American hostility would certainly inflict on these colonies new and most formidable evils, by precluding those supplies of articles of the first necessity, which seemed incapable of being procured from any other quarter. The possible advantage of America, as a source of supply for timber and warlike stores, when the ports of the Baltic were likely to be shut against us, and even as a granary to Great Britain herself, was not to be overlooked. Considerations of this nature must, undoubtedly, have weighed with Mr. Pitt, to prevent the adoption of hostile measures against America; and his immediate successors in office were influenced by similar reasonings; even the publication of the Berlin decree, for blockading the British Islands, could not prevail upon them to break off this circuitous connection between France and her colonies, and thus expose England to the perils of a rupture with America: but, on the 7th of January, 1807, an order of council was issued, which prevented neutral vessels from trading from any port in the possession, or under the control of the enemy. By this edict, the neutral trade, direct from neutral nations to the enemy's ports, received no molestation, though the neutral trade from one port of the enemy to another was prohibited. Although this order in council could be no matter of astonishment in America, after the promulgation of Bonaparte's decree, yet it was received with the most animated indignation. It was alleged that, as the British government was at war with nearly every nation on the Atlantic and Mediterranean Seas, American vessels were now required to sacrifice their cargoes, in the first port they touched at, or to return home without going to any other market; and that, under this new law of the ocean, the American trade must be swept away by seizure and confiscation.\* But if the measures adopted by the late ministry called down the animadversions

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and although the balance of trade is in favour of America with the continent, and against her with Great Britain, yet, that in the years referred to in these returns, which may be considered as a fair criterion of the state of the trade in general, France did not furnish one twenty-fourth part, and all Europe collectively not one fourth part, of the amount imported from this country.

\* This was a misconception of the Order in Council of the 7th of January; American vessels might still proceed from one enemy's port to

of the American government, the system of vigorous retaliation against France, and of consequent pressure upon the trade of neutrals, determined upon by the new ministry, was still less favourable to the hope of speedy accommodation. On the 11th of November, 1807, additional orders in council were issued by the court of St. James's, by which every port of every country from which Great Britain was excluded, was declared to be in a state of blockade. All trade in the produce and manufactures of these countries was pronounced illegal, and the vessels employed in such trade were liable to seizure. The documents granted by French agents in neutral ports, certifying that the cargoes were not of British produce or manufacture, were no longer to be allowed, and all neutral vessels in possession of them were to be seized wherever met with. Thus was the trade along the coasts of France and of her allies, in neutral vessels, completely prohibited; and though the Americans might still freely trade with the enemy's colonies, for articles of their own consumption, the double restriction was imposed upon the intercourse by them between France and her colonies, of calling at a British port and paying a British duty. The object of these restrictions was, to burthen the enemy's produce with charges which would make it cost more than the same commodities imported into the continent by Great Britain, and thereby to afford relief to the West India merchants and planters.

What effect these edicts would produce in America, became immediately an interesting subject of consideration; and in the high wrought resentment of that country against England, owing to the difficulties she had already thrown in the way of her commerce, and the recent indignity offered to her flag, it was imagined that the government would immediately decide on open hostility. The republicans, however, well aware of the ruinous consequences of war, determined on a middle course; and in order to avoid the losses and hostilities which were to be apprehended from the measures respectively adopted by England and France, congress, on the 22d of De-

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another, provided they had not come to entry or broken bulk.† And Lord Howick, in an official note, dated the 17th of March, 1807, and addressed to Mr. Rist, the Danish minister, says, "It is not our intention that our orders should affect the general trade of neutrals; but only prevent the coasting trade of France and her dependencies, from being carried on by neutrals, as that species of trade is such as properly belongs to France herself, and to which neutrals are to be considered as lending themselves unfairly."

† Explanation given by the King's Advocate.



cember, resolved to lay a strict embargo on all the vessels of the United States. By this act, their own vessels were prohibited from departing from any of their ports ; and ships from all other nations were commanded to quit the American harbours, with or without cargoes, as soon as the act was notified to them. With respect to the effects flowing from the embargo law towards England and France, there could be no doubt but both of them must suffer heavy loss and extreme inconvenience ; yet, as the former carried on a much more extensive commercial connection with America than the latter, the pressure upon the merchants of Great Britain would be infinitely more severe. The first impression made by the intelligence of the embargo in this country, was a general feeling of alarm among commercial men ; and the merchants of Liverpool, aware that this act of congress proceeded from our orders in council, petitioned for their speedy removal ; but parliament did not think proper to comply with their requests.\*

Bonaparte, well aware that all restrictions upon commerce would, from the situation and pursuits of England, fall upon this country with a much heavier pressure than upon France, felt no disposition to relax in this new species of warfare ; and accordingly, on the 23d of November, a decree was issued from Milan, enacting "that all vessels which, after having touched at England, from any nation whatever, shall enter the ports of France, shall be seized and confiscated, as well as their cargoes, without exception or distinction of commodities or merchandise." This interdict was, on the 19th of the following month, followed by a rejoinder to the orders in council of the 11th of November, by which it was declared, that every neutral which submitted to be searched by an English ship, or paid any duty whatsoever to the English government, should be considered as thereby *denationalized*, and having forfeited the protection of its own government, should in consequence be liable to seizure as a lawful prize by French ships of war. Neutral powers were thus placed between confiscation and confiscation. If they proceeded to a French port, without first paying a duty upon their cargoes in England, they were liable to be captured by British cruisers ; and if they came to England and paid the duty, they then became

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\* The average trade of the town of Liverpool, from the year 1797 to 1807, amounted to £10,000,000 annually ; and in the year 1807, the amount of the trade with America exceeded half the whole amount of the trade of that port. §

§ General Gascoigne's Speech in the House of Commons on the Orders in Council, March 3d, 1808.

subject to confiscation in the ports of the enemy. The case was one of extreme hardship ; and in this country, where war had not obliterated all sense of moral obligation, and where a spirit of hostility had not entirely silenced the voice of discretion, the justice and the policy of the orders in council underwent a severe scrutiny, and called forth the most animated discussions.\*

\* ANTI-COMMERCIAL DECREES AND ORDERS IN COUNCIL.  
FRENCH.

BERLIN DECREE.

*" From our Imperial Camp at Berlin, Nov. 21st, 1806.*

" NAPOLEON, Emperor of the French, and King of Italy.

" Considering, 1. That England has ceased to observe the law of nations, recognized by all civilized states. 2. That she considers every individual as an enemy who belongs to an hostile state, and consequently makes prisoners, not merely the crews of ships of war, but also the crews of merchant vessels, and even the members of commercial factories, and persons connected with commerce, where employed in their mercantile affairs. 3. That she extends the rights of conquest to the cargo and commodities, and to the property of individuals ; which right of conquest, however, ought only to be applicable to that which belongs to the hostile state. 4. That she extends her right of blockade to places not fortified, and to commercial ports, in bays, and the mouths of navigable rivers ; which blockade, according to the principles and practice of all civilized nations, is applicable only to fortified places. That she considers a place in a state of blockade before which she has not even a single ship of war, although a place can only be considered as blockaded when it is so circumscribed in its communication that it is impossible to approach it without visible danger. That she even declares places in a state of blockade which, with their whole united strength, she would be unable effectually to blockade ; for instance, whole coasts and whole kingdoms. 5. That this monstrous abuse of the right of blockade has no other object but to impede the communication between nations, and to aggrandize the commerce and industry of England by the ruins of the commerce and industry of the continent. 6. That as this is the object of England, all those who carry on traffic in English commodities upon the continent, by doing so, second her views and render themselves her accomplices. 7. That this conduct of England, which is altogether worthy of the age of barbarism, has become advantageous to that power to the prejudice of every other. 8. That it is a right conferred by nature to oppose to an enemy the weapons he employs against you, and to fight against him in the same manner in which he attacks, and that this principle is recognized by all ideas of justice and by all liberal sentiments, the result of that civilization by which societies are distinguished.

" We therefore determine to employ against England those principles which she has adopted in her maritime code. The consequence of the present decree shall be considered as fixed fundamental laws of the empire, so long as England refuses to acknowledge one and the same law as applicable both to sea and land, till she ceases to consider private property, be it what it may, a good prize—till she ceases to extend to the persons of individuals who are not engaged in military operations the principles by which she at present treats them as prisoners of war—and until she shall apply the rights of blockade only to those places which



By the advocates for these interdicts it was urged, that previously to the publication of the British orders in council, France enjoyed, by the assistance of neutrals, as many advantages of trade as were possessed by England with her triumphant navy. That navy, indeed, as far as trade was concerned, was neutralized and rendered useless, by neutral ships carrying

she has a force fully adequate to cut off from communication. We have therefore decreed and do decree as follows:—

Article I. “The British islands are declared to be in a state of blockade.

II. “All commerce and all correspondence with the British isles are prohibited.

III. “The letters or packets which are addressed to England, or to Englishmen, or which are written in the English language, shall not be forwarded by the posts, and shall be taken away.

IV. “Every individual who is an English subject, of whatever condition he be, who is found in the countries occupied by our troops or those of our allies, shall be made prisoner of war.

V. “Every magazine, every commodity, every article of property, of whatever sort, which belongs to an English subject, shall be declared good prize.

VI. “The trade in English commodities is prohibited, and every article which belongs to England, or is the produce of her manufactures and colonies, is declared good prize.

VII. “The half of the proceeds of the confiscation of the articles, property, and goods, declared good prize by the preceding article, will be employed to indemnify the merchants for the losses which they suffer by the capture of trading vessels seized by the English cruisers.

VIII. “No ship which comes direct from England, or the English colonies, or has been there after the publication of the present decree, shall be admitted into any harbour.

IX. “Every ship which trades with a false declaration, in contravention of the above principles, shall be seized, and the ship and cargo confiscated as if they were English property.

X. “Our prize court at Paris is invested with power definitively to settle all disputes which may arise in our empire, or in the countries occupied by the French armies, in regard to the execution of the present decree. Moreover, our prize court at Milan is invested with full power finally to decide all disputes which may arise within the dominions of our kingdom of Italy.

XI. “The present decree shall be communicated to the Kings of Spain, of Naples, of Holland, and Etruria, and our other allies, whose subjects, as well as our own, have been the victims of the injustice and barbarity of the English maritime code.

XII. “Our ministers of foreign affairs of war, of marine, of finance, of police, and our post-masters general, each of them, in as far as concerns his department, is intrusted with the execution of the decree.

(Signed)

“NAPOLEON.”

Subsequent to the publication of the above interdict, and in aid of its provisions, it was decreed, “That all neutral vessels coming into any port in France, or her dependencies, should bring with them a ‘*certificate of origin* ;’ being a declaration, under the hand of the French Consul at the place of shipment, that the cargo was not of British produce or manufacture ; and that all vessels met at sea without such certificate should be liable to capture.”

to France, Spain, and Holland, the produce of their colonies, and all that it was important for them to obtain from distant

### ENGLISH.

#### ORDER IN COUNCIL.

At the Court at the Queen's Palace, January 7th, 1807; Present, the King's most excellent Majesty, in Council.

"Whereas the French government has issued certain orders, which, in violation of the usages of war, purport to prohibit the commerce of all neutral nations with his majesty's dominions, and also to prevent such nations from trading with any other country, in any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of his majesty's dominions: and whereas the said government has also taken upon itself to declare all his majesty's dominions to be in a state of blockade, at a time when the fleets of France and her allies are themselves confined within their own ports by the superior valour and discipline of the British navy: and whereas such attempts on the part of the enemy would give to his majesty an unquestionable right of retaliation, and would warrant his majesty in enforcing the same prohibition of all commerce with France, which that power vainly hopes to effect against the commerce of his majesty's subjects; a prohibition which the superiority of his majesty's naval forces might enable him to support, by actually investing the ports and coasts of the enemy with numerous squadrons and cruisers, so as to make the entrance or approach thereto manifestly dangerous; and whereas his majesty, though unwilling to follow the example of his enemies, by proceeding to an extremity so distressing to all nations not engaged in the war, and carrying on their accustomed trade, yet feels himself bound, by a due regard to the just defence of the rights and interests of his people, not to suffer such measures to be taken by the enemy, without taking some steps on his part to restrain this violence, and to retort upon them the evils of their own injustice; his majesty is thereupon pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that no vessel shall be permitted to trade from one port to another, both which ports shall belong to or be in the possession of France or her allies, or shall be so far under their control, as that British vessels may not freely trade thereat: and the commanders of his majesty's ships of war and privateers shall be and are hereby instructed to warn every neutral vessel coming from any such port, and destined to another such port, to discontinue her voyage, and not to proceed to any such port; and any vessel after being so warned, or any vessel coming from any such port, after a reasonable time shall have been afforded for receiving information of this his majesty's order, which shall be found proceeding to another such port, shall be captured and brought in, and, together with her cargo, shall be condemned as lawful prize: and his majesty's principal secretaries of state, the lords commissioners of the admiralty, and the judges of the high court of admiralty, and courts of vice-admiralty, are to take the necessary measures herein as to them shall respectively appertain.

(Signed) "WM. FAWKENER."

#### ORDER IN COUNCIL.

At the Court at the Queen's Palace, November 11th, 1807; Present, the King's most excellent Majesty, in Council.

"Whereas certain orders, establishing an unprecedented system of warfare against this kingdom, and aimed especially at the destruction of its commerce and resources, were some time since issued by the government of France, by which 'the British Islands were declared to be



regions.\* This had long been the case, and it became a matter of grave deliberation, whether we ought not, even before

in a state of blockade,' thereby subjecting to capture and condemnation all vessels, with their cargoes, which should continue to trade with his majesty's dominions:—And whereas, by the same orders, 'all trading in English merchandise is prohibited; and every article of merchandise belonging to England, or coming from her colonies, or of her manufacture, is declared lawful prize:—And whereas the nations in alliance with France, and under her control, were required to give, and have given, and do give, effect to such orders:—And whereas his majesty's order of the 7th of January last has not answered the desired purpose, either of compelling the enemy to recall those orders, or of inducing neutral nations to interpose with effect, to obtain their revocation; but, on the contrary, the same have been recently enforced with increased vigour:—And whereas his majesty, under these circumstances, finds himself compelled to take further measures for asserting and vindicating his just rights, and for supporting that maritime power which the exertions and the valour of his people have, under the blessing of Providence, enabled him to establish and maintain; and the maintenance of which is not more essential to the safety and prosperity of his majesty's dominions, than it is to the protection of such states as still retain their independence, and to the general intercourse and happiness of mankind:—His majesty is therefore pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that all the ports and places of France and her allies, or of any other country at war with his majesty, and all other ports or places in Europe, from which, although not at war with his majesty, the British flag is excluded, and all ports or places in the colonies belonging to his majesty's enemies, shall from henceforth be subject to the same restrictions, in point of trade and navigation, with the exceptions herein after mentioned, as if the same were actually blockaded by his majesty's naval forces, in the most strict and rigorous manner: and it is hereby further ordered and declared, that all trade in articles which are of the produce or manufacture of the said countries or colonies, shall be deemed and considered to be unlawful; and that every vessel trading from or to the said countries or colonies, together with all goods and merchandise on board, and all articles of the produce or manufacture of the said countries or colonies, shall be captured and condemned as prize to the captors.—But although his majesty would be fully justified, by the circumstances and considerations above recited, in establishing such system of restrictions, with respect to all the countries and colonies of his enemies, without exception or qualification; yet his majesty being nevertheless desirous not to subject neutrals to any greater inconvenience than is absolutely inseparable from the carrying into effect his majesty's just determination to counteract the designs of his enemies, and to retort upon his enemies themselves the consequences of their own violence and injustice; and being yet willing to hope that it may be possible (consistently with that object) still to allow to neutrals the opportunity of furnishing themselves with colonial produce for their own consumption and supply; and even to leave open, for the present, such trade with his majesty's enemies as shall be carried on directly with the ports of his majesty's dominions, or of his allies, in the manner hereinafter mentioned:—

“His majesty is therefore pleased further to order, and it is hereby ordered, that nothing herein contained shall extend to subject to capture or condemnation any vessel, or the cargo of any vessel, belonging to any country not declared by this order to be subjected to the restrictions

\* War in Disguise.

the promulgation of the Berlin decree, to have resorted to the rule of the war of 1756—which declared, that a neutral had

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incident to a state of blockade, which shall have cleared out with such cargo from some port or place of the country to which she belongs, either in Europe or America, or from some free port in his majesty's colonies, under circumstances in which such trade from such free port is permitted, direct to some port or place in the colonies of his majesty's enemies, or from those colonies direct to the country to which such vessel belongs, or to some free port in his majesty's colonies, in such cases, and with such articles, as it may be unlawful to import into such free port;—nor to any vessel, or the cargo of any vessel, belonging to any country not at war with his majesty, which shall have cleared out from some port or place in this kingdom, or from Gibraltar or Malta, under such regulations as his majesty may think fit to prescribe, or from any port belonging to his majesty's allies, and shall be proceeding direct to the port specified in her clearance;—nor to any vessel, or the cargo of any vessel, belonging to any country not at war with his majesty, which shall be coming from any port or place in Europe which is declared by this order to be subject to the restrictions incident to a state of blockade, destined to some port or place in Europe belonging to his majesty, and which shall be on her voyage direct thereto: but these exceptions are not to be understood as exempting from capture or confiscation any vessel or goods which shall be liable thereto in respect of having entered or departed from any port or place actually blockaded by his majesty's squadrons or ships of war, or for being enemies' property, or for any other cause than the contravention of this present order.

“And the commanders of his majesty's ships of war and privateers, and other vessels acting under his majesty's commission, shall be, and are hereby instructed to warn every vessel which shall have commenced her voyage prior to any notice of this order, and shall be destined to any port of France, or of her allies, or of any other country at war with his majesty, or to any port or place from which the British flag as aforesaid is excluded, or to any colony belonging to his majesty's enemies, and which shall not have cleared out as is herein before allowed, to discontinue her voyage, and to proceed to some port or place in this kingdom, or to Gibraltar or Malta; and any vessel which, after having been so warned, or after a reasonable time shall have been afforded for the arrival of information of this his majesty's order at any port or place from which she sailed, or which, after having notice of this order, shall be found in the prosecution of any voyage contrary to the restrictions contained in this order, shall be captured, and, together with her cargo, condemned as lawful prize to the captors.—

“And whereas countries, not engaged in the war, have acquiesced in the orders of France, prohibiting all trade in any articles the produce or manufacture of his majesty's dominions; and the merchants of those countries have given countenance and effect to those prohibitions, by accepting from persons styling themselves commercial agents of the enemy, resident at neutral ports, certain documents, termed ‘Certificates of Origin,’ being certificates obtained at the ports of shipment, declaring that the articles of the cargo, are not of the produce or manufacture of his majesty's dominions; or to that effect:—And whereas this expedient has been directed by France, and submitted to by such merchants, as part of the new system of warfare directed against the trade of this kingdom, and as the most effectual instrument of accomplishing the same, and it is therefore essentially necessary to resist it:—His majesty is therefore pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, That if any vessel, after reasonable time



no right to carry on, in time of war, a trade prohibited to him in time of peace. It was well known that French houses were

shall have been afforded for receiving notice of this his majesty's order at the port or place from which such vessel shall have cleared out, shall be found carrying any such certificate or document as aforesaid, or any document referring to or authenticating the same, such vessel shall be adjudged lawful prize to the captor, together with the goods laden therein, belonging to the person or persons by whom, or on whose behalf, any such document was put on board.—And the right honourable the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, his majesty's principal secretaries of state, the lords commissioners of the admiralty, and the judges of the high court of admiralty and courts of vice-admiralty are to take the necessary measures herein as to them shall respectively appertain.

(Signed) "WM. FAWKENER."

Two other Orders in Council were issued on the 11th of November, 1807, by the former of which the future sale and transfer of enemies' vessels to the subjects of a neutral country, was declared invalid; and by the latter, the goods of those countries from which the British flag was excluded were allowed to be imported by neutrals into England.

The following analysis of the Orders in Council was given by the English Board of Trade to the American Merchants:—

"All trade directly from America to every port and country of Europe at war with Great Britain, or from which the British flag is excluded, is totally prohibited. The trade from America to the colonies of all nations, remain unaltered by the present orders. America may export the produce of her own country, but that of no other, directly to Sweden. With the above exception, all articles, whether of domestic or colonial produce, exported by America to Europe, must be landed in England, and can be only re-exported on payment of certain duties to the British government—with an exception in favour of such articles as are actually the produce of the United States, (cotton excepted.) Any vessel, the cargo whereof shall be accompanied with certificates of French Consuls abroad of its origin (called certificates of origin) shall, together with the cargo, be liable to seizure and condemnation.

*§ These Orders speak of neutrals generally, but as all the maritime powers of Europe (Sweden excepted) were, at the time they were promulgated, at war with England, they were in effect applicable only to America.*

[One of the most striking features of the Wars of the French Revolution, is to be found in the code of commercial interdiction, contained in the French Decrees and the British Orders in Council, and in order that a clear and comprehensive view may be taken of the nature of a species of warfare—so oppressive towards the subjects of belligerent states, and so unjust towards neutrals, the above documents are given entire.]

### FRENCH.

#### MILAN DECREE—FIRST.

"*Milan, November 23d, 1807.*

"NAPOLEON, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine.

"Upon the report of our minister of the finances, we have decreed. and do decree as follows:—

established in America, to facilitate the trade with her colonies, and it was from these houses that the late groundless

I. "All vessels which, after having touched at England, from any motive whatever, shall enter the ports of France, shall be seized and confiscated, as well as their cargoes, without exception or distinction of commodities or merchandise.

II. "The captains of vessels who shall enter the ports of France, shall, on the day of their arrival, proceed to the office of the imperial customs, and there make a declaration of the place from which they sailed, of the ports they have put into, and exhibit their manifests, bills of lading, sea papers, and log-books. When the captain shall have signed and delivered his declaration, and communicated his papers, the head officer of the customs shall interrogate the sailors separately, in the presence of two overseers. If it results from this examination that the vessel has touched at England, independent of the seizure and confiscation of the said ship and cargo, the captain, as well as those sailors, who upon examinations, shall have made a false declaration, shall be deemed prisoners, and shall not be set at liberty until having paid the sum of 60,000 franks, as a personal penalty for the captain, and 500 franks for each of the sailors so arrested, over and above the pains incurred by those who falsify their papers and log-books.

III. "If advice or information communicated to the directors of our customs give rise to any suspicions as to the origin of the cargoes, they shall be provisionally warehoused until it is ascertained and decided that they do not come from England or her colonies.

IV. "Our commissaries for commercial relations, who deliver certificates of origin for merchandise laden in the ports of their residence destined for that of France, shall not confine themselves to an attestation that the merchandise or commodities do not come from England, or her colonies, or commerce; they shall indicate the place of origin, the documents which have been laid before them in support of the declaration which has been made to them, and the name of the ship on board of which they have been primarily transported from the place of origin into that of their residence.

(Signed)

"NAPOLEON."

MILAN DECEEE—SECOND.

*Milan, December 17th, 1807.*

"NAPOLEON, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine.

"Observing the measures adopted by the British government, on the 11th of November last, by which vessels belonging to neutral, friendly, or even powers the allies of England, are made liable, not only to be searched by English cruisers, but to be compulsorily detained in England, and to have a tax laid on them of so much per cent. on the cargo, to be regulated by the British legislature—Observing that by these acts the British government denationalizes ships of every nation in Europe, that it is not competent for any government to detract from its own independence and rights, all the sovereigns of Europe having in trust the sovereignties and independence of the flag; and if, by an unpardonable weakness, and which, in the eyes of posterity, would be an indelible stain, such a tyranny were allowed to be established into principles, and consecrated by usage, the English would avail themselves of it to assert it as a right, as they have availed themselves of the tolerance of governments to establish the infamous principle, that the flag of a nation does not cover goods, and to give to their right of blockade an arbitrary ex-



outcry against Great Britain proceeded : It was also ascertained that the import trade of America amounted annually to one hundred and four millions of dollars, seven millions of which were gained by France.\* As to the justice of our orders in council, America, as a neutral, must be well aware that they were merely retaliatory, provoked by the decrees of the enemy, and carrying within them their own justification.† Now that the peace of Tilsit had established the influence of France on the continent, the prohibition of British trade would be uni-

tension, and which infringes on the sovereignty of every state ; we have decreed and do decree as follows :—

I. “ Every ship, to whatever nation it may belong, that shall have submitted to be searched by an English ship, or to a voyage to England, or that shall have paid any tax whatsoever to the English government, is thereby, and for that alone, declared to be denationalized, to have forfeited the protection of its king, and to have become English property.

II. “ Whether the ships thus denationalized by the arbitrary measures of the English government, enter into our ports, or those of our allies, or whether they fall into the hands of our ships of war, or of our privateers, they are declared to be good and lawful prizes.

III. “ The British islands are declared to be in a state of blockade, both by land and sea. Every ship, of whatever nation, or whatsoever the nature of its cargo so may be, that sails from the ports of England, or those of the English colonies, and of the countries occupied by English troops, and proceeding to England, or to the English colonies, or to the countries occupied by English troops, is good and lawful prize, as contrary to the present decree ; and may be captured by our ships of war or our privateers, and adjudged to the captor.

IV. “ These measures, which are resorted to only in just retaliation of the barbarous system adopted by England, which assimilates its legislation to that of Algiers, shall cease to have any effect with respect to all nations who shall have the firmness to compel the English government to respect their flag. They shall continue to be rigorously in force as long as that government does not return to the principle of the law of nations, which regulates the relations of civilized states in a state of war. The provisions of the present decree shall be abrogated and null, in fact, as soon as the English abide again by the principles of the law of nations, which are also the principles of justice and honour.—All our ministers are charged with the execution of the present decree, which shall be inserted in the Bulletin of the Laws.

(Signed)

“ NAPOLEON.”

Another decree, dated at Paris, on the 11th of January, 1808, directs, “ That when a vessel shall enter into a French port, or in that of any country occupied by the French armies, any man of the crew, or any passenger, who shall declare to the principal of the custom house, that the said ship came from England, or her colonies, or from any country occupied by English troops, or that it has been visited by an English vessel, shall, on proof of his declaration, receive a third part of the produce of the net sale of the ship and cargo.” And “ any functionary or agent of the government, who shall be convicted of having favoured the contravention of the Milan Decrees of the 23d of November and the 17th of December, 1807, shall be adjudged guilty of high treason.”

\* Earl Bathurst.

† Lord Hawkesbury.

versally enforced ; and unless some principles of retaliation were adopted on our part, England would be compelled to submit to such terms of peace as France might be disposed to dictate ; but if, by our retaliation, France should be deprived of many of the articles of daily consumption, the subjects of that country would, in a little time, be forced to become the violators of the prohibitions of their own government. It was the anxious wish of his majesty's government to preserve peace with America ; her prosperity was the prosperity of Great Britain.\* But it must be recollected, that in all engagements, expressed or implied, between belligerents and neutrals, there were neutral duties, as well as neutral rights, and that belligerents had direct obligations towards themselves, as well as collateral obligations towards their neighbours. If a neutral power allowed its territory to be violated by one belligerent, it was bound to allow an equal latitude to an opposite belligerent. The same principle held at sea, and if America submitted to the intervention of France, a similar intervention should be permitted to England.† When the French Directory, in 1798, published a decree similar to the edict lately issued at Berlin, it was immediately denounced in the congress by the American President, as a violation of the rights and independence of the American states, but on the present occasion the president had taken no such step, though it was a well ascertained fact, that an American vessel had been captured under the operation of the Berlin decree. There was no contract without a reciprocal obligation, and if neutrals did not oblige France to adhere to the law of nations, they could not complain of England if her adherence to that law was less strict than usual. The orders in council only declared the ports of France and her allies to be in a state of blockade, and their produce contraband of war ; and France had done the same by this country. The French certificates of origin, by prohibiting neutrals from carrying British goods, violated the law of nations, and neutrals, by thus admitting France to legislate for them, had made themselves the instruments of France against Great Britain.‡ As to the policy of the orders in council, we must use the same weapons against France that she wielded against this country : and the nation must not perish because the measures which were necessary for its preservation, might press upon neutral commerce, which Bonaparte had not hesitated to violate.§ The orders

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\* Mr. Rose and Lord Castlereagh.

† Sir John Nicholl, the Advocate-general.

‡ Sir William Scott.

§ The Lord Chancellor.



in council, though not intended as a measure of finance, would levy a contribution upon the enemy, and since the continent must have colonial produce, it was a wise and politic measure, to oblige them to receive it only through our ports, at the price we might think proper to fix upon it. The question was now reduced to this—are we to be conquered by France or not? Bonaparte had essayed his military warfare against us ineffectually, and was now to try the success of a commercial warfare.

Such were the arguments by which the orders in council were supported, and such the views of those who put this new engine of hostility in motion. It was on the other hand contended, that these measures of retaliation were neither just nor expedient—just towards neutrals, nor expedient as regarded the true interests of this country. The first feature of this war on trade went nearly to annihilate the commerce of neutrals, and the inevitable tendency of the second must be to circumscribe our own. The defence offered for this measure was, that our blockade was but a retaliation of that which had been imposed by the enemy; and that neutrals having submitted to the one, had no right to complain of the other. In assuming that America had acquiesced in the orders of France, and submitted to this new system of war, a fact was taken for granted that had no existence. General Armstrong, the American minister at Paris, on the appearance of the Berlin decree, felt it his duty to call for an explanation of that document; in answer to which inquiry he was informed by M. Decres, the French minister of marine and of the colonies, under date of the 24th of December, 1806, “That an American vessel cannot be taken at sea from the mere reason that she is going to or coming from a port of England,” and “that the imperial decree lately passed was not to affect American commerce, which would still be governed by the rules of the treaty established between France and America.” The fact, however, which seemed to set at rest the question of the execution of the Berlin decree, previous to the issuing of our orders in council, was this, that so late as the 18th of October, 1807, Messrs. Monroe and Pinkney, the American residents in London, communicated to the English secretary of state the construction which France had given to that decree, and officially assured him that the practice had been in conformity to that construction. Nor was this all, the matter did not rest on the authority of public papers, or assertions, or admissions, on one side or on the other. It was ascertained, by facts public and notorious, and by evidence laid before the legislature; and so far was America from acquiescing in this order of

blockade, that she did not limit or disguise her trade with this country, but up to the very date of our orders in council of November 11, 1807, she went on from day to day increasing that trade in the sight of the whole world. Instead of acquiescing in the order of blockade, it was manifest that America utterly disregarded it. It was equally certain that France never resented this resistance of her order by America, and that her last solemn and boastful decrees, as far as they respected neutrals, fell into the same neglect as those that had gone before them. All this time, neutral vessels were publicly and regularly chartered on voyages from this country to the continent of Europe; the price of articles of our colonial produce and home manufacture continued unaltered in the continental markets; and the rate of insurance on such voyages did not experience the least advance in consequence of the Berlin decree, but remained precisely at the point where it had stood formerly, till our orders in council raised it so high as to put an end to the trade altogether.\* These observations apply to the justice of the orders in council: as to their policy or expediency, it has already been stated, that, on an average of the three years preceding 1805, the United States had imported annually from Great Britain and her dependencies to the value of upwards of eight millions sterling, while their exports to Great Britain scarcely exceeded five millions for each of those years. For the three years next after 1804, the average exported to America was upwards of ten millions, and not more than four millions and a half was received in our ports from that country. And the inevitable effect of the orders in council would be to reduce our American trade from ten millions annually to something a little above four. The degree of misery and impoverishment produced by throwing two-thirds of the articles destined for exportation to the United States back on the hands of thousands, and turning out of employment the capital and the workmen occupied in providing them, may be conceived by those who are aware of the delicate balance on which commercial prosperity is suspended. The risk of permanently losing the market of America, by a temporary suspension of our trade with that country, and the possibility, not to say probability, of involving the two countries in a state of actual war, were considerations that pressed heavy on the minds of the British merchant and manufacturer; while the politician was well aware that the enemy must suffer much less from this system of commercial proscription than ourselves.

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\* Evidence laid before Parliament by the London and Liverpool Petitioners.



## CHAPTER V.

FOREIGN HISTORY:—*State of France—The Code of Conscription—The Emperor's Address to the Assemblies—Territorial Changes in Holland—State of Portugal—Threats of French Invasion held out to the Court of Lisbon—Removal of the British Settlers—Emigration of the Court to the Brazils—Entrance of the French army into Lisbon—Situation of Spain—Conspiracy against the King by his Son—Secret Treaty for the Partition of the Kingdom of Portugal—Introduction of a French Force into Spain—Abdication of Charles IV—The Royal Family of Spain allured to Bayonne to meet the Emperor Napoleon—Intrigues at that Place—Abdication of Charles and Ferdinand in Favour of Bonaparte—Insurrection at Madrid—Prostration of Spain at the Feet of the Invaders.*

WHILE Bonaparte was pursuing his conquests on the banks of the Vistula and the Niemen, the tranquillity of France experienced not the slightest interruption. No disposition appears to have been manifested to cabal and party in the higher orders of society, or of sedition or insurrection in the lower classes. The military glory of the 'great nation' covered from the view those embarrassments and distresses which were inevitably occasioned by protracted hostility, even amidst all the splendour of conquest; and the conscript laws, the least popular, but the most efficient part of Bonaparte's policy, had in a great degree lost their terrors, and were acquiesced in as necessary to the external security, or the unexampled renown of the empire. In the month of March, 1807, a message was communicated to the senate by Regnaud St. Jean D'Angely, in the delivery of which the orator of government shed tears of sorrow while he announced the necessity of anticipating the conscription of 1808. This order for the anticipated conscription, however, did not require that the recruits should, as on former occasions, immediately repair to the armies, but permitted them to be trained and disciplined for six months within the frontiers of France. Thus sedulously attentive was Bonaparte to that instrument of his triumphs and elevation—a numerous and highly disciplined army; and, while he possessed a standing force such as Europe never before witnessed, his anxiety was continually displayed to secure for this engine of conquest a permanent supply.\*

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\* *The Code of Conscription.*—France, at the time now under consideration, was divided into thirty military governments, each of which was subject to a general of division and his staff, to which commissaries were attached as executive officers. The civil divisions consisted of one hundred and twenty-two departments—twenty-four of which had been acquired since the overthrow of the monarchy, exclusive of Tus-

No sooner were the objects of the imperial interviews at Tilsit accomplished, than Bonaparte proceeded to Paris,

cany. The departments were divided into districts or *arrondissements*, the districts into cantons, and the cantons into municipalities—amounting to about fifty-five thousand. Each department was governed by a prefect and his council, composed of a commissary of police, a mayor, and certain inspectors, denominated counsellors of prefecture: the district, by a sub-prefect and his council, of a similar formation; the cantons and municipalities were under the supervision of an administration, composed of the civil authorities, with a president at their head; and a mayor, a commissary of police, and two officers of the government, styled *adjuncts*, were allotted to every division having a population above five thousand souls.\* These several authorities, standing in strict subordination to each other, were at the control of the prefects and sub-prefects; who, themselves, were charged with a weighty and inflexible responsibility as to the military levies. The conscription was first published in the form of a general law by the council of ancients, in the year 1798, and subsequently underwent some slight modification. The directorial plan is attributed to Carnot. The law by which the whole number of conscripts was limited, regulated at the same time the contingent of each department, proportionally to its population. Within eight days after publication, the prefect distributed the contingent among the districts, by the same rule; and the sub-prefect among the cantons and municipalities. All Frenchmen between the full age of twenty and twenty-five complete, were liable to the conscription. They were each year thrown into five classes; the first of which consisted of those who had completed their twentieth year, on the 16th of September preceding; the second, of those who at the same period had terminated their twenty-first year, and so on in the order of seniority. Eight days were allowed for the preparation of lists; the conscripts were then assembled in each canton, and examined by the administration, or by a special commission created by the prefect. By these meetings all pleas of exemption were scrutinized; but the final decision of all doubtful cases was referred to a commission of higher resort. The claims being disposed of, lists were then formed of those who were adjudged competent to serve, whether present or absent; and the sub-prefect proceeded to the drawing or designation by lot of such as were to constitute the *quota* of the district. Tickets, regularly numbered, to the amount of the names on the lists, were then publicly deposited in an urn, and indiscriminately drawn out by the conscripts or their friends, the lot falling upon those who drew the number below the amount of the *quota*. The higher numbers drawn by the rest were annexed to their names, that they might be forthcoming in their order, should any casualty disable their predecessors. Absentees not presenting themselves within a month after the drawing, were declared *refractory*, proclaimed throughout the empire, and pursued as deserters. These were the conscripts of “active service;” but besides these, the law required an equal number to form “the conscription of reserve.” The members of the reserve were nominated with the same formalities, to march only in case of emergency, but regularly organised, and carefully disciplined within their own department, from which they were not suffered to absent themselves. A third body was then created of “supplemental conscripts,” equal in number to one-fourth of the whole contingent, and destined to fill up the vacancies which might be occasioned before junction at head-quarters, by death, desertion, or other causes. No Frenchman under the age of thirty could travel through the empire,

\* Peuchet, *Statistique de la France*, 1807.



where his arrival was anticipated with all the ardour of curiosity, and hailed with every demonstration of satisfaction. The

or hold any situation under government, or serve in any public office, without the production of a certificate, duly authenticated, attesting that he had discharged his liability to the conscription. All the authorities were bound, under the severest sanctions, to observe that the conscripts were assembled, reviewed, and dismissed to their destinations without delay. They marched, under an escort of gendarmerie,\* and in bodies strictly limited to the number of one hundred, to various quarters or depots, through the empire, and were there first supplied with arms and clothing. No exemptions were originally allowed to the law of "active service," but by the modifications subsequently introduced, the eldest brother of an orphan family, the only son of a widow, or of a labourer above the age of seventy, or of one who might have a brother in the active service, might, on solicitation, be transferred to the reserve. Parents continued responsible for their absent children, until they could produce an official attestation of their death. The directory admitted of no substitutes; but the severity of this principle was relaxed by Napoleon in favour of such as were adjudged 'incapable of sustaining the fatigues;' or 'whose labours and studies were deemed more useful to the state than their military services.' Persons of this description were allowed to find a substitute, for which more than two hundred pounds sterling was frequently given. The proxy was to be between the age of twenty-five and forty, of the middle size at least, of robust constitution, of good character, and beyond the reach of the conscription laws. All the exacting clauses of this system were fortified by heavy denunciations against public functionaries, parents, or others, who should contribute to defeat, or to retard its operation. Conscripts detected in counterfeiting infirmities, or mutilating themselves, were placed at the disposal of the government for five years, to be employed in such labours as might be judged most useful to the state. Absentees, or refractory conscripts, were amerced in a sum of fifteen hundred francs, together with the expense incurred in the pursuit, which was levied inexorably on the real property of the father or mother, should the fugitive possess none in his own right. Every conscript absenting himself for twenty-four hours from his depot, became liable to be punished as a deserter. A special council of war decided upon the cases of desertion; and the penalties were, first, death; second, the punishment of the ball; and third, public, or hard labour. Death was inflicted on the deserter to the enemy, and on those who, in deserting from the punishment of the ball, carried off their own arms, or those of their comrades; the punishment of the ball, on such deserters as escape into the interior of the empire with their uniforms, or with the effects of another; and hard labour for three years on the mere deserter. A person under the punishment of the ball had an iron ball, of eight pounds weight, fastened to an iron chain seven feet in length, attached to his leg. He, in the first instance, heard his sentence read on his knees, and was condemned to hard labour during ten hours daily, being in the interval of rest chained in solitary confinement. The duration of this punishment, which was ten years, was prolonged, and an additional ball fettered to the leg, in case of contumacy or serious disobedience.† By the operation of the law of conscription, the levies raised for the French army exceeded 100,000 annually—constituting a drain of one-seventieth part of the whole male population between twenty and forty years of age.

\* A species of armed Constables, about sixteen thousand in number.—*Peuchet*.

† See "Code de la Conscription," and *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. XIII. p. 427.

birth-day of the emperor was this year celebrated with peculiar distinction ; and a grand *fete* took place, in which ingenuity exhausted itself in endless devices expressive of gratitude and admiration. On the following day the legislative body and the tribunate were assembled in the usual forms ; on which occasion the emperor in his address observed, that since their last meeting, new wars, new triumphs, and new treaties, had changed the political relations of Europe ; that the house of Brandenburg, which was the first to combine against the independence of France, was permitted to reign only through the friendship of the powerful emperor of the north ; that a French Prince would speedily reign on the Elbe ; that the house of Saxony had regained the independence it had lost for fifty years : that the inhabitants of the duchy of Warsaw and Dantzic had recovered their country ; and that all nations concurred in joy at the extinction of the pernicious influence of England on the continent. By the confederation of the Rhine, France was united with Germany ; and by her own peculiar system of federation, she was united with Spain, Holland, Switzerland, and Italy. Her new relations with Russia were founded on the mutual esteem of two great nations. The emperor wished for peace by sea, and would never suffer any irritation to influence his decisions on this subject ; there could indeed be no room for irritation against a people, the sport and victim of the parties which devoured it, and which was misled as much with respect to the affairs of other nations as to its own. The tranquillity and order of the French nation, during his absence, had excited his ardent gratitude. He had contrived the means of simplifying their institutions ; he had extended the principal on which had been founded the legion of honour ; the finances were prosperous ; the contributions on land were diminished ; various public works had been completed ; and it was his resolution, that in the remotest parts of the empire, and even in the smallest hamlet, the comfort of the citizen, and the value of the land, should be increased by the developement of a general system of improvement. On the same day, the report on the state of the empire was delivered, and while the government orator detailed the internal improvements which had taken place with the usual pomp and minuteness, he announced, that it was the wish of the emperor, that henceforth there should be no sects among the learned, and no political parties in the state.

The details contained in these documents, undoubtedly presented circumstances well calculated to excite congratulation, and among the most prominent of these was that external security which France enjoyed after one of the most protracted



and bloody conflicts recorded in history. Many of the internal regulations specified were calculated for public happiness, and displayed a laudable attention to domestic policy, amidst the anxieties and embarrassments of foreign war. The simplification of political institutions alluded to in the emperor's address, consisted particularly in an absorption of the tribunate in the legislative body, which was speedily accomplished after this intimation. The tone of compassion towards England, "the sport and victim of parties," was so far interesting, that it was calculated to amuse. By this imbecile and pitiful nation, France had been baffled in her menaces of invasion; her commerce had been annihilated; her navy swept from the ocean; and though her range through the different kingdoms of the continent had not then been arrested, she found in her conquests only a more extended prison. But not the least important passage in these papers was, the expression of the imperial desire that there should be no sects among the learned, and no parties in the state. Such has ever been the cant of despotism. The most interesting questions were henceforth to present but one view, and to admit but one comment. Those collisions of opinion, which have marked all preceding ages, where, at the behest of the conqueror, to be superceded by an influx of light which was to penetrate all minds, and dissipate all error. Unless this marvellous irradiation could be accomplished, the extinction of parties could only be effected by the prevention of discussion. It was therefore against discussion that the blow was levelled. Party might be fatal to tyranny. Hence that denunciation of political communications, under the invidious designation of party and faction. The animation of debate is apt to interrupt the tranquillity of despotism, and the recommended exclusion of party is the torpid acquiescence of slaves.

In the territory of Holland a change took place soon after the arrangements at Tilsit. The strong fortresses of the Maese, to its discharge into the sea, were taken within the limits of France, and in return for this diminution of security, Holland was obliged to acquiesce in an accession of territory from the conquered dominions of Prussia.

The close of the present year presented a new and interesting phænomenon in modern history—the migration of an European court into a southern hemisphere. It had long been a topic of serious deliberation between the cabinets of Great Britain and Portugal, whether, in the case of actual invasion by France, the Portuguese court might not be advantageously transferred to its dependencies in South America; and the assembling of an army of forty thousand men at Bayonne, for the avowed purpose of invading the territories of the house

of Braganza, threatened speedily to demand from the Prince Regent this weighty sacrifice. In vain had Portugal exhausted the royal treasury, and made innumerable sacrifices to preserve her neutrality; in vain had she shut the ports of her dominions to the subjects of an ancient and royal ally;\* the French troops were preparing to march into the interior of the kingdom, and the French ambassador, having failed in his endeavours to involve the Prince Regent in the war against England, had quitted Lisbon in disgust. These events were noticed to the chamber of commerce for the information of the British factory; and the preparations which had been previously commenced by them, for settling their affairs, and withdrawing from the country, were now continued with redoubled urgency. The activity and confusion in the ports were extreme; the most extravagant terms were demanded for the conveyance of settlers, with their families, to England, in vessels but ill adapted for accommodation, or even for security, and towards the end of October, scarcely any thing British, except British feeling, remained in that country.

In the mean time the Portuguese navy was prepared with all possible expedition; the royal furniture and treasures were packed up, the conveniences and necessities for a long voyage, and for various establishments on the arrival of the fleet at its destination, were assiduously collected, and arrangements were made for the new government abroad, and for a regency at home. Lord Strangford, the British ambassador, was indefatigable in his endeavours to confirm the wavering purpose of the court, and perpetually contrasting the independence and glory of the new empire in South America, with the abject vassalage, and contemptible insignificance, which alone could be expected, were the prince to continue in his European dominions. A reluctance, however, to quit the shores of that country which he had so long governed, and which had given him birth, was not unfrequently manifested by the prince; and in proportion as the time approached for his embarkation on an enterprise of such magnitude, he appeared the less inclined to make the momentous sacrifice. So far indeed did his wishes to conciliate France prevail, that on the 8th of November, he signed an order for detaining the few British subjects, and the small portion of British property, that remained in his dominions. On the publication of this decree, Lord Strangford demanded his passports, and, presenting a final remonstrance to the court, proceeded to join the

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\* By the Decree for the Exclusion of British Ships, dated <sup>Lisbon</sup> October 22, 1807.



squadron under Sir Sidney Smith, which had been sent to the coast of Portugal to assist in saving the royal family, or, in the worst event, to prevent the Portuguese fleet from falling into the possession of the enemy. A most vigorous blockade of the Tagus was immediately resolved upon; but after a few days the intercourse of the British ambassador and the court was renewed, at the request of the former, who, on proceeding to Lisbon, found all the apprehensions of the prince now directed to a French army, and all his hopes to a British fleet. To explain this singular change in the politics of the Portuguese court, it must be observed, that, in the interval between the departure and the return of Lord Strangford, the prince had received intelligence, that Bonaparte had fulminated against him one of those edicts which had almost invariably been followed by the subversion of thrones. The proclamation that "the house of Braganza shall cease to reign"\* had gone forth; and to this alarming denunciation, which cut off all hopes of compromise, even by the most humiliating submission, was to be ascribed the complacency with which the renewed intercourse with England was accepted. So great was the agitation exhibited by the court, that it now manifested as much avidity to accomplish the enterprise, as it had previously shewn hesitation and reluctance towards it. The interview with the English ambassador took place on the 27th of November, and on the morning of the 29th, the Portuguese fleet sailed out of the Tagus with the whole of the royal family of Braganza, and a considerable number of faithful counsellors, and respectable and opulent adherents. The fleet consisted of eight sail of the line, four large frigates, and several other vessels of war, besides a number of Brazil ships, and amounted in all to thirty-six sail, containing about eighteen thousand Portuguese subjects. As they passed through the British squadron, a reciprocal salute was fired, and the singularity and magnitude of the enterprise, combined with the circumstance of two squadrons meeting in cordial friendship, which but two days before were in a state of open hostility, served to render this interesting spectacle at once grand and impressive. So critical was the juncture, that before the Portuguese fleet quitted the Tagus, they recognised the French army, under General Junot, with their Spanish auxiliaries, on the heights of Lisbon, and on the following day the invaders entered the capital without opposition.† Sir Sidney Smith, with

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\* *Moniteur* of the 18th of November, 1807.

† On the arrival of the French and Spanish army on the Portuguese frontier, the invaders wrote to the Marquis of Alorno, the commandant

a British squadron, accompanied the royal emigrants to Rio de Janeiro, in Brazil, where they arrived on the 19th of January following, after a prosperous voyage; and from this period, England became the only connecting link, commercial and political, between the Brazilian court and their European dominions.

Spain, once the most potent and flourishing of the European monarchies, had, during more than two centuries, been in a state of decline. A wretched system of government had almost extinguished the ancient Castilian spirit; and the Spanish armies, which in former ages had been acknowledged superior to those of all other nations, had lost their ancient reputation for courage and discipline. In this state of national degradation, Spain was one of the first countries of the continent that fell under the control of revolutionary France, and appeared of all others the least capable of throwing off the yoke of vassalage. The flower of the Spanish army was serving under the banners of France in the north of Europe; the iron frontier of Spain to the north-east, was in the hands of French garrisons; and the metropolis, as well as the greater part of the interior, were occupied by one hundred thousand foreign troops, commanded by able and experienced officers. The Spaniards, without arms, without ammunition, and without a public treasury, were abandoned by their government; and not a few of their grandees, and other persons of high distinction, to whom they might have looked up for bringing the resources of the monarchy into one uniform direction, they had reason to rank among the enemies of their country. The bands of society in Spain were in fact broken in sunder. There was no visible mode of combining their separate force into any regular plan of co-operation. Yet, under all these circumstances, the people did not hesitate to enter on a conflict with the most numerous and the most warlike nation of Europe. To trace these great and unexpected events to their source, requires a retrospect of those intrigues at the court of Madrid, of those family contentions, and of that foreign interference, which led to the subversion of the throne of the Bourbons in Spain, and to one of the most memorable contests in modern history. (63.)

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at Elvas, to enquire whether they were to be "received as friends or as enemies?" to which the marquis laconically replied:

"SIR,—We are unable to entertain you as friends, or to resist you as enemies.

Yours, &c.

ALORNO."

(63.) We are told by M. de Pradt, in his "*Memoires Historiques sur la Revolution d'Espagne*," that the determination of overthrowing the



After the conclusion of the peace of Tilsit, the machinations of Bonaparte against the royal family and the throne of Spain

Bourbon dynasty, was taken by Napoleon in consequence of a disposition to hostility manifested by that court, soon after the breaking out of the war with Prussia in 1806. Subsequent to the treaty of 1795, a strict alliance had subsisted between the two countries. Suddenly, however, and while Napoleon was with his armies in Prussia, a proclamation was published by the Prince of the Peace, calling the Spaniards to arms by every motive of religion and honour. No doubt could be entertained against whom this manifesto was intended, although it was silent with respect to the enemy. The battle of Jena destroyed at once, the hopes entertained by the Spanish government of throwing off the French yoke, but although it was pretended that these preparations had been made for the purpose of resisting a threatened attack of the Emperor of Morocco, their real object did not escape the penetration of Napoleon. From this moment his resolution is said to have been formed. "Napoleon," says M. de Pradt, "has often told me that it was on the field of battle of Jena he received the proclamation, which, laying open to him the perfidy and dangers to which he might be subjected in every new expedition, induced him to make the determination of ridding himself of a concealed enemy, ready to attack him at every moment of embarrassment."\* It has been frequently asserted, that the invasion of Spain was undertaken upon the earnest suggestions of Talleyrand, and this idea is countenanced by the following passage in Mr. Warden's narrative of his conversations with Napoleon and his suite. "The name of Talleyrand happening to occur in the course of conversation with our French shipmates, the high opinion entertained of his talents by the Bonapartists was acknowledged without reserve. On my asking at what period he was separated from the councils and confidence of Napoleon, it was replied, at the invasion of Spain. I then observed, that the reports in England respecting that circumstance were correct as to time, and I presumed were equally so as to the cause; his unreserved disapprobation of that bold and adventurous enterprise. This met with an instant contradiction, which was followed by a most decisive assertion that the Prince of Benevento approved of the Spanish war, and founded his recommendation of that measure on his unalterable opinion, which he boldly communicated to the Emperor, that his life was not secure while a Bourbon reigned in Europe."† M. de Pradt, on the contrary, assures us that the plan was Bonaparte's own, and was kept a secret even from his ministers of state, until fully matured at Bayonne. Talleyrand, he informs us, was not apprised of the treaty of Fontainebleau until the march of the guard under Marshal Bessieres to Spain.‡ The account here given of the motives which led to the change of dynasty in that country, is corroborated by the narrative published by M. d'Escoiquiz, Counsellor of State under Ferdinand, of his conversations with Napoleon at Bayonne. The latter is there represented to have said, "It is impossible that you should avoid seeing, that as long as the Bourbons reign in Spain, I can never expect to maintain a sincere alliance with that power. They will manage, I know, very well as long as they are alone, to keep up the appearance of an alliance with me, because they are not strong enough to do me an injury; but their hatred will break forth the moment they see me embarrassed in a northern war, and then they will combine with my enemies to attack me. How can I better satisfy you of the correctness of this opinion, than by recalling to your recollection the perfidy with which Charles IV. himself, notwith-

\* Page 16. † Warden's Letters, p. 48. ‡ Memoires, &c. p. 28

began to appear : and his first step in furtherance of his designs was to draw out of Spain sixteen thousand of her best troops, and to place them in a situation where they could not interfere with his views. He afterwards proposed to Ferdinand, the Prince of Asturias, and heir apparent to the throne of Spain, a marriage with a French Princess, and obtained his consent to the union. Soon after Ferdinand had acquiesced in the wishes of Bonaparte on this point, a conspiracy was said to have been detected at Madrid, against the life of Charles, the reigning monarch, and a decree, dated the 30th of October, 1807, was issued by the king, charging his son with having conspired against the life of his royal parent. "My life," says the king, "which has so often been in danger, was too long, in the eyes of my successor, who, infatuated by prejudice, and alienated from every principle of christianity that my paternal care and love had taught him, had entered into a project to dethrone me. Informed of this, I thought proper to inquire personally into the truth of the fact, and surprised him in my room ; I found in his possession the cypher of his correspondence, and of the instructions he had received from the vile conspirators." The king, under the first impression made by this alarming discovery, convoked the governor in council, and ordered his son and his accomplices into confinement ; but, softened by the penitential expressions of the prince, and the entreaties of the queen, he was soon after liberated, and restored to the royal favour.\*

At the period when this mysterious conspiracy was agitated

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standing his pretended fidelity to his alliance, sought to make war on me a short time previous to the battle of Jena, that is, at the very moment in which he thought me most occupied with Prussia? Did he not profit by the danger which appeared to menace me, to issue a proclamation, which called upon his subjects to arm against me? Never, no! never, I repeat, can I count upon Spain as long as the Bourbons occupy the throne ; and the power of that nation which has been considerable in every age, may one day, if directed by a man of sense, be sufficient to disturb my repose."†

#### \* DECKEE OF THE KING OF SPAIN.

"The voice of nature unnerves the arm of vengeance ; and when the offender's want of consideration pleads for pity, a father cannot refuse to listen to his voice. My son has already declared the authors of that horrible plan which has been suggested by the evil-minded. He has laid open every thing in a legal form, and all is exactly consistent with those proofs that are required by the law in such cases. His confusion and repentance have dictated the remonstrances which he has addressed to me, and of which the following is the chief:—

"SIRE and FATHER,—“ I am guilty of failing in my duty to your majesty ; I have failed in my obedience to my father and my king. I ought



at Madrid, a secret treaty for the partition of Portugal was executed at Fontainebleau,\* between the plenipotentiaries of France and Spain, by which it was provided, that part of the kingdom of Portugal should be bestowed upon the King of Etruria, as an indemnity for his Italian dominions, with the title of King of Northern Lusitania; that the province of Alentejo and the kingdom of the Algarves should be allotted to the Prince of the Peace, with the title of Prince of the Algarves; and that the remaining provinces should be held in sequestration, to devolve at a general peace to the house of Braganza, in exchange for Gibraltar, Trinidad, and other colonies which the English had conquered from Spain and her allies. This treaty of course required the means by which it was to be put in execution, and a secret convention was accordingly concluded on the same day, and by the same parties, by which it was stipulated, that a French army of twenty-five thousand infantry, and three thousand cavalry, should enter Spain, and march directly for Lisbon; and that they should be joined by eight thousand Spanish infantry and three thousand cavalry, with thirty pieces of artillery; that sixteen thousand Spanish troops should also occupy the other parts of Portugal; and that a body of forty thousand French troops should be assembled at Bayonne, by the 20th of November, 1807, to be ready to proceed through Spain into Portugal, in case the English should send reinforcements to menace it with attack. Thus did Napoleon procure the admission of a large army into Spain. Charles having agreed to a treaty, the provisions of which were to be carried into execution by means of this army, could not object to his territories being entered

to do nothing without your majesty's consent; but I have been surprised. I have denounced the guilty, and beg your majesty to suffer your repentant son to kiss your feet.

"*St. Laurent, Nov. 5th.* (Signed) "FERDINAND."

"MADAME and MOTHER,—“I sincerely repent of the great fault which I have committed against the king and queen, my father and mother!—With the greatest submission I beg your pardon, as well as for my obstinacy in denying the truth the other night. For this cause I heartily intreat your majesty to deign to interpose your mediation between my father and me, that he may condescend to suffer his repentant son to kiss his feet.

"*St. Laurent, Nov. 5th.* (Signed) "FERDINAND."

"In consequence of these letters, and the entreaty of the queen, my well-beloved spouse, I forgive my son; and he shall recover my favour as soon as his conduct shall give proofs of a real amendment in his proceedings.

"*Madrid, Nov. 5th, 1807.* (Signed) "CHARLES R."

\* Dated October 27, 1807.

by foreign troops ; Ferdinand was still less capable, from the situation in which he was placed, of opposing the schemes of Bonaparte ; and the Prince of the Peace,\* the Prime Minister of Spain, and the obsequious supporter of French policy at the court of Madrid, was disposed rather to advance than to resist the will of the French Emperor. It is difficult to conceive a combination of characters and circumstances more favourable to the ambitious views of Napoleon. The characters of Charles, Ferdinand, and the premier, were all suited to his purpose, and required only to be worked upon at different times, and in an appropriate manner, to promote the objects of this consummate intrigue.

It was not sufficient for Bonaparte that he had introduced his army into the heart of Spain ; but in order to possess the firmest power over that kingdom, it was necessary also to occupy the principal fortresses. Under the plea therefore of consulting the security of his troops, he obtained possession of the forts of Pampeluna, St. Sebastian, Figueiras, and Barcelona ; and by thus holding the keys of the kingdom, he had it in his power to introduce, through the passes of the Pyrenees, any additional number of soldiers. It is impossible accurately to ascertain the number of French troops marched into Spain, under the pretence of occupying Portugal, and fulfilling the treaty of Fontainebleau ; but, from an official return published about the end of January, 1808, it appears, that between the 19th of October, 1807, and the 18th of January following, upwards of seventy thousand infantry, and ten thousand cavalry, entered by the Pass of Irun.

In this manner the revolutionary volcano, by which the Spanish monarchy was about to be convulsed, had secretly and silently collected its powers, and in the month of March the explosion took place. It appears that his Catholic Majesty, influenced probably by the suggestions of his ally, had formed a design of removing the seat of government to Mexico, and that the measure was approved of by the Queen and the Prince of the Peace, but reprobated by the Prince of Asturias and his brother, with the majority of the *grandees* of the court. The motive which led to this extraordinary project, like all the affairs of the court of Madrid, from the period of the alleged conspiracy of the heir apparent till the journey of the royal family to Bayonne, is enveloped in mystery ; but the scheme of emigrating beyond the Atlantic was probably

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\* The title of Prince of the Peace was conferred on Don Manuel Godoy, on the ratification of the treaty of peace concluded between France and Spain at Basle, in the year 1795.



communicated to the king through the medium of Isquero, the Spanish negociator of the secret treaty of Fontainebleau. No sooner had the intended emigration of the royal family transpired, than the capital of Spain presented a scene of confusion and turbulence. A report having been spread, on the 17th of March, that the guards had received orders to march to Aranjuez, where the court then resided, the inhabitants of Madrid rushed in crowds to the road to prevent their departure. At the same time several of the ministers and grandees, who disapproved of the emigration, circulated handbills in the surrounding country, stating the designs of the court, and the danger to which the kingdom was exposed. The night was a scene of tumult, and on the following day immense crowds of people hurried to Aranjuez, where the palace of the favourite, although defended by his guards, was forced, and the furniture destroyed. The Princess of Peace was conducted to the royal palace with all the respect due to her rank; but the Prince, her husband, had disappeared, and his brother, Don Diego Godoy, commandant of the life-guards, was arrested by the soldiers of his own corps. In this emergency the king found it necessary to issue two decrees, by one of which he declared the favourite stripped of all his power and employments, and in the other he assured his subjects that the army of France had entered Spain only as his friends; and that the life-guards, instead of having left Madrid for the purpose of accompanying him on a voyage, which he declared he never had any intention of taking, had quitted it solely for the purpose of protecting his person. These proclamations, however, failed in their effect; the scenes of popular tumult spread from Aranjuez to Madrid, where, on the 18th, the populace rushed in crowds to the palace of the Prince of the Peace, and to the houses of several of the other ministers. The result was, that the favourite, after having with difficulty escaped the fury of the mob, was afterwards arrested. In the midst of this popular effervescence, the king resolved to withdraw from so tumultuous a scene, and issued a royal decree, by which he abdicated the crown in favour of his son.\* The first act of Ferdinand VII. was to issue an edict, in which he

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\* ACT OF ABDICATION OF CHARLES IV.

“My habitual infirmities not permitting me to support any longer the important weight of government of my kingdom; and having need, in order to re-establish my health, to enjoy private life in a more temperate climate, I have decided, after the most minute deliberation, to abdicate my crown in favour of my heir, my most beloved son, the Prince of Asturias. Consequently, it is my royal will, that he be forthwith acknowledged and obeyed as king and natural lord of all my kingdoms and

declared his resolution immediately to confiscate the property of Don Manuel Godoy, the Prince of the Peace, and to use all the means in his power to repair the wrongs done to such of his subjects as had suffered from their attachment to his cause. It naturally becomes a question, not only of considerable interest, but of great importance, to determine how far this act of abdication was "free and spontaneous." This inquiry involves the character both of Ferdinand and of his Father, and will be found intimately connected with the future events of the Spanish revolution. Don Pedro Cevallos, Secretary of State to Charles IV. in his exposition of the practices and machinations which led to the usurpation of the crown of Spain by the Emperor of the French, declares that no violence was done to his majesty in order to extort an abdication of his crown, either by his son or by the people.—And for the purpose of shewing that this was not a sudden and unpremeditated act, it is further asserted by that minister, that three weeks before the disturbance at Aranjuez, the king, in his presence and in the presence of all the other ministers of state, addressed her majesty, the queen, in these words: "Maria Louisa, we will retire to one of the provinces, where we will pass our days in tranquillity; and Ferdinand, who is a young man, will take upon him the burden of government." This testimony may be perfectly correct, and yet the abdication might not be voluntary, in the fair and liberal construction of that term. The conclusion indeed seems probable, though by no means certain, that the alarm of the king, aided perhaps by the expectations of Ferdinand and his friends, hurried him on to the execution of that act, about which he had before conversed, but which, in all probability, he would never have performed under the pressure of less urgent and distracting circumstances.

These events were soon succeeded by a counter-revolution, more extraordinary in its nature, and in the circumstances by which it was accompanied, than any of the other changes which have stamped a peculiar character on these unstable times. Murat, the Grand Duke of Berg, to whom the command of the French forces in Spain had been confided, no sooner heard of the occurrences at Aranjuez, than he hastened the march of his army towards the capital. Ferdinand, unassured in what way his accession to the throne would be re-

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sovereignties; and that this royal decree of my free and spontaneous abdication, may be exactly and directly fulfilled, you will communicate it to the council, and to all others to whom it may appertain.

"Given at Aranjuez, the 19th of March, 1808.

(Signed)

"I, THE KING."



ceived at the court of St. Cloud, alarmed at the proximity of the French troops, appointed a deputation of three grandees to proceed to Bayonne, to compliment the Emperor Napoleon on his arrival in that city. Murat, in the mean time, held an official communication with the deposed monarch, by whom he was informed that his calamities were not of a common cast, since his own son had been the author of them. His abdication, he said, had been effected by treachery and compulsion. The Prince of Asturias, and Caballero, the minister of justice, were chiefly concerned in the disgraceful transaction; and had he not give up the throne in favour of his son, his own life and that of the queen would most probably have been sacrificed to his resistance. Under these circumstances, Charles had protested against the act of abdication, and wished Murat to be informed that he had written a letter to the emperor, his master, into whose hands he resigned his fate.\*

Anxious to conciliate the favour of Bonaparte, and allured by the promises of his generals, Murat and Savary, Ferdinand was prevailed upon to quit Madrid and to repair to Bayonne, the station which the French Emperor had taken for the more convenient accomplishment of his designs. Ferdinand had no sooner entered France, than he perceived too plainly that his authority was departed from him, and it was speedily intimated to him by Savary, that the Bourbon dynasty should no longer reign in Spain, but that it would be succeeded by the family of Bonaparte. This determination was accompanied by a requisition that Ferdinand should, in his own name, and that of his family, renounce the crown of Spain and the Indies in favour of the Emperor of the French. On the following day, Cevallos, who had accompanied Ferdinand, in the capacity of first secretary of state, attempted, in a discussion with Champagny, the French minister of foreign affairs, to alter the determination of the emperor. He complained of the perfidy with which the business had been conducted; the king, his master, had come to Bayonne relying on the solemn and repeated assurances of General Savary, given officially in the name of the emperor, that his imperial majesty would recognize him at the very first interview; ex-

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\* PROTEST OF CHARLES IV. AGAINST THE ACT OF ABDICATION.

"I protest and declare, that my decree of the 19th of March, in which I renounced my crown in favour of my son, is a deed to which I was compelled, in order to prevent greater calamity, and spare the blood of my beloved subjects. It is therefore to be considered as of no authority.

"Given at Aranjuez, the 25th of March, 1808.

(Signed)

"I, THE KING."

pecting, according to these assurances, to be treated as the King of Spain, he was surprised that the proposition for renouncing the throne was made to him. He entered his solemn protest against the violence offered to his person in preventing his return to Spain ; and declared it to be his final and determined resolution, not to renounce his throne in favour of any other dynasty. In reply to this representation, Champagny contented himself with insisting on the necessity of the renunciation, and with affirming that the abdication of Charles had been involuntary. After some further discussion, the emperor, who had overheard every thing that passed, commanded the two ministers to enter his cabinet, where he insulted Cevallos in gross and violent language, upbraiding him with being a traitor, because, having been minister to Charles, he now acted in the same capacity to Ferdinand. Finding that he could neither convince nor silence the Spanish minister, he abruptly concluded by exclaiming, " I have a system of my own ; you ought to adopt more liberal ideas ; to be less susceptible on the point of honour, and not to sacrifice the prosperity of Spain to the interests of the Bourbon family."\*

Finding that he was not likely soon to succeed in bending Ferdinand to his purpose, Bonaparte determined to have Charles brought to Bayonne. By this means he hoped to accelerate the completion of his schemes, and to put it completely out of the power of the Spanish nation to rally round any of the old dynasty, in the first moments of their indignation at his violence and perfidy. The Grand Duke of Berg had orders sent him to employ every artifice in his power to persuade the royal parents to set out on their journey to Bayonne ; and after liberating the favourite, the royal party quitted Madrid, and repaired to the French frontier. The situation of Ferdinand was now rendered more than ever embarrassing ; beset on one side by Bonaparte, who insisted on the renunciation of his title, and attacked on the other by his father, who upbraided him with having obtained the throne by violence, he perceived no method of liberating himself from the confinement in which he was held, but by yielding up an authority to which he was denied a valid title. Under these circumstances, Ferdinand, on the first of May, made a conditional renunciation of his crown in favour of his father. On the 5th, Bonaparte had a long conversation with the royal parents. What passed on this occasion can only be conjectured from the infamous and disgraceful scene that followed,

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\* See the Exposition of Don Pedro Cevallos.



and which is thus described by one who was present at the audience : " At five o'clock King Ferdinand was called in by his august father, to hear, in the presence of the queen and the emperor, expressions so disgusting and humiliating, that I do not dare to record them. All the party were seated except King Ferdinand, whom the father ordered to make an absolute renunciation of the crown, under pain of being treated, with all his household, as an usurper of the throne, and a conspirator against the life of his parents."\* Bonaparte, however, appears not to have regarded the renunciation of Ferdinand to his father as necessary to render the resignation of the latter in his favour valid ; for on the very day that the scene already described took place, and before Ferdinand had yielded obedience to the commands of his parent, Charles had executed his deed of resignation, which transferred his title to the Emperor of France. By this document, bearing date the 5th of May, it is declared, 1st, That the integrity of the kingdom of Spain shall be preserved ; and 2d, that the prince placed on the throne of Spain by the emperor shall be independent. The other articles of this act of resignation declare that the king and queen, as well as the Prince of the Peace, and such other servants as choose to follow them, shall retire into France, where they shall preserve their respective ranks ; that the imperial palace of Compeigne shall be at the disposal of King Charles during his life ; that a civil list of eight million rials shall be allotted to the king, and that the dowry of the queen, at his death, shall be two millions.† To the Infantes of Spain the annual sum of four hundred thousand livres is secured ; and the king, in exchange for his personal landed property in Spain, receives from Napoleon the castle of Chamboard.

In order to prepare the minds of the Spaniards for this extraordinary transfer, Charles directed a mandate to the supreme Junta of the government of Madrid, in which he ap-

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\* See the Exposition of Don Pedro Cevallos. The scene to which Cevallos alludes is thus described in the chronicles of the day :—The queen, in a transport of passion, addressing Ferdinand, said—" Traitor ! you have for years meditated the death of the king ; but, thanks to the vigilance, the loyalty, and the zeal of the Prince of the Peace, neither you, nor any of the infamous traitors who have co-operated with you, have been able to effect your purpose. I tell you to your face, that you are not the son of the king ! And yet, without having any other right to the crown than that of your mother, you have sought to tear it from us by force ; but I agree and demand that the Emperor Napoleon shall be umpire between us ; and I call upon him to punish you and your traitorous associates."

† RIAL---A Spanish coin of the value of five-pence farthing English.

pointed the Grand Duke of Berg Lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and commanded the council of Castile, and the captains-general, and governors of the provinces, to obey his orders. The father having thus done all in his power, not only to transfer his right to the throne of Spain to the Emperor of the French, but also to secure the tranquil and ready reception of that transfer by the Spanish nation, the resistance and refusal of Ferdinand were no longer to be expected. Cevallos affords no insight into the particular mode of attack upon the prince, after Bonaparte had succeeded both in forcing him to renounce in favour of his father, and in persuading the father to abdicate in favour of the French dynasty; except that he states, but not of his own personal knowledge, that in the last conference held with Ferdinand, the emperor said, "*Prince, il faut opter entre la cession et la mort.*"\* The resignation of Ferdinand took place on the 10th of May; and by the articles of this act it is stipulated, that the Prince of Asturias shall renounce his right to the crown of Spain and the Indies; that the Emperor Napoleon shall secure to him the title of royal highness, and cede to him the domain of Navarre, with an annual grant of four hundred thousand livres of appanage rent, and a further rent of six hundred thousand livres. The title of royal highness, the enjoyment of their respective commanderies in Spain, and an appanage rent of four hundred thousand livres, are by the same instrument granted to Don Antonio, the uncle of Ferdinand, and Don Carlos, and Don Francisco, his brothers, provided they accede to the treaty. No sooner had Ferdinand ratified this treaty, than he was hurried from Bayonne into the interior of France; and to render his humiliation more abject, and his subserviency to the will of Bonaparte more complete, the prince, his uncle, and his brother, were commanded, when they reached Bourdeaux, to address a solemn proclamation to the Spaniards, releasing them from all the duties they owed to the prince, and conjuring them to consult the common good, by conducting themselves as peaceful and obedient subjects to the Emperor Napoleon.

On the 20th of May, Charles, accompanied by his royal consort, arrived at Fontainebleau, where his majesty was immediately provided with a complete equipage for the chase; and from thence they removed two days afterwards to Compeigne. The Prince of the Peace took up his residence at a chateau in the environs of Paris. The unfortunate Ferdinand, with his uncle and brother, arrived on the 19th of May at Va-

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\* Prince, you have only to choose between cession and death.



lency, a small town in the province of Berry, where they were lodged in a castle belonging to M. Talleyrand, and where the prince sought consolation in a strict observance of the ordinances of the catholic religion.

Abounding, as the annals of mankind do, especially in these latter and portentous times, in examples of treachery, perfidy, and violence, it would be difficult to point out one deed, which, in every part of its performance, in its own nature, or in the character of the means by which it was carried into execution, bore such strong and infamous marks of atrocity as this. The first act of sovereign power exercised by Napoleon over the Spanish nation, was contained in an imperial decree, addressed to the council of Castile, in which, after stating that the king and princes of the Bourbon line had ceded their rights to him, he commanded that the assembly of the notables should be held on the 15th of June, at Bayonne ; that the deputies should be charged with the expression of the sentiments, wishes, and complaints of their constituents, and with full power to fix the basis of a new government. The Grand Duke of Berg was to continue in the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom ; and the ministers, council of state, council of Castile, and all the civil, ecclesiastical, and military authorities, were to remain unchanged. On the same day Bonaparte addressed a proclamation to the Spanish nation, in which he assured the people that his sole object would be to relieve the sufferings he had so long witnessed, by renovating their monarchy. For this purpose he had convened a general assembly of their deputies, and would place their illustrious crown on the head of one resembling himself ; that thus, by uniting the salutary power of the sovereign with a just regard to the liberties of the people, their latest posterity might celebrate him as the restorer of their country.

In the mean time, the most dreadful disorders prevailed in Madrid ; the inhabitants had been in a state of agitation and alarm ever since the entrance of the French troops and the departure of the royal family. The French were daily insulted ; numerous assemblies were held by the people ; and every thing indicated the approach of a dreadful explosion. On the morning of the 2d of May, immense multitudes collected in the principal streets of the capital. Rendered confident by their numbers, they attacked the French troops with great vigour and resolution, and after forcing them to retreat, obtained possession of their cannon. With these they succeeded in forcing their enemies out of the city, with great slaughter. Besides this regular and concentrated attack on the great body of the military, wherever a French soldier was

discovered, he was instantly cut down or shot. The great street of Alcala, the Sun-Gate, and the Great Square, were the principal scenes of the early success and of the subsequent massacre of the inhabitants. The alarm was no sooner given, than the French repaired to their posts, and the large reinforcements which poured into the city overwhelmed the insurgents. The principal object with the French army was the street Alcala, in which were collected upwards of ten thousand people. Against this and the neighbouring streets and squares, thirty discharges of artillery were directed with murderous effect ; these were followed up by the cavalry ; the people, routed and dismayed, took refuge in the houses ; and the French soldiers, irritated to the highest degree by their previous defeat, followed them into their retreats and took signal vengeance on the insurgents. The place where the Spaniards made the most vigorous defence was the Store-house of Artillery, which, besides ammunition, contained upwards of ten thousand stand of arms. Thither Murat sent a detachment to take possession of the Arsenal, but he found it occupied by a number of the inhabitants and Spanish artillery-men, under the command of two brave officers of the names of Doaiz and Velayde. A twenty-four pounder, charged with grape-shot, placed at the gate of the Store-house, in front of a long and narrow street, made dreadful havoc amongst the French column as it advanced, and obliged the commander to send to Murat for reinforcements. Two other French columns then advanced, and after attacking the small garrison on both flanks, repeatedly summoned it to surrender, but the brave and resolute commanders refused to listen to the proposition, and their constancy remained unshaken to the last moment of their existence. After the engagement had raged for some time, Velayde was killed by a musket-shot, and Doaiz had his thigh broken by a cannon ball ; this hero still continued to give his orders with the greatest composure, till he had received three other wounds, the last of which put an end to his glorious career. The command of the Arsenal now devolved on a corporal of artillery, who, sensible that all further resistance would be unavailing, agreed to capitulate.—About two o'clock the firing ceased in all parts of the city, in consequence of the personal interference of the council of Castile, who paraded the streets with many of the Spanish nobility, escorted by a body of Spanish soldiers and French imperial guards intermixed. The inhabitants of Madrid now flattered themselves that the carnage was at an end, but in the afternoon, Murat issued general orders to his army for the immediate formation of a military tribunal, of which General



Grouchy was appointed president. Before this tribunal all persons were brought who had been made prisoners in the early part of the day, and, after a summary trial, three groups of forty each were successively shot, in the Prado, by the hands of the military executioners. In this manner was the evening of the 2d of May spent by the French at Madrid. The inhabitants were commanded to illuminate their houses for the safety of their oppressors ; and through the whole night, the dead and dying were to be seen lying in heaps upon the blood-stained pavement. When the morning arrived, the military tribunals resumed their functions, and for several successive days the feelings of the inhabitants of the capital were outraged by judicial murders. The numbers slain on the 2d of May on the side of the people, must have been immense ; and it is stated, on the authority of an eye-witness, that the insurrection was not quelled till after most of the French soldiers actually in the city at the time of its commencement, were put to death.\*

This effort of the citizens of Madrid, which ought to have roused the Junta to a sense of their duty, produced directly the opposite effect, and bent them completely to the will of Murat. At their sitting on the 4th of May, that commander was present, and after detailing the circumstances of the insurrection of the 2d, pointed out the necessity of vigorous measures to restrain the turbulent spirit of the populace. The Junta, professing an anxiety to prevent the recurrence of similar calamities, decreed, that the presidentship of their body should be offered to his imperial and royal highness the Grand Duke of Berg, and that all their members should conform to his ordonnances. But it was not the Junta only who deserted the cause of their country and enlisted themselves on the side of their invaders and oppressors ; the council of the supreme and general Inquisition also exhorted the Spaniards to quiet and unresisting submission. This council, though the spirit of the times, and the growing policy or humanity of its members, had deprived it of a great part of the dread and horror formerly attached to the exercise of its power, still, unfortunately for the Spanish nation, possessed an extensive, penetrating, and powerful influence over the kingdom. The Inquisition was therefore an engine too fit for their purpose to be overlooked or unemployed by the French authorities, and its obsequiousness was as propitious to the wishes of Murat, as its nature and power were conducive to his designs.—

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\* Authentic particulars of the events which took place at Madrid on the 2d of May, 1808, by an Englishman.

Through his influence these holy Inquisitors addressed a circular to all the courts of the kingdom, in which they accused the Spanish people of having occasioned, by their factious disposition and outrageous violence, the disturbances and bloodshed of the 2d of May. This violence they represent as having been offered to friendly officers and soldiers, who injured no one; but who, on the contrary, preserved the most rigorous discipline, and towards whom they were bound by the laws of hospitality to behave with attention and friendship. The indulgence in these lawless excesses, it is added, tends only to destroy the principles of subordination, and to weaken the just and salutary confidence of the people in the supreme power. "These truths, so important at all times, and so eminently and peculiarly necessary at a period of violence and tumult," says the supreme court of Inquisition, "can by none be impressed with more propriety and beneficial effect, than by the ministers of the religion of Jesus Christ, which breathes nothing but peace among men, and subjection, humility, and obedience to all that are in authority."

Even the feeble king was obliged to act his part in repressing the zeal and spirit of his people, and in pointing out to them the heinous crime of rising against their enemies or oppressors; and the last paper to which he set his hand and seal before he abdicated the throne, was filled with remonstrances and upbraidings against his subjects, for having risen in the hope of defending that independence which he had so pusillanimously sacrificed. This proclamation is signed by Charles, but the language in which it is written, the spirit which it breathes throughout, and the counsel which it gives, could have proceeded from none but an agent of Bonaparte. He cautions them against that spirit of faction which would arm them against the French, and to which spirit he attributes both the calamities of his own family and the recent disturbances in Madrid. He assures them that his sole object at Bayonne is to concert, along with the Emperor of the French, efficient measures for their welfare; and concludes with calling on the Spaniards to trust to his experience: to obey that authority which he holds from God and his fathers; and to follow his example, in thinking that there is no prosperity or safety for their country, but in the friendship of their ally.

Thus, to all appearance, had Bonaparte completely succeeded in accomplishing his views upon Spain. He had proceeded with caution and deliberation; but the great object of his crooked policy seemed now to be consummated. The crown of Spain was conveyed to his family by all the forms of regal transfer; and the members of the old dynasty were safe in



the interior of France, removed from all chance of disturbing his future plans, or of serving as the rallying point of resistance and independence. The Spaniards, thus deserted by the royal family, stripped of part of their army, and guarded and oppressed by a numerous, well-disciplined, and watchful enemy, saw the most distinguished public bodies, to whom they had been accustomed to look up with veneration and confidence for example and advice, not only forsake the cause of their country, but actually invite the nation to receive the invaders as friends. Bonaparte, elated by his success, regarded his work as complete, and those to whom the virtues of the Spanish nation were known, lamented to see them destined to pass under the yoke of this unprincipled and selfish conqueror.

## CHAPTER VI.

**CAMPAIGN IN THE PENINSULA OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL:**—*Formation of the Juntas, and general Burst of Patriotism throughout the Provinces of Spain—Declaration of War against France, and Restoration of Peace with England—Succours afforded to the Spanish Patriots by Great Britain—Surrender of the French Fleet at Cadiz—Defeat and Capitulation of the French Army under General Dupont—Gallant Defence of Saragossa—Battle of Rio Seco—Operations in Biscay—Repulse of the French Army at Valencia—Joseph Bonaparte proclaimed King of Spain by Napoleon—Sketch of the New Spanish Constitution—Entrance of Joseph Bonaparte into Madrid—His precipitate Retreat from that Capital—Installation of the Supreme Junta—Failure of the Spanish Armies in their Efforts to drive the French beyond the Pyrenees—Liberation of the Spanish Troops in the Baltic under the Marquis de la Romana—Conference at Erfurth—Letter from the Emperors of France and Russia to the King of England—Failure of the Negotiation consequent thereon—Situation of the French and Spanish Armies in the Peninsula at the Beginning of November—Defeat and partial Dispersion of the Army under General Blake in Biscay—of Count Belveder's Force in Estramadura—and of the Army under General Castanos on the Ebro—Advance of Napoleon to the Capital of Spain—Fall of Madrid—Disposition of the Spanish Colonies. **CAMPAIGN IN PORTUGAL:** *Situation of that Kingdom—Oporto wrested from the French—Arrival of a British Expedition under Sir Arthur Wellesley off the Coast of Portugal—Debarkation of the British Troops—Battle of Roleia—Battle of Vimiera—Convention of Cintra—Sir John Moore appointed Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in the Peninsula—Advance of the Expedition under his Command to Salamanca—Perilous Situation—Disastrous Retreat—Battle of Corunna—Death of Sir John Moore—Embarkation of the Troops—Termination of the Campaign.**

SCARCELY was the renunciation of the royal family in favour of Bonaparte known in Spain, before the northern provinces burst into open and organized insurrection. Asturias

and Galicia, the refuge of Spanish independence, when it fled before the Moorish power, set the glorious example ; and it was soon followed by almost every part of Spain, not immediately occupied or overawed by the armies of France. One of the first steps taken by the leaders of the revolution was to form and assemble the Juntas, or general assemblies of the provinces, who immediately issued proclamations, calling upon the Spaniards to rise in defence of their sovereign and their liberties. In these proclamations every topic was insisted on which could awaken the patriotism and rouse the indignation of the people : the long and prejudicial subserviency of Spain to the views and interests of the French government ; the degradation and misery which this servility had produced ; the treacherous behaviour of Bonaparte to Ferdinand ; and the consequences which must necessarily result from the execution of his designs ; were strongly insisted upon. The nation was called upon, by every thing they held dear ; by the dignity and glory long sustained by the Spanish name ; by their attachment to their religion, their country, and their sovereign ; by every tie that bound them to the liberty and happiness of themselves and their posterity ; to arm themselves with energy and courage, to prevent, by their powerful and unanimous interference, the infamous and complete ruin with which they were threatened by the common enemy of the independence and happiness of the human race. The crimes of which Bonaparte had been guilty were placed before their eyes in all their horror ; the fatal consequences which had uniformly resulted from the apathy and indifference of the people, in the countries he had already conquered, were urged as holding forth the most powerful and urgent reasons for the union of the Spanish nation, in the great and glorious cause of resisting his oppression, and preventing their country from being sunk into that state of degradation and slavery, which had overwhelmed so many of the other states of Europe.

The Junta to whose proceedings most attention is due, is that which was assembled at Seville. Madrid being in possession of the French, it became necessary that some other principal city should take the lead in issuing directions respecting the great and arduous contest in which the Spanish nation was about to be engaged, and no place seemed more proper than Seville. The constituted authorities of this place assembled on the 27th of May, 1808, and immediately formed themselves into a Supreme Junta of Government. After having proclaimed Ferdinand King of Spain, and taken possession of the military stores for the purpose of arming the people, they issued an order for all persons, from sixteen to



forty-five years of age, who had not children, to enroll themselves. They also established inferior Juntas in every town within their jurisdiction, the population of which amounted to two thousand householders; and sent couriers to the principal places in Spain, inviting them to follow the example of Seville. But they principally distinguished themselves by their "precautions," which they issued, as proper to be observed during the struggle in which the nation was about to engage. The character of these precautions is that of clear and comprehensive thought, directed steadily and with success to the contemplation of the crisis in which Spain was placed; the principal difficulties and dangers to which it was likely to be exposed; and the most effectual means by which she might avoid or surmount them, and ultimately succeed in the object she had in view. They recommended in the strongest manner the careful avoidance of all general actions; and a strict adherence to the system of harrassing and continual attacks on the detached and insulated bodies of the enemy's forces.

The Junta of Seville also issued a declaration of war against France, and proclaimed peace with England. Indeed the insurrection of the Spanish nation necessarily directed their thoughts and hopes to Britain, as the only country which possessed the power and the inclination to yield them assistance. One of the first measures adopted by the Junta of Asturias was, to despatch two noblemen to this country, to represent to the British government the state of Spain, and the determined, unanimous spirit of her people, with a view to obtain countenance and support in behalf of their countrymen. In England, the cause of Spain fortunately united all parties. Whatever difference of opinion might exist respecting the probability of ultimate success, all were cordially agreed in the persuasion that every kind of assistance should be afforded to the Spaniards. They had taken up arms to oppose the common enemy, and to maintain their own independence, and therefore were friends to Britain. The cause of the Spaniards was viewed with zeal, satisfaction, and sympathy, by those members of parliament whose general system of politics was in direct opposition to the measures of the existing government; and his majesty's ministers, speaking in the name of their sovereign, gave assurances in parliament that they would afford every assistance in their power to the Spanish patriots.

The requests made by the Asturian deputies were not for men; of these they affirmed they had a sufficient supply, but they were in a great measure destitute of arms, ammunition, and clothing. Fortunately, the principal ports in the Bay of Biscay were in possession of the patriots; and into these were

sent, by fast-sailing vessels, immense supplies of every thing the Juntas of Galicia and Asturia required. Intelligent and experienced officers were also despatched, in order to learn accurately the disposition and strength of the Spaniards, to communicate directly with the Juntas, and to transmit to our government such information as might enable them to concert and direct the assistance they were disposed to afford, in a manner most agreeable to the Spanish nation, and most conducive to the success of their cause. As it was highly probable that British troops might be needed, they were held in readiness to embark. In short, nothing was wanting, on the part of the ministry or of the nation, to inspire the patriots, and to convince them that every assistance within the power of Britain would cheerfully be granted.

The great commercial city of Cadiz was one of the first to show its zeal for the patriotic cause. A French squadron of five ships of the line, and two frigates, lying in the harbour, was obliged, on the 14th of June, to surrender to the Spanish arms, under General Morla, after having sustained a cannonade and bombardment from the batteries for three days, while the British fleet, under Admiral Purvis, stationed off that port, prevented its escape.

The importance of preserving the French fleet at Cadiz, and the probability that it would fall into the hands of the Spaniards, had induced Murat to despatch General Dupont from Madrid, with a considerable force, to the south of Spain. Scarcely, however, had this general passed the Sierra Morena, before he heard of the surrender of the French fleet, and the disposition of the people soon convinced him that it would be unsafe to advance farther towards Cadiz. After pushing on to Cordova, of which he obtained a temporary possession, he measured back his steps to Andujar. The Spanish General Castanos, who, at the commencement of the insurrection, was stationed in the camp of St. Roche, marched at the head of the Andalusian army against General Dupont. After several particular actions, in which the Spaniards uniformly succeeded, either in repelling the attacks of the French, or in forcing them to fall back, and by which Castanos had brought his raw troops into habits of activity, firmness, and discipline, it was determined in a council of war, held on the 17th of July, that an attack should be made on the town of Baylen, where the van of the French army was posted. At three o'clock in the morning of the 19th, while the troops of the Spanish General Reding were forming for the march, General Dupont with his army attacked the Spanish camp in the vicinity of Baylen, opening a sudden and tremendous fire with his artillery; and



so determined was the resolution of the French general to make a decisive impression on the Spanish line, that his attacks were renewed till twelve o'clock, with no other interruption or intermission but such as necessarily arose from the occasional recession and formation of new columns. At this period he seemed disposed to give up the attack ; but before this resolution was taken, one other effort, led by General Dupont himself, and supported by his other generals, was made upon the Spanish lines, but with no better success. During these repeated, impetuous, and almost uninterrupted attacks, the Spanish line had been frequently penetrated in different parts ; and the French had more than once succeeded in arriving at their batteries. But the Spanish army, with more coolness, intrepidity, and discipline, than might have been expected from raw and inexperienced levies, formed again with astonishing regularity, dismounted the enemy's artillery, and cut to pieces the attacking columns, at the same time that they varied their own positions and movements, in such a manner as to be constantly in a state of preparation, and able to repel the rapid advances of the enemy. This success of General Reding over the main body of the French army, led on by General Dupont in person, decided the fate of the day, and rendered unavailing the reinforcement of six thousand men despatched from Madrid, under the command of the French General Wedel. Under these circumstances, Dupont proposed to capitulate, and on the 20th, the whole of the French army, comprising the division of Wedel, delivered up their arms, on condition that they should be embarked at Cadiz and sent to Rochefort. It appeared from the official returns, that the French forces, before the battle of Baylen, and exclusive of the division under General Wedel, consisted of fourteen thousand men, of which number nearly three thousand were killed and wounded. The Spanish army consisted of twenty-five thousand men, one half of whom were peasantry, and their loss was stated at twelve hundred in killed and wounded. By this capitulation, the army of General Castanos not only freed the province of Andalusia, and the whole of the south-west of Spain, from the presence and devastation of the French, but opened themselves a ready path to the capital of the kingdom, and to a junction with their companions in arms.

The cause of the patriots in other parts of Spain proceeded in a manner equally favourable and successful. The principal armies which they had formed were placed under the command of generals distinguished for their bravery, and their zealous and unquestionable attachment to the cause of their







**SPAIN  
AND  
PORTUGAL**

Scale of British Miles  
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

Longitude West 2 From Greenwich

Longitude East 2 From Greenwich



country. The defence of Arragon was committed to General Palafox, whose bold and animating addresses had contributed to rouse his countrymen to arms.\* Saragossa, the principal city of Arragon, was considered by the French as a place of so much importance, that they made repeated attacks upon that fortress, with all the forces they could spare. But the army of Palafox, animated to the highest degree by the wrongs of their country and the zeal of their leader, was fully adequate to defend the city, and to repel all the attacks with which it was assailed. Perhaps there are few instances in the annals of modern warfare, in which such persevering and successful courage has been displayed as by the defenders of Saragossa. The city was frequently bombarded in the midst of the night, at the same time that the gates were attempted to be forced under cover of the shells. The French, more than once, obtained possession of some parts of the town ; but they were received with so much coolness and bravery, that they were never able to preserve what they had, with so much difficulty and loss, acquired. The women vied with their husbands, sons, and brothers, in the display of patriotism and contempt of danger ; regardless of the fire of the enemy, they rushed into the midst of the battle, administering support and refreshment to the exhausted and wounded, and animating, by their exhortations and example, all ranks to such a display of firmness and bravery, as ultimately to secure this important city.

Another object of great importance to both the contending parties, was to obtain possession of the principal road between Bayonne and Madrid. Cuesta was the Spanish general appointed by the Junta to command the army destined to secure that important object. This army consisted partly of peasants and partly of regular troops, which had been collected from different parts in the north of Spain. Lasoles was the French general despatched by Marshal Bessieres for the same purpose. The hostile armies met on the 14th of July, at Rio Seco, near Valladolid. The French force consisted of ten thousand infantry, two thousand cavalry, and a large portion of cannon : that of the patriots amounted to fourteen thousand infantry, but they were nearly destitute of cavalry : a body of peasantry was also attached to the regular troops, the army was supplied with twenty-six pieces of cannon. The new levies, led on by their ardour and impetuosity, were not to be

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\* "*Guerre au couteau*"—War, even to the knife—was the favourite motto of Palafox, and in these words he replied to the summons of the French general to surrender the city.



restrained by the command of their general ; they rushed forward as soon as they came near the French, and at the first onset drove them back, and took and spiked four pieces of cannon. Unfortunately, however, the nature of the country, which was level and open, and the consequent advantage which the French gained in their superiority in cavalry, prevented the Spanish army from securing and maintaining their advantage, and obliged them to retreat to Benevento under the cover and protection of a regiment of carabineers, leaving behind them thirteen pieces of cannon. On this occasion the French suffered so severely that they were not able to pursue the Spanish army, nor even to take possession of Rio Seco till several hours after the battle.

At the very commencement of the Spanish insurrection, the patriots had gained possession of most of the sea-ports in the Bay of Biscay ; and the Bishop of St. Andero, not content with the influence of his exhortations, had set them the example of active and vigorous patriotism. By his means, numerous and well appointed bodies of men were raised, who marched, with the bishop at their head, in search of such divisions of the French army, in that part of Spain, as they might have a reasonable chance of subduing. But, as the French at Bayonne were sensible of the importance of gaining possession of these ports, both for the purpose of keeping the English supplies from reaching the patriots, and of conveying along the coast reinforcements and supplies to their own army, they despatched a considerable body of men who took possession of St. Andero. Their triumph, however, was of short duration : in consequence of the advance of General De Ponti with a division of ten thousand men from the Asturian army, the French detachment, afraid of having their retreat cut off, evacuated the town precipitately, having previously committed every kind of depredation and outrage.

One of the most formidable and well appointed corps which Bonaparte had introduced into the interior of Spain, was that which, under the command of Marshal Moncey, directed its march towards the province of Valencia. This province presents strong natural barriers against invasion, which were defended by a body of troops of the line and a considerable number of the inhabitants ; but the French marshal, by a rapid movement, and a sudden and impetuous attack, succeeded in forcing a passage over the mountains, and immediately advanced to the city of Valencia. On the arrival of Moncey in the precincts of the city, he despatched a flag of truce, promising protection to persons and property, provided the French army were permitted quietly to enter and occupy the city. To

this summons the inhabitants replied, that it was their unanimous resolution not to admit the enemy on any terms, but to defend the place to the last extremity. On receiving this answer, the French prepared immediately for the attack; and fortunately for the Spaniards, they directed their first and principal efforts against the gate of Quarte, which had been fortified in the strongest and most careful manner. Anticipating the attack at this place, the military and armed inhabitants of the city were drawn up in a broad street, which runs directly in front of this gate: so favourable an opportunity for throwing the enemy into confusion, and effecting their destruction with little risk or danger, was not to be neglected; the gate was accordingly thrown open, a twenty-four pounder having been previously placed opposite the entrance; the fire of this piece of artillery fully answered the expectations of the gallant Valencians; the French were soon discovered to be in complete confusion, and they were ultimately obliged to relinquish the attack. In the evening another attempt was made upon a different gate, but here also the enemy were received with so much coolness and bravery, that they were under the necessity of desisting from their purpose, and soon after commenced a precipitate retreat.

Amidst the universal and instantaneous burst of resistance made to the French yoke, through the various provinces of the Spanish empire, it was not to be expected that the capital would remain in a state of tranquil submission. Murat, fully aware of all that had taken place in the different parts of the kingdom, and of the impression which these events had produced on the people of Madrid, thought it prudent to withdraw his forces from the capital, and to station them on the Retiro, an eminence at a little distance, sufficiently elevated to protect him from a sudden attack, and to give him, in some measure, the command of the city.

While the Spanish troops were every where successful, and preparing themselves for new victories; while the insurrection was rapidly spreading and organizing itself in every province—Bonaparte remained at Bayonne, directing or receiving the deliberations of the Junta which he had convened, and drawing up a constitution for a people who felt so little gratitude for the intended boon, that it every day became more probable that the constitutional statute could not be forced upon their acceptance. In the early part of the month of June, Joseph, the brother of Napoleon, having taken leave of his good subjects of Naples, arrived at Bayonne, and was announced as the future monarch of Spain. Here he was received with the most abject adulation by deputations from the grandees of



Spain, and from the council of Castile. In the conference held with the deputies of the supreme court of inquisition, their future monarch assured them, that he considered the worship of God as the basis of all morality, and of the general prosperity ; that other countries allowed of different forms of religion, but that he considered it as the felicity of Spain, that she had but one, and that the true one !

As soon as the new constitution had been submitted to the Junta assembled at Bayonne, and received the approbation of that body,\* Joseph Bonaparte, accompanied by his principal

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\* The Spanish constitution formed at Bayonne is arranged under thirteen titles, and comprises one hundred and seventeen articles: The first title regards the religion of the state, and declares that " the Catholic-Apostolic and Romish religion is the predominant and sole religion of Spain and its dominions ; none other shall be tolerated." The second, " That Prince Joseph Napoleon, King of Naples and Sicily, is King of Spain and the Indies." The third, fourth, fifth, and sixth, relate to the minority of the king--the property of the crown---the officers of the royal household--and the ministerial appointments. The seventh regards the senate, which is composed, 1st, of the infantes of Spain, being eighteen years of age: 2d, of twenty-four individuals specially appointed by the king. By title eight, it is provided that the council of state shall consist of not less than thirty, nor more than sixty members. Title nine regards the Cortes or Juntas of the nation, which are composed of a hundred and fifty members, divided into three states or orders, namely, those of the clergy, nobility, and people, to meet once at least in three years. The order of the clergy to consist of twenty-five archbishops or bishops ; the order of the nobility of twenty-five nobles, who have the title of *grandees* of the Cortes ; the order of the people of forty deputies from the provinces, thirty from the principal cities, fifteen from the merchants, and fifteen from the universities. The deputies from the provinces to be nominated by the same, in the proportion of at least one to three hundred thousand inhabitants. The sittings of the Cortes not to be public ; their votes to be taken by ballot ; neither the opinions or votes to be printed or published ; any act of publication in print or in writing, by the assembly of the Cortes, or the individual members thereof, to be regarded as an act of insurrection. By title ten, a colonial representation is appointed. The Spanish colonies in America and Asia to have deputies to the seat of government, charged to watch over their particular interests, and to serve as their representatives in the Cortes ; these deputies, which are twenty in number, are to exercise their functions during the period of eight years. The eleventh and twelfth titles relate to the administration of justice ; and title thirteen to general regulations. Under this latter head, it is provided, that there shall be a permanent alliance by sea and land, offensive and defensive, between France and Spain ; The residence of every inhabitant of the Spanish territory is an inviolable sanctuary ; it can only be entered in the day-time, and for a purpose commanded by law, or in execution of an order issued by the public magistracy. A senatorial commission of personal freedom, consisting of five members, to be chosen by the senate from its own body, and to this commission all persons in custody, and not brought to trial within a month from the day of their commitment, may appeal. The freedom of the press to be regulated, by a law passed by the Cortes, two years after the constitutional statute shall have been in operation.

ministers, among whom were some of the most distinguished names in Spain, set out for the capital of his unconquered kingdom; Murat, on the plea of bad health, having previously quitted that city and arrived at Bayonne. Under the protection of ten thousand men, Joseph arrived in safety, on the evening of the 20th of July, at Madrid, where he was crowned, amidst the gloom and hatred of the inhabitants. On the very day the new king entered the capital, Dupont surrendered himself and his army prisoners to Castanos. As soon as this news reached Madrid, Joseph and his court found themselves compelled to seek their safety in flight, consoling themselves however by carrying off the regalia and plate belonging to the crown. No time, indeed, was to be lost; the army of Castanos, after having defeated Dupont, was marching with rapid and unopposed steps towards the capital; and Bessieres, alarmed for the safety of his troops, had given up his intention of proceeding towards Portugal, and was measuring back his steps to the French frontier. In this situation, Joseph Bonaparte, on the 27th of July, found himself under the necessity of quitting the capital, and of pushing forward as rapidly as possible towards Burgos.

Thus, within the space of two months, did the people of Spain behold their country almost entirely free from the presence of the French: and this glorious and happy issue had been accomplished by their own intrepidity, at a time when their situation was most dispiriting and forlorn; when their king had been compelled to forsake them, and to make over his right to the throne to a foreign potentate; when they beheld themselves surrounded on all sides by the troops of the usurper, they rose in arms and opposed themselves, unskilled as they were in war, and totally unprepared for the contest, to a power before which the mightiest empires in Europe had fallen.

As soon as Joseph Bonaparte and the French army had quitted Madrid, the council of Castile resumed the government, with professions of ardent attachment to the cause of their deposed monarch; but these professions were received with distrust by the patriots; and the government of the country still continued to be administered by the Junta of Seville. Under their direction a supreme government was formed from the Juntas of the different provinces, and on the 24th of September the solemn installation of this body took place at the palace of Aranjuez. In order to keep the civil concerns of the kingdom distinct and separate from those of a military nature, it was judged expedient to form a military Junta at Madrid: this assembly was composed of five generals, including Cas-



tanos and Morla, and the public mind was directed to its proceedings, with no inconsiderable degree of expectation and confidence.

Although the defeat of Dupont had been the signal for the general and speedy retreat of the different French corps, yet, after having formed themselves into one body, and reached the confines of Navarre, they did not appear disposed to continue their retreat. Joseph Bonaparte remained with the army, but the principal command rested with Marshal Bessieres. About the beginning of September the French headquarters were at Logrono, while at the same time the different corps of the patriots were advancing in order to unite, and to force the French beyond the Pyrenees. The occupation of the line of the Ebro was of so much consequence to each party, that they both approached towards the banks of this river. The French force was rated at about forty thousand men; that of the Spaniards, which was now placed under the command of Palafox, Castanos, and Blake, at about one hundred thousand. Palafox and Blake, who commanded the eastern and western wings, pushed forward so as to throw the whole of the Spanish army into the form of a crescent; the two points of which stretched beyond the flanks of the enemy. While these generals manœuvred on the flanks, they trusted to the main and centre force, under Castanos, succeeding in routing the centre of the French. It was soon, however, discovered, that in point of generalship the enemy were much superior to their opponents: notwithstanding the great superiority in the numbers of the patriots, they could not, by the most rapid movements or the strongest pressure of their force, either make an impression on the centre of the French, or outflank them in such a manner as to compel their retreat. The French, indeed, found themselves under the necessity of abandoning Burgos, and of contracting and concentrating their forces between Vittoria and Pampeluna. But within this space, and to the north side of the Ebro, in a country naturally strong, they bade defiance to the superior force, and the various manœuvres of the Spanish generals, and the months of September and October passed without any decisive or important operations.

The inactivity of the Spanish armies, which excited alarm and apprehension in the bosom of their most ardent and sincere well-wishers in England, does not appear to have been considered in Spain itself as discouraging or unpropitious. An expedition which had been fitted out under Sir Arthur Wellesley, for the purpose, it was supposed, of proceeding against Spanish America, was countermanded on the arrival of

the news of the insurrection in Spain. This army, consisting originally of about nine thousand men, set sail from Cork on the 12th of July, and arrived at Corunna on the 20th of the same month. The battle of Medina del Rio Seco, had taken place a few days before, and the Spaniards were retreating in every direction. In consequence of this intelligence, Sir Arthur Wellesley offered the assistance of the force under his command to the Junta of Galicia; but that body, unintimidated by their late reverses, replied that they wished for nothing from the British government except money, arms, and ammunition. They expressed their firm conviction, however, that the army under Sir Arthur Wellesley might be of infinite service both to the Portuguese and the Spanish nation, if it were employed in driving the French from Lisbon.

The British government, anxious to assist the patriots in every way that would be most congenial to their feelings, and beneficial to their cause, next turned its thoughts to the Spanish troops which Bonaparte had drawn, under the pretence of securing Hanover, to the northern parts of Germany. This force, to the amount of eight thousand men, was stationed in the Danish island of Funen. A negotiation being entered into between their commander, the Marquis de la Romana, and the British Admiral Keats, in order to effect their liberation, the Spaniards seized the vessels and small craft on the coast, by which they were conveyed to Langeland, where they joined two thousand of their countrymen. Thus ten thousand Spanish troops were rescued from the power of Bonaparte, and after being supplied with every thing of which they stood in need, were landed on the northern coast of Spain, to support the cause of their country.

While Britain was thus forward and zealous in the cause of Spanish independence, the other nations of the continent gave no signs of a disposition to take advantage of the embarrassments of Bonaparte to rescue themselves from his power, or to recover the territories and honour they had lost in their wars with the French. The well known character of Bonaparte; the public manner in which he had pledged himself to place his brother on the throne of Spain; and, perhaps above all, the prospect of a war which would employ his soldiers; gave little reason to expect that he would forego his designs upon that country. On the 5th of September, soon after his return from Bayonne to Paris, a *senatus consultum* was adopted unanimously by the French senate, by which one hundred and sixty thousand men were to be raised for the augmentation of the army. This circumstance, combined with the report of the French minister for foreign affairs, in which it



was stated that an army of two hundred thousand men was to be placed at the service of the war in Spain, sufficiently indicated that the insurrections in that country had not shaken his purposes. But it was to his troops, assembled at the periodical parade on the Carousel, that Bonaparte expressed his wishes and opened his plans:—"Soldiers!" said he, "after having triumphed on the banks of the Danube and the Vistula, you have passed through Germany by forced marches. I shall now order you to march through France, without a moment's rest. Soldiers! I have occasion for you. The hideous presence of the leopard contaminates the peninsula of Spain and Portugal! Let your aspect terrify and drive him from thence. Let us carry our conquering eagles to the Pillars of Hercules: there also we have an injury to avenge. Soldiers! you have exceeded the fame of all modern warriors. You have placed yourselves upon a level with the Roman legions, who, in one campaign, were conquerors on the Rhine, on the Euphrates, in Illyria, and on the Tagus. A durable peace and permanent prosperity shall be the fruits of your exertions."

Soon after Napoleon had arranged his military operations, he set out from Paris, to meet his confederates, the dependent German Princes and the Emperor Alexander, at Erfurth. The proceedings of this meeting were never suffered to transpire, but it cannot be doubted that one of its objects was to over-awe Austria, and to arrange the co-operation of Russia and the confederate states of the Rhine against her, if she attempted to avail herself of the war in Spain. Another determination and consequence of the conference at Erfurth was soon apparent. On the 21st of October, a Russian officer and a French messenger arrived in England, with proposals from the two emperors to enter into a negotiation for a general peace.\* The King of England, while he professed

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#### \* LETTER

FROM THE EMPERORS ALEXANDER AND NAPOLEON TO THE KING OF ENGLAND.

"SIRE,—The present circumstances of Europe have brought us together at Erfurth. Our first thought is to yield to the wish and wants of every people, and to seek, in a speedy pacification with your majesty, the most efficacious remedy for the miseries which oppress all nations. We make known to your majesty our sincere desire in this respect by the present letter.

"The long and bloody war which has torn the continent is at an end, without the possibility of being renewed. Many changes have taken place in Europe; many states have been overthrown. The cause is to be found in the state of agitation and misery in which the stagnation of maritime commerce has placed the greatest nations. Still greater changes may yet take place, and all of them contrary to the policy of

his readiness and his desire to negotiate a peace, declared, that though he was bound to Spain by no formal instrument, yet that he had in the face of the world contracted engagements with that nation, not less sacred than the most solemn treaties, and that the government acting on the part of his Catholic Majesty, Ferdinand VII. must be a party to any negotiations in which he might engage. To this the Russian minister\* replied, that the Emperor Alexander could by no means admit the plenipotentiaries of the Spanish insurgents. He had already acknowledged King Joseph Napoleon; the union of the two emperors was beyond the reach of all change, and was formed for peace as well as for war. The reply of the French minister,† as far as regarded the exclusion of Spain, was equally decisive, but his tone and manner were less decorous; it was impossible, he said, to entertain the proposal which had been made to admit to the negotiation the Spanish insurgents; and he inquired what the English government would have said, had it been proposed to them to admit the catholic insurgents of Ireland, with whom France, without having any treaties with them, had been in communication, had made them promises, and had frequently sent them succours. The British minister,‡ in reply, without condescending to notice the topics and expressions insulting to his majesty and his allies, declared it to be his majesty's determination not to abandon the cause of the Spanish nation, and of the legitimate monarchy of Spain; to do which would be to acquiesce in an usurpation without parallel in the history of the world. To this note, dated the 9th of December, no official answer was returned either by the Emperor of France or Russia, and upon this point the negotiation terminated.

While the intercourse was carried on between the court of St. James's and the ministers of the two emperors, Bonaparte was by no means inattentive to the means of prosecuting the war in Spain with his utmost strength and energy. Before he left Paris for Erfurth, the march of his troops towards

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the English nation. Peace, then, is at once the interest of the people of the continent, as it is the interest of the people of Great Britain.

"We unite in intreating your majesty to listen to the voice of humanity, silencing that of the passions; to seek, with the intention of arriving at that object, to conciliate all interests, and by that means to preserve all the powers which exist, and to insure the happiness of Europe, and of the generation at the head of which Providence has placed us.

*Dated Erfurth, October 12, 1808.*

(Signed)

"ALEXANDER.  
"NAPOLEON."

\* Count N. de Romanzoff.

† M. de Champagny.

‡ Mr. Canning.



that country had begun, and it was continued without intermission during his absence. On his return, he addressed the legislative body, in a speech filled with his plans and expectations. He made known to them the perfect union of sentiment between himself and the Emperor of Russia, with respect both to peace and to war; and he assured them that they had determined to make sacrifices in order to procure for the hundred millions of men whom they represented, an early enjoyment of the commerce of the seas. That the relinquishment of his designs upon Spain was not one of the sacrifices intended to be made by Bonaparte, was announced in his resolution to depart in a few days, for the purpose of putting himself at the head of his armies; and by their means to crown the King of Spain at Madrid, and to plant his eagles on the forts of Lisbon.

At the beginning of the month of November, the centre army of Spain, commanded by Castanos, quitted its position on the line of the Ebro, and concentrated itself on the left bank of the Aragon, occupying a line from Villa Franca to Sanguessa. The army of Blake in Biscay was stationed on the right wing of the French. The army of Estramadura, under the command of Count Belveder, which was placed at Burgos, expected to be joined by British reinforcements to the amount of twenty-nine thousand men, who were advancing from Portugal and Corunna, under Generals Sir John Moore and Sir David Baird. The force under the Marquis de la Romana had joined General Blake, and swelled his army to upwards of thirty thousand men. The united army of Castanos and Palafox was estimated at sixty thousand, and the army of Estramadura at twenty thousand men. At the beginning of the same month the head-quarters of the French army were removed to Vittoria, and on the 8th, the Emperor Napoleon, accompanied by a reinforcement of twelve thousand men, arrived in that city. The corps of the Duke of Cornegliano was posted at Kafalla, the left of his army having its position along the banks of the Aragon and the Ebro; the division of the Duke of Echlingen was at Guarda; the Duke of Istrio was at Muanda, while part of his corps formed the garrison of Port Pancuba. The heights of Durango were occupied by the division of General Merlin, who guarded the heights of Mondragon from the threatened attack of the Spaniards.

As the army under the command of General Blake, was at some distance from the united force of Palafox and Castanos, the first offensive operation of the French was to interpose their force between the Spanish armies, and if possible to

break in pieces the army of General Blake. On the 31st of October the French commenced the attack on the Spaniards at Lornosa ; after a long and well-contested action, General Blake was obliged to fall back, with the intention of forming a junction with the Asturian army ; and his retreat was conducted in the best possible order, without the loss of either cannon, colours, or prisoners. In his march he was joined by the Asturians, the troops of the north, and the fourth division of Galicia. The French pursued them with great speed ; and on the third of November they took possession of Bilbao. General Blake had scarcely taken up his position, and concentrated his army at Valmaseda, when he received information that a division of the French army, amounting to ten thousand men, were proceeding along the heights of Ontara, in order to take by surprise and cut off a part of his force, which occupied that place. For the purpose of protecting this body, and turning the manœuvre of the French against themselves, he left his position at Valmaseda at break of day on the 5th of November, and by one o'clock came up with and attacked the enemy. This battle, which equalled in obstinacy and perseverance that of the 31st of October, terminated in the complete defeat of the French, who were routed with great slaughter, and lost a considerable number of prisoners. On the 11th the battle was renewed ; when unfortunately, the left wing of General Blake's army, which was composed of the Asturians, sustained a complete rout, and a general retreat became unavoidable. The consequence of this disaster was fatal to the Spaniards ; they were thrown into extreme confusion, and a large portion of the army began to disperse. On the following day General Blake fell back on Reynosa, one of the strongest positions in the chain of mountains which stretch from east to west, along the boundary of the province of Biscay. There he intended to have concentrated his forces, and to have made a stand against the enemy. But it was the plan of the French to allow him no respite or intermission, until they had succeeded in rendering his army ineffectual, by dispersion or slaughter ; and they did not quit the attack, or give up their pursuit, till they had disqualified the Spanish general for taking any formidable share in the subsequent operations of the campaign.

At the time that one part of the French army was attacking General Blake in Biscay, another part of the enemy's force directed its course towards the city of Burgos. The Duke of Istria led on the cavalry, and the Duke of Dalmatia the infantry, which Bonaparte despatched to the attack of the Estramaduran army at that place. Three attacks were made on the city ; in



the two first the French were repulsed with considerable loss ; at the third attack, which took place on the 10th of November, the issue was for a long time doubtful ; the Spanish forces bravely resisted, and for thirteen hours repelled the assailants ; but at last, by the great superiority of their numbers in point of cavalry, the French succeeded in compelling them to leave Burgos, and to retreat to Lerma. The enemy continued the pursuit with undiminished vigour, and the remains of the Estramaduran army, after undergoing many hardships, at last formed its head-quarters at Segovia.

Bonaparte, having thus succeeded against the patriotic armies in the north-west of Spain, suddenly and unexpectedly directed his efforts against the forces under Castanos, on the Ebro. For this purpose the divisions of Ney and Victor were despatched with a celerity, unusual, even in the movements of the French army, from Burgos towards Villa Franca. The first advances of the enemy against Castanos took place on the 21st of November, with twelve thousand infantry, and four thousand cavalry, on the lines of Coma. In consequence of this movement, the Spanish general fell immediately back, and occupied a position from Tarragona to Tudela, the troops of the army of Arragon resting upon the latter place. On the 23d, three columns of the enemy were perceived marching in the direction of Tudela, and by eight o'clock in the morning he had occupied all the points of attack. Part of the field of battle was commanded by heights, which Castanos had neglected to occupy. Of this oversight the French took advantage, and at the same time penetrating the centre of the Spaniards, completely decided the fortune of the day. One division of the Spanish army was successful and compelled the enemy to retreat ; but, following the pursuit too far, they were taken in the rear by a part of the French army, which had penetrated through Tudela to the right. The Spaniards, thus broken into separate divisions, could not support each other, and a retreat became unavoidable. It is difficult to ascertain the exact loss sustained by Castanos in this engagement ; but the French assert that the fruits of their victory were five thousand prisoners ; and that four thousand Spaniards were left dead upon the field.

Thus, in the short space of three weeks, were the grand armies of Blake, Castanos, and Count Belveder, on which the principal hopes of the Spanish nation rested for the defence of the capital and the north of Spain, defeated, and in a great measure dispersed. In this, as in all his other campaigns, Bonaparte acted upon one simple principle ; he brought his whole force to bear upon one well chosen point ; forced his

way through the line in that quarter, and after having defeated one of his adversaries, directed his attention towards the weakened, alarmed, and dispirited remainder. This system, so much resembling Lord Nelson's naval tactics, he found equally successful, whether directed to the attack of a post, or the combination of entire campaigns. During these disasters of the Spanish army, the troops which had been sent by Great Britain to the aid of the patriots, were not far enough advanced either to support their allies, or to oppose any efficient check to the progress of the enemy. Sir John Moore, with about fifteen thousand men, arrived at Salamanca on the 14th of November. Sir David Baird was at Astorga at the same time, with about fourteen thousand men: and a brigade of ten thousand men, under General Hope, were on their route towards Madrid. In consequence of the rapid advances and successes of the French, General Hope, after having reached the Escorial, found it expedient to retreat, and form a junction with Sir John Moore: and upon the latter receiving intelligence of the defeat of the army of Castanos, all the British forces began their retreat, but the two divisions soon after resumed their respective positions at Astorga and Salamanca.

On the 22d of November, eleven days after the battle of Tudela, the emperor removed his head-quarters from Burgos, and marched against Madrid, by the direct road of the Castiles. The van-guard of the emperor's army arrived at day-break on the thirtieth at the foot of the Somo Sierra. The Puerto, a passage of this mountain, was defended by a division of from twelve to fifteen thousand Spaniards, and by a battery of sixteen pieces of cannon. After an animated resistance, the Spaniards, finding themselves too weak to withstand the powerful army to which they were opposed, sought safety in flight, leaving their cannon in the hands of the enemy. On the 2d of December, Bonaparte, preceding the main body of his army, arrived, with his cavalry only, on the heights that overlook the capital of Spain. Instead of the order generally perceived on approaching fortified towns, where all the circumstances of the war are foreseen; instead of that silence, which is only interrupted by the deep and lengthened call of "*Sentry, take heed*," the bells of the six hundred churches of Madrid were heard ringing in continued peals, interrupted only by the piercing cries of the populace, and the quick roll of the drum. The inhabitants of Madrid had only thought of their defence eight days before the arrival of the French armies, and all their preparations were marked by precipitation and inexperience. One of Marshal Bessieres' aides-de-camp was sent in the morning to summon Madrid,



but when it was known that he was the bearer of a proposal for the city to submit to the French, he narrowly escaped being torn to pieces by the enraged inhabitants, and owed his life to the protection of the Spanish troops of the line. At nine o'clock in the morning of the 3d the cannonade commenced. Thirty pieces of cannon, under the command of General Cenarmont, battered the walls of the Retiro, while twenty other pieces, and some light troops, made a false attack in another quarter, for the purpose of distracting the attention of the patriots, and of obliging them to divide their forces. In less than an hour the four thousand Spanish regulars who defended the gardens of the Retiro were overthrown; and at eleven o'clock the French soldiers occupied the important posts of the Observatory, the China Manufactory, the Great Barracks, and the Palace of Medina Cœli. The cannonade then ceased, and another envoy was sent into the city to demand its surrender. At five o'clock in the afternoon, General Morla, chief of the Military Junta, and Don B. Yriarte, deputed from the city, departed for the head-quarters of the emperor with the French envoy, and were conducted to the tent of the Prince of Neufchatel. In the mean time the inhabitants refused to lay down their arms, and continued to fire upon the French from the windows of the houses, surrounding the public walk of the Prado. Fifty thousand armed inhabitants, without any discipline, ran about the streets, vociferating for orders, and accusing their leaders of treason. The Captain-general, Marquis of Castellar, and other military men of rank, quitted Madrid during the night of the third, with the regular troops, and sixteen pieces of cannon. On the 4th of December, at six o'clock in the morning, another deputation was despatched from the city to the tent of the Prince of Neufchatel, and at ten o'clock the French troops took possession of Madrid. (64.)

It is impossible to review the affairs of Spain without lamenting the contrast which they exhibited in the months of August and December. At the former period, every thing

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(64.) At Madrid, on the 4th of December, the famous decree of Napoleon was issued, by which the tribunal of the Inquisition was abolished, the convents in Spain reduced to one third their former number, and the council of Castile dissolved. In this step he does not appear to have displayed his usual clear-sightedness and wisdom. The overthrow of priestly influence was, in the abstract, a very laudable measure, but its consequences were very injurious to his interests. And he had sufficient opportunity afterwards to discover the incorrectness of the remark he is said to have made to M. d'Escoiquiz. "*Croyez moi, charoïre, les pays ou il y a beaucoup des moines, sont faciles a subjuguer: j'en ai l'experience.*"

connected with the cause of the patriots was bright and cheering: the French armies were flying in every direction, defeated by raw and undisciplined levies, or reduced to the necessity of submitting to capitulation. The sovereign who had been placed on the throne of Spain, after the nominal occupation of Madrid for a few days, fled in the most precipitate manner at the approach of the Spanish armies. At that period, the whole kingdom of Spain, with the exception of the frontier provinces of the north, was freed from the presence of French troops; and those which remained, reduced in numbers, and dispirited by their flight and defeats, were under the necessity of acting solely on the defensive. In the month of December, what a reverse does the picture present! The armies of Blake, Castanos, and Belveder, had been defeated and dispersed; the capital was again in the possession of the enemy; his immense armies, constantly increasing, spread themselves over the whole of the north and the centre of Spain; while the whole remaining hope of the patriots rested with the southern provinces, and with the troops that might be able to collect and rally in the other parts of the kingdom.

While Bonaparte was carrying on his schemes against Spain, he was not inattentive to her valuable possessions in America. No sooner had he procured from Charles and Ferdinand the abdication of the throne in his favour, than he sent despatches by different fast-sailing vessels to their principal settlements. Fortunately most of these vessels were taken by the British cruisers, so that before the despatches of Bonaparte appeared, the inhabitants of Spanish America were accurately informed of the events which had occurred in the mother country; of the treachery and violence which had been employed against the sovereign and his family; and of the insurrection of the "universal Spanish nation" against the French invaders. On the arrival of such of the vessels as had escaped the British cruisers, the crews were seized and imprisoned. Hostilities were declared against France in the Spanish West Indies, and in many parts of the main. Ferdinand VII. was proclaimed; the English were received and treated as friends, and voluntary contributions in aid of the patriots were raised and transmitted to Europe.

Two grand objects occupied the mind of Bonaparte, and gave birth to most of his acts of atrocity and violence in the peninsula of Spain and Portugal; the aggrandizement of his own family, and the exclusion of British commerce from the continent: in order to further the accomplishment of these objects, Spain was deprived of her legitimate monarch, and made



the seat of a sanguinary war ; and the Prince Regent of Portugal was driven to seek a safer throne in the Brazils, while Portugal was over-run by the army of Junot, Duke of Abrantes.\* From the deep-rooted aversion of the Portuguese to the French, Junot soon discovered that his situation in Lisbon was by no means desirable, and that all his exertions would be required to preserve the public tranquillity. By the constant and vigorous blockade of the port, the inhabitants began to experience much inconvenience, and were threatened with all the horrors and calamities of famine. Trade was entirely destroyed ; money was so scarce that there was no sale for any goods but those of the most pressing necessity ; scarcely any merchants paid their bills, or accepted those which were drawn upon them ; the India House was shut up ; and every thing bore the appearance of gloom and despondency. From all these causes, the minds of the people were excited to an extreme state of irritation ; disturbances frequently took place in the city ; and in the surrounding country assassinations were daily committed.† The hoisting of the French colours aroused the populace against their invaders ; and the soldiers were obliged to fire repeatedly upon them before they could be compelled to disperse.

It is highly probable, however, that the French force would have eventually brought the inhabitants of Lisbon under complete subjection, notwithstanding the pressure of the calamities from inadequate and dear provisions, and from the total stagnation of trade under which they laboured, had not the Spaniards armed themselves in such a general and determined manner against the tyranny and the designs of Bonaparte. The news of this insurrection soon reached Portugal : the inhabitants of Lisbon, kept in awe and subjection by the army of Junot, were prevented at first from manifesting their joy at the intelligence. At Oporto, however, circumstances were more favourable to the wishes and the efforts of the Portuguese. A considerable body of Spanish troops occupied that city ; as soon as they were made acquainted with the occurrences in their own country, and had learnt that their services were required to avenge the captivity of their monarch, and to regain the independence and tranquillity of Spain, they determined to quit Oporto for the purpose of swelling the patriotic ranks of their countrymen. But, before their departure, they took the French general and all his staff prisoners, and delivered up the government of the city to Louise D'Oliveira,

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\* See Vol. II. Book IV. Chap. V. Page 74.

† General Junot's Proclamation prohibiting the use of fire-arms.

who had filled that office before the arrival of the French. As soon as the governor had resumed his functions, he ordered the Portuguese flag to be hoisted, and opened a friendly communication with the captain of an English frigate, which was cruising off that port.

The conduct of Oporto served as an example for the other parts of Portugal, and nearly the whole of the north of that kingdom rose in arms against the French. The inhabitants of the south do not appear to have come forward so generally, nor in so open and determined a manner, being kept back, in some measure, from their vicinity to the army of Junot, and by a strong and numerous French party among themselves. No sooner were the French expelled from the northern provinces of Portugal, and the authority of the Prince Regent re-established, than provincial Juntas, similar in their character and functions to those in Spain, were formed. Of these assemblies, that which met at Oporto exerted itself with the greatest zeal and effect in increasing and directing the enthusiasm and patriotism of the people, and in the establishment of such regulations and orders as the peculiar circumstances of the country demanded. After having taken the necessary steps for raising and supporting their army, the Junta of Oporto turned their attention towards England for assistance and support; and the army of Sir Arthur Wellesley, which had, in the first instance, been offered to the Spaniards, ultimately disembarked in Portugal. Destined to the profession of arms, and educated in the military academy at Angers, the commander of this expedition, now in the 40th year of his age, had served at Ostend, in Holland, and in Denmark; but he had particularly distinguished himself in India, in the Mahratta war with Scindiah,\* while his brother, the Marquis of Wellesley, was governor-general, and had exhibited indications of those talents, by which, in the subsequent prosecution of his military career, the sceptre of Charlemagne was to be wrested from the grasp of its possessor, and Europe was to be liberated from a military despotism, extending in its power or influence from the Tagus to the Baltic sea.

The force sent to Portugal under Sir Arthur Wellesley consisted of nearly nine thousand men, and was subsequently augmented, by reinforcements from the south of Spain, under General Spencer; from England, under Generals Anstruther and Ackland; and from the Baltic, under Sir John Moore. On the arrival of the expedition at Oporto, on the 24th of July, the commander-in-chief was informed by the bishop,

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\* See Vol. II. Book III. Chap. III. Page 328.



that the Portuguese force in that quarter was sufficient to repel the attacks of the enemy ; and after a consultation with Sir Charles Cotton, the British admiral stationed off the Tagus, Sir Arthur Wellesley determined to effect a landing in the bay of Mondego, having previously given orders to General Spencer to join him at that place. It was at the same time determined, in concert with the Junta of Oporto, that five thousand Portuguese troops should co-operate with the British army against the enemy, while the remainder of the native forces continued in the neighbourhood of Oporto. Before the disembarkation of the troops, the British general received advice from government, that five thousand men, under Generals Anstruther and Ackland, were proceeding to join him, and that about eleven thousand more, under Sir John Moore, lately returned from the Baltic, would speedily be despatched for the same purpose. About the same time, he received information that the army of General Junot, consisting of about twenty thousand men, had been considerably weakened, owing to that general having found it necessary to despatch General Loison with about six thousand troops into the province of Montejo, to quell an insurrection in the south of Portugal. This information induced Sir Arthur Wellesley to commence the disembarkation of the troops without delay ; soon after they had landed, the force under General Spencer arrived, and, on the 9th of August, advanced with the main body from Mondego bay on the road to Lisbon.\*

\* ENGLISH AND FRENCH FORCE EMPLOYED IN PORTUGAL.  
(From an *Official Return*, made in July, 1808.)  
ENGLISH.

<i>Sir Arthur Wellesley</i> —5th foot, 1st bat. 990 ; 9th regt. 833 ; 38th regt. 957 ; 40th regt. 843 ; 60th regt. 936 ; 71st regt. 903 ; 91st regt. 917 ; 95th regt. four companies, 400 ; royal veteran battalion, 4 bats. 737 ; 36th foot, 1st bat. 647 ; 45th regt. 599. Also a detachment of the 20th light dragoons, about 300	9,062
<i>General Spencer</i> —Artillery, 269 ; royal staff corps, 48 ; 6th regt. 1st bat. 1,020 ; 29th regt. 863 ; 32d regt. 941 ; 50th regt. 1,019 ; 82d regt. 991	5,151
<i>General Anstruther's Brigade</i> —9th regt. foot, 2d bat. 675 ; 43d regt. 861 ; 52d regt. 858 ; 97th regt. 769	3,163
<i>General Ackland's Brigade</i> —Queen's, 913 ; 20th regt. 689 ; 95th two companies, 180	1,782
<i>Sir John Moore</i> —	
(English)—4th foot, 1st bat. 1,006 ; 28th regt. 1,087 ; 79th regt. 913 ; 92d regt. 927 ; 95th regt. two companies, 300	4,233
(Germans)—3d light dragoons, 597 ; 1st bat. light infantry, 930 ; 2d bat. 916 ; 1st bat. line, 942 ; 2d bat. 770 ; 5th regt. 779 ; 7th regt. 697 ; 52d, 1st bat. 1,000 ; 18th light dragoons (to join) 640	7,271
One regt. under the command of Major-general Beresford (to join from Madeira.)	

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Total British Force (of which 1,837 were cavalry, and 29,025 infantry)	30,662
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Unfortunately a coolness arose between the Portuguese and the English generals, owing to a demand made by the former for a supply of provisions from the British stores, with which it was found impossible to comply without exposing the British troops to insufficient and precarious sustenance. In consequence of this difference, the Portuguese troops separated from the English, but on the urgent representation of Sir Arthur Wellesley, and a promise on his part to supply them with provisions, one thousand regular infantry, four hundred light troops, and two hundred and fifty cavalry, joined the British army at Alcobaca, on the evening of the 14th, with Colonel Trant, and continued with him during the remainder of the operations. On the 15th the advanced guard of the British army came up for the first time with a party of the French at Oviedas, when a slight action took place, occasioned principally by the eagerness of the British to attack and pursue the enemy. On the 16th the army halted, and the next day Sir Arthur Wellesley formed the determination to attack General Laborde at Roleia. This place is situated on an eminence, with a plain at the end of a valley on its front. On the hills on both sides this valley the enemy had stationed his force, his right resting on the hills, the left on an eminence, and the whole covering and protecting the passes of the mountains which lay in his rear. The French force, thus strongly and advantageously posted, consisted of about six thousand men, with five pieces of cannon, and the British general having reason to believe that the right of the enemy would be strengthened by the arrival of a fresh force in the course of the night, under Loison, formed his plan of attack accordingly; the right, consisting of the few Portuguese auxiliaries, was appointed to turn the left of the enemy: the left, under the command of General Ferguson, was destined to ascend the hills, in order to turn the enemy's posts on the left of the valley; and the centre columns of the English army were ordered to act against the front of the enemy. By this judicious and

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FRENCH.

In Lisbon and the neighbourhood,	- - -	{ Infantry	9,000
		{ Cavalry	2,000
In forts south of the Tagus,	- - -		1,600
Troops marched to the eastern frontier of Portugal,	- - -		1,700
Foreign infantry,	- - -		3,200
In other parts of Portugal,	- - -		3,000
One hundred and fifty Russians landed from each ship, and on duty at Lisbon. Very little French artillery in Portugal.			

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Total French Force, 20,500

(Signed)

G. W. TUCKER, Lieut.-Colonel.



skilful plan of attack, carried into execution on all sides with the utmost exactness and bravery, the French were soon driven from their position, and compelled to retire by the passes, into the mountains: their retreat they effected with great celerity, and without the least confusion or disorder. The British infantry in vain endeavoured to overtake them, and to complete the discomfiture which they had so successfully begun. As soon as the French reached the mountains, they occupied a very formidable position. All the passes were defended by the enemy, particularly that which was attacked by the 9th and 29th regiments. These regiments had advanced with so much rapidity, that they reached the front of the enemy's line before the arrival of the corps which had been despatched to attack the flanks: a most desperate battle ensued, attended with very considerable loss on the side of the British; but at the close of the day the enemy was driven from all the passes of the mountains, which he had previously occupied, and part of the British troops reached the plains on their summit. The enemy, in order to cover the retreat of his defeated army, made three distinct, desperate, and gallant attacks upon the two regiments which first reached the mountains; in all of which he was completely repulsed; and his retreat might have been cut off, had the British army been supplied with the usual proportion of cavalry. The loss of the enemy in this action was very considerable, and three pieces of artillery fell into the hands of the British. Our loss in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to nearly five hundred.

On the 18th the British army moved to Lourinha, in order to cover the debarkation of the troops under Generals Anstruther and Ackland, which took place on the 20th; and on the 21st they resumed their march towards Lisbon. Junot having been informed of the reinforcements which the British army expected under the command of Sir John Moore, resolved, notwithstanding the defeat of his troops at Roleia, on the 17th, to attack the British before their reinforcements arrived; for this purpose he left Lisbon with nearly the whole of his disposable force, amounting to about fourteen thousand men, and on the morning of the 21st came up with the army under Sir Arthur Wellesley, at Vimiera. This village stands in a valley, through which runs the river Maceira; on the west and north of the village is a mountain, the western point of which touches the sea, and the eastern is separated by a deep ravine from the heights, over which passes the road from Lourinha. The greater part of the British infantry, with eight pieces of artillery, were posted on this mountain, under

Generals Hill and Ferguson. The riflemen, under General Fane, and the brigade of General Anstruther, were posted on a hill to the south-west of the village, and which is entirely commanded by the mountain on which the troops under Generals Hill and Ferguson were stationed. The cavalry and reserve of artillery were placed in the valley between the hills. Soon after the enemy appeared, it became obvious that his intention was to attack the advanced guard on the left wing; and the positions of the British army were immediately changed in order to repel the threatened attack. The French army, formed into several columns, began their attack upon the whole of the troops on the heights in the south-east quarter, and they advanced on the left, notwithstanding the fire of the riflemen, close to the fiftieth regiment; but they were checked and driven back by the bayonets of that corps. The 43d regiment, forming the second battalion, was likewise closely engaged with them in the road which leads to Vimiera, a part of that corps having been placed in the church yard, in order to prevent them penetrating into the town: here also the engagement commenced early in the day, and here again the enemy was repulsed by the bayonets of the 97th regiment, supported by the 52d regiment, which, by an advance in column, took the enemy in flank. On these points the British army had acted merely on the defensive; but General Anstruther, advancing for the purpose of occupying his position on the left, attacked their flank, which suffered severely from his fire, combined with the fire of the artillery, which was placed on the same heights as this brigade. The engagement on this eminence was long and obstinately contested; but at length the French were repulsed and thrown into complete confusion, leaving behind them in their flight seven pieces of cannon, and a great number of killed, wounded, and prisoners. A detachment of the 20th light dragoons pursued the retreating enemy, but owing to their superiority in cavalry, this detachment suffered much, and Lieutenant-colonel Taylor was unfortunately killed. Nearly at the same time, the enemy commenced an attack upon the heights on the road to Lourinha: a large body of cavalry supported this operation, which was begun with their usual impetuosity; Major-general Ferguson's brigade, consisting of the 36th, 40th, and 71st regiments, received this attack with steadiness. As soon as the enemy approached, they charged him in their turn, and again he gave way before the rampart of British bayonets with which he was resisted. As the enemy retreated, the British troops advanced, and in their victorious career, took six pieces of cannon, and a great number of prisoners. The



last effort of the French was directed to the recovery of part of their artillery : for this purpose they attacked the 71st and 82d regiments, which had halted in the valley, where the captured artillery lay. The attack was so impetuous as to oblige the British regiments to retire from the low ground to the heights, which they had no sooner attained than they faced about and fired upon the enemy, and ultimately compelled him to retire from the valley with great loss, and without having accomplished the object of his enterprise.

In this action, in which the whole of the French force in Portugal was employed, under the command of the Duke of Abrantes in person ; in which the enemy was certainly superior in cavalry and artillery, and in which not more than half of the British army was actually engaged,\* the French sustained a signal defeat, and lost thirteen pieces of cannon, twenty-three ammunition waggons, and twenty thousand rounds of musket ammunition, with about three thousand men killed, wounded, and prisoners ; while the total loss of the British did not exceed eight hundred. The great superiority of the British troops in that most essential quality of a soldier—cool, steady, and persevering courage, was decisively and gloriously displayed throughout the whole of this memorable battle. The celebrated manœuvre, to which Bonaparte is indebted for all his victories—that of attacking by column, and endeavouring to break the line of his opponents, was attempted to be put in practice by Junot on the present occasion ; but the attempt, though made with all the characteristic impetuosity of French tactics, completely failed. The British line remained firm and unbroken ; and when they, in their turn, charged with the bayonet, they proved themselves as much superior to the French in attack as they were in defence. The enemy fled from the charge in dismay ; and this, as well as every other battle in which the British have had recourse to the bayonet, proves, that with that weapon they are irresistible.† (65.)

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\* Sir Arthur Wellesley's Despatches, dated Vimiera, August 22d, 1808.

† Of the many anecdotes relative to the battle of Vimiera, that prove and illustrate the honourable disposition, as well as the personal courage of the British soldiery, two are especially worthy of being recorded. The French General Bernier, who was wounded and made prisoner, was rescued from the hands of the infuriated Portuguese by a Highland Corporal, of the name of Mackay, in the 71st regiment ; the general, under an impulse of gratitude, presented Mackay with his watch and purse, but the gallant Caledonian declined to accept any remuneration from the hands of a fallen enemy, asserting that he had only done his duty. The other hero was a Highland piper in the same regiment ;

Sir Harry Burrard had joined the British army on the morning of the battle of Vimiera, after the dispositions had

early in the action he received a desperate wound in the thigh, which prevented him from marching, but placing himself on the ground, he began to play his pipes with more than usual energy, exclaiming, "Weel, my bra' lads, I can gang nae farther wi' ye a-fighting; but deel ha'e me if ye sal want music:" and so saying, he continued, during the engagement, to animate the men with his martial music. Both these heroes were rewarded, the corporal with a commission, and the piper, whose name was Stewart, with a handsome stand of Highland pipes.

(65.) This effusion of national vanity will cause a smile in those who remember the campaigns of the British in Holland and America. As it is impossible, however, to arrive at any degree of certainty with respect to military operations, without hearing the statements of both sides, we annex a brief account of this engagement, and the subsequent convention, extracted from the "*Campagne de l'Armée Française, en Portugal*," by an officer of the *etat-major* of that army.

"The retreat of the French from Madrid, upon the Ebro, by depriving the little army of Portugal of all support and succour, seemed to render its destruction certain. The vicinity of an English fleet, the expectation of an approaching debarkation, the facility with which a communication was kept up on a coast of so great an extent, three fourths of which could not be guarded, the intelligence of what was passing in Spain at the moment; in a word, all the steps of a conspiracy, taken openly and without its being possible to prevent them, prepared the people daily for a general revolt. The insurrection soon broke out in all quarters, and large multitudes began to threaten the capital in different directions. Subsequently to the month of June, the army was kept constantly occupied in a series of engagements with the peasantry, which took place in a radius of 2 leagues around Lisbon; but when, in the course of July, the English army landed at the mouth of the Mondego, the prospect of being able to make head against so many enemies at once appeared hopeless. The French, however, did not suffer themselves to be discouraged by these gloomy prospects, but resolved to maintain their ground to the last extremity, without regard to the number of their enemies. They were at this period reduced to 18,000 combatants. After the formation of several detachments for the purpose of dispersing the numerous corps of insurgents, who were advancing by both the banks of the Tagus, and were already masters of Abrantes, of maintaining tranquillity among the immense population of Lisbon, of putting the neighbouring coast in security against an attack from the English fleet, and of occupying the forts which defended the entrance of the harbour, there remained only 8,500 men in a condition to march against the English army. It is worthy of remark, that if the English had pushed on with less caution (*tatonnement*) and timidity, they might have arrived several days earlier in the neighbourhood of the Tagus, have prevented the junction of these forces, and presented themselves, almost without striking a blow, before the capital, the inhabitants of which, restrained until then, would have immediately declared in their favour.

It was with forces so greatly inferior that the French ventured to encounter the English army. The latter was found occupying a strong position near to Vimiera, resting against the sea, and protected by the fire of several vessels of war. It was computed at 22,000 men, although the division of General Moore had not yet debarked. This last body had come directly from Stockholm, without stopping in England, and was composed of 10,000 men, whose discipline, and the talents of their



been made, but before the action begun : with a feeling of delicacy towards Sir Arthur Wellesley, honourable to himself, he declined assuming the command till that general should have completed the operation which he had so well arranged. On the 22d, the day after the battle, Sir Hew Dalrymple, who had been ordered from his situation as Lieutenant-governor of Gibraltar, for the purpose of taking the command of all the different corps sent by the British government into Portugal, reached Cintra, the place to which the British army had moved. A very few hours after his arrival, a flag of truce came in from Junot, with a proposal for a cessation of hostilities, in order that a convention, by which the French should evacuate Portugal, might be settled and agreed upon. An

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commander, were the constant theme of conversation in the British army. The French, anxious to meet their enemies, began the attack with too much precipitation and impetuosity, before even the field of battle had been sufficiently reconnoitred. The consequence was, that nothing was done systematically ; and that this engagement had more the appearance of a brisk and sanguinary skirmish than a regular battle. After a three hours conflict, equally bloody for both parties, the French returned to the ground they had occupied previous to the affair, and reformed their ranks before the eyes, and under the cannon of the enemy, without the slightest molestation from the latter ; and, in the course of the same evening, passed quietly through a dangerous defile in their rear, and took up a position near to Torres Vedras. During the night General Kellerman, who had been sent to the English head-quarters under different pretexts, signed the preliminaries of a convention with Sir Arthur Wellesley, now Lord Wellington, who commanded in chief, *par interim*, during the action. It was provided by this treaty, that the French army, with all the foreigners and Portuguese who wished to partake of its fortunes, should be transported to France in English vessels ; the army, with its artillery, its munitions, its arms, its horses, and its baggage ; the other individuals, with their property, or a guarantee that what they left behind should be respected. There were at that time in the Tagus six Russian ships of the line, and some smaller vessels, which the French wished to associate with their own destinies, in conformity to the treaties which united the two nations, but in consequence of some perfidious insinuations, Admiral Siniavin persisted in wishing to treat on his own account, and he was, contrary to his expectation, forced to subscribe to humiliating conditions. Such was the issue of the first expedition of the French into Portugal, of the battle of Vimiera, and the convention of Cintra, about which so much noise has been made in England, and all the odium of which has been very unjustly thrown upon General Dalrymple, the commander-in-chief of the land forces. It is certain that considerable boldness and address were displayed by the French in extricating themselves from so awkward a situation, and that the British pride must have been grievously wounded at seeing a handful of French, without hopes of success, overpowered by numbers, and in the midst of an irritated population, treating on a footing of equality with forces so superior by land and sea, and ever requiring to be comfortably conveyed to France in the vessels of the enemy, without, on their part, having made the slightest sacrifice. Scarcely had these troops been debarked upon the coasts of Brittany before they again took the road to Portugal." P. x. xiv. &c.

armistice was accordingly signed by General Kellerman, on the part of the French, and Sir Arthur Wellesley on behalf of the English, the principal articles of which formed the basis of the convention of Cintra. By the definitive convention, so extraordinary in all its articles, it was agreed, that the English government should be at the expense of transporting the whole of the French army to any of the ports in France, between Rochefort and L'Orient. When the army arrived in France, they were to be at liberty to serve again immediately. All the property of the French army, as well as the property of the individuals, was to be sacred and untouched, and might either be sold in Portugal, or carried off into France. The embarkation was to take place in three divisions; the first to sail within seven days from the date of the ratification of the convention. No native of Portugal was to be molested, or considered accountable for his political conduct, during the time the French had occupied that country; and such of them as were desirous of withdrawing into France, were to have full liberty to dispose of their property. When the insurrection in Spain first broke out, Junot had ordered a number of the Spanish troops, serving in his army, into confinement in the ships in the harbour, and in return for the delivering up of these Spaniards, the commander-in-chief of the British army engaged to obtain, from the Spanish Juntas, the release or restoration of such French subjects, either military or civil, as might have been detained in Spain, in consequence of the events that occurred about the end of May and the beginning of June. Respecting the Russian fleet, which by the articles of the armistice was to be allowed to depart from the Tagus without molestation, a convention was agreed to by Sir Charles Cotton, and Admiral Siniavin, the Russian admiral, by which the ships and stores were to be delivered up immediately, and sent to England; there to be held as a deposit, and not to be restored till six months after the conclusion of a peace between Russia and Great Britain. The Russian admiral, officers, seamen, and marines, were to be allowed to return to Russia, at the expense of the British government, without any stipulation with regard to their future services.

Had not the battle of Vimiera exhibited the most decisive evidence that the British army were victorious on that memorable day, the fact would scarcely have been deduced from the convention of Cintra. In Portugal, as well as in England, the terms of the convention produced loud murmurs and universal discontent. General Bernardin Freire, commander of the Portuguese troops, entered a formal protest against the convention; and the coolness and alienation which had already



so unfortunately taken place, were, by this means, aggravated to a degree nearly approaching to open hostility. On the 15th of September the French troops completed their embarkation, after a variety of discussions upon the execution of the convention; and on that day the kingdom of Portugal was completely freed from the presence of an enemy, who, for ten months, had inflicted upon the country the most severe calamities and privations.\*

That the state and disposition of Portugal did not realise the public expectation, after the expulsion of the French, is evident from the large portion of the British army which remained in that country, at a time when their services were imperiously demanded by the situation of Spain. As the defeat of Junot and the liberation of Portugal were only mediate and not the final objects of the British expedition, as soon as that service was accomplished, the troops ought to have proceeded without delay to the assistance of the Spanish patriots. By sea they could not be sent, the transports being all occupied in restoring the conquered French army to their country. Instead, however, of compensating in some measure for the great length of time which a march by land would necessarily occupy, the troops did not begin their march towards Spain till two months after the ratification of the convention of Cintra, and even then, upwards of ten thousand men were left behind.

The fatal treaty by which the campaign in Portugal was terminated, drew after it a long train of disaster and disgrace. One of its first effects was to suspend all the operations of the army, and Sir Hew Dalrymple, Sir Harry Burrard, and Sir Arthur Wellesley, were all summoned to England, in consequence of the enquiry which it was seen proper to institute into that proceeding. The command of the British army was now vested in Sir John Moore—a general who had distinguished himself in the West Indies, in Holland, and in Egypt, and who had recently returned from Sweden, where he had been employed as commander-in-chief. No sooner had the command devolved upon Sir John, than the utmost activity was exerted to forward the expedition to Spain. The British army destined to act in favour of the Spaniards, and to assist in expelling the French invaders from that country, consisted of the troops which marched from Lisbon, on the

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\* The total number of French troops, &c. embarked from Portugal in virtue of the convention of Cintra, including the garrisons of Almeida and Elvas, amounted, according to the official returns made to the British government, to 24,735 men, 213 women, 116 children, and 759 horses.

27th of October, under the command of Sir John Moore,\* and those which were sent from England, under the command of Sir David Baird.† The latter arrived at Corunna on the 13th of October, and Sir David Baird was astonished and disappointed to find that the Junta of Galicia at first refused him permission to land his troops; and when their tardy acquiescence was at length obtained, his reception was so extremely cold and dispiriting, that he was disposed to doubt whether the reluctance of the Spanish government, expressed in the first stages of their resistance to the French oppression, had yet been overcome. The same impression was made on Sir John Moore, when he arrived at Salamanca, on the 13th of November; and this officer wrote from that place to the British minister at Madrid, desiring him frankly to inform the Spanish government, that if they expected his army to advance, they must prepare themselves to pay more attention to its wants. The further Sir John Moore advanced into Spain, the more strongly was he impressed with the conviction, that the information upon the faith of which he had crossed the frontiers of Portugal was utterly destitute of foundation. He had been officially informed that his entry into Spain would be covered by between sixty and seventy thousand men,‡ but so far was this from being the fact, that he had now advanced within three marches of the French army, and not even a Spanish piquet had appeared to protect his front. All the principal Spanish armies were beaten and dispersed; Burgos was in possession of the French; and even Valladolid had been entered and occupied by their cavalry. Under these circumstances, Sir John Moore determined to retreat; but before he could put his determination into effect, he received a communication from Mr. Frere, the British ambassador at Madrid, strongly urging him to advance to that capital, and pre-

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\* Effective strength of the force which marched from Portugal under the command of Sir John Moore:

Artillery,	-	-	-	-	-	686
Cavalry,	-	-	-	-	-	912
Infantry,	-	-	-	-	-	17,745
						<hr/> 19,343

† Effective strength of the troops that marched from Corunna under Sir David Baird:

Artillery,	-	-	-	-	-	611
Cavalry,	-	-	-	-	-	1,538
Infantry,	-	-	-	-	-	8,573
						<hr/> 10,722

Total, as stated in the Adjutant-general's Report---30,065

Of this force 715 men were left to keep open the communication with Portugal.

‡ Lord Castlereagh's Despatch of the 30th of September, 1808.



senting a highly-coloured picture of the enthusiastic and determined spirit of the people, as well as of the ample resources of the country. This communication was speedily followed by a messenger, sent expressly by the Prince of Castelfranca, and General Morla, the Governors of Madrid, with a paper dated September 2d, bearing their signatures, as the organ of the Supreme Junta. This paper was still more flattering in its representations of the zeal and resources of the Spaniards, than even Mr. Frere's letter; and in an evil hour, the British general suffered his judgment to give way to the representations of the Spanish government and the English minister. Under this influence, he was induced to suspend his retreat and to order Sir David Baird to advance. After the main body of the army had been joined by General Hope's division, they advanced towards Valladolid, with the corps under Sir David Baird in their rear. Before they had proceeded a day's march on their route, Sir John Moore learnt, by an intercepted despatch, that Bonaparte, who had entered Madrid on the 4th of December, was advancing towards Lisbon, and that a body of eighteen thousand men, under Soult, was posted at Saldana, on the banks of the Carrion. Sir John, anxious to meet the wishes of his troops, by leading them against the enemy, and willing to embrace any opportunity of benefiting the Spanish cause, quitted his route towards Valladolid, and, by a movement on the left, having effected his junction with Sir David Baird, advanced by rapid marches to the Carrion. Here the advanced posts of the two armies first met, and the superiority of the British cavalry, under Lord Paget, was eminently displayed in a most brilliant and successful skirmish. But just as Sir John Moore had issued his orders for the main body of the army to commence a general attack, and had requested the Marquis of Romana to co-operate with his forces, he received, from different quarters, information on which he could confidently rely, that Bonaparte in person was advancing with his army in order to get into the rear of the British; that the army which had been stationed at Talavera had moved forward to Salamanca, and that Soult himself had received strong reinforcements. There was now no alternative; a retreat had become indispensable, and the only difficulty lay in the route that ought to be pursued.

The numbers of the French army that were now despatched against Sir John Moore, amounted to upwards of seventy thousand. The corps of Soult, before it was reinforced, consisted of eighteen thousand men; the right flank of the British was threatened by Junot, who, liberated by the convention of Cintra from his perilous situation in Portugal, had now

again advanced into Spain with fifteen thousand men ; while Bonaparte, who had quitted Madrid on the 18th, with forty thousand troops, was at this moment advancing, with his usual rapidity, upon the British force. So rapid was the march of the main body of the French army, under Bonaparte, and so closely did they pursue Sir John Moore, that the advanced guard of the enemy reached Tordesillas on the same day that the British began to retreat from Sahagun. At Benevente the cavalry and part of the artillery of Bonaparte's army came up with the rear of the British, and another skirmish took place, which terminated greatly to the glory and honour of the British cavalry, and in which the French General Lefevre, at the head of his chasseurs, was taken prisoner. This check served to convince Bonaparte that his main force could not come up with Sir John Moore before he had quitted Benevente ; and the presence of the emperor being required in France, he committed the further prosecution of the pursuit to Marshal Soult, the Duke of Dalmatia, who, with three divisions under his command, was ordered to follow the British without intermission, and to effect their destruction.

The situation of the British army was at this time dispiriting in the extreme. In the midst of winter, in a dreary and desolate country, the soldiers, chilled and drenched by deluges of rain, and wearied by long and rapid marches, were almost destitute of fuel to cook their victuals, and it was with extreme difficulty that they procured shelter. Their provisions were scanty, irregular, and difficult of attainment ; the waggons, in which were their magazines, baggage, and stores, were often deserted in the night by the Spanish drivers, terrified by the approach of the French. Thus, baggage, ammunition, stores, and even money, were frequently obliged to be destroyed, to prevent them falling into the hands of the enemy ; and the weak, the sick, and the wounded, were necessarily left behind.\* In the midst of these distresses, the Spanish peasantry offered no assistance, and shewed no sympathy ; on the contrary, though armed, they fled at the approach of the English, carrying with them every thing that could alleviate their distress, or contribute to their preservation or comfort. Neither money nor threats could induce them to afford any relief or assistance. In short, the whole behaviour of the Spaniards, during the retreat of Sir John Moore's army, was calculated to add, in no trifling degree, to the dissatisfaction of the British, who saw themselves exposed to a superior force, and suffering under the most cruel privations, in the cause of men,

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\* Sir John Moore's last Despatch, dated Corunna, January 13th, 1809.



who would neither stir in their own behalf, nor assist those who, on their account, were encountering these accumulated evils.

The difficulties and anxiety of the British commander were increased by the relaxation which took place in the discipline of his army. The disappointment which they experienced, in not being allowed to measure their strength with the enemy ; the privations and distresses under which they laboured, in a retreat which they considered as a disgraceful and unnecessary flight ; and above all, the indifference to their sufferings which the Spaniards uniformly manifested ; contributed to weaken their habits of order and subordination. Sir John Moore, well aware of the consequences to which this want of discipline might lead, found himself reluctantly compelled to issue such orders as might unequivocally point out his sense of so great an evil ; and that might, at the same time, express his unalterable determination to punish, in the most severe and exemplary manner, every future offender.

The French army was now pressing hard upon the British, and Sir John Moore, having previously despatched General Crawford's division, consisting of three thousand men, to Vigo, came to the determination to halt at Lugo, at which place he arrived on the 5th of January, 1809, and to offer them battle ; but Marshal Soult did not think it prudent to attack the British in the strong and judicious position they had taken up near this place. Sir John Moore, not judging it safe, either to act offensively, or to delay his retreat any longer, quitted his ground in the night of the 9th, leaving his fires burning to deceive the enemy. On the 11th the whole of the British army reached Corunna, with the exception of General Crawford's division, which had embarked at Vigo ; but, unfortunately, the transports had not yet arrived, and the next morning, the French army, under the Duke of Dalmatia, were seen approaching Corunna. On examining the different positions in the neighbourhood, Sir John Moore determined to occupy a range of hills near the town, and on the 13th he made the following arrangement of his army :—One division under General Hope occupied a hill on the left, commanding the road to Betanzos ; the division under Sir David Baird extended from this village, and bending to the right, the whole formed a crescent ; the rifle corps on the side of Sir David Baird formed a chain across a valley, and communicated with General Fraser's division, which was drawn up near the road to Vigo, about half a mile from Corunna ; and the reserve, under Major-General Paget, occupied a village on the Betanzos road, about half a mile in the rear of Gene-

ral Hope. On the 14th, in the evening, the transports appointed to convey the British army to their native shores, hove in sight. On the 15th the enemy advanced to the height opposite the British position. About noon, on the 16th, he began to place some guns in the front of the right and left of his line, and followed up this preparatory movement by a rapid attack upon the division of General Baird. When the enemy's line first began to assume a hostile attitude, Sir John Moore was employed in visiting the outposts, and in explaining to the general officers his plans for conducting the embarkation. Surprised, but by no means disconcerted by this intelligence, he flew to the field of battle, expressing his regret that the advanced hour of the day would not allow the British army to reap all the advantages of that victory which he felt assured now awaited them.

The first attack of the enemy was directed against the right wing of the British, and Sir John Moore, well aware that this was his vulnerable point, placed himself in front of the position, in order to animate and to direct the operations of his troops. Early in the engagement, Sir David Baird, the second in command, while leading his division, had his arm dreadfully shattered by grape shot, and was in consequence obliged to quit the field. An attempt was now made by the French to turn the right flank of the British line; but this manœuvre was completely defeated by the 4th regiment falling back, and opening a flanking fire upon the assailants. Sir John Moore, after exclaiming—"that is exactly what I wished," rode up to the 50th regiment, and directed them to charge the enemy; this order they obeyed, notwithstanding the intervention of an inclosure in front, and the enemy was driven out of the village of Elvina with great slaughter.—The general next proceeded to the 42d, who, being addressed by him in the flattering and proud words, "Highlanders, remember Egypt!" charged the French with irresistible impetuosity, and forced their ranks to retreat. The career of this gallant officer was now drawing to a close; and at the moment when Captain Hardinge was reporting to him that the guards were advancing to the assistance of the 42d, a cannon ball from the enemy's battery struck Sir John Moore, and carrying away his left shoulder and part of the collar bone, left his arm hanging to his body by the flesh. The violence of the stroke brought him to the ground; but so composed and unaltered was his countenance, and so intently was his mind fixed upon the advancing Highlanders, that for a few moments it was hoped that he was rather stunned than materially hurt by the shot. It was soon, however, discovered that the



wound was mortal, and the expiring hero was prevailed upon to suffer himself to be removed to the rear. On his way from the field, he ordered Captain Hardinge to report his wound to General Hope, who now assumed the command.\* The soldiers, although aware of the situation of their chiefs, continued to support the contest with undiminished constancy. The attack of the French upon the right of the British line was completely repulsed ; and they were, in their turn obliged to draw back their left flank, to prevent it from being turned. Their next attempt was against the centre : but here they were successfully resisted by Generals Manningham and Leigh. The last effort of the enemy was directed against the left of the British army, but they were almost instantly driven back with loss ; and although the discharge of cannon, and the report of musketry, continued till night put an end to the operations, yet at four o'clock in the afternoon the English

\* The particulars of the last moments of General Sir John Moore are thus related by his friend, Colonel Anderson :—"I met the general in the evening of the 16th of January conveyed off the field in a blanket and sashes. He knew me immediately, though it was almost dark, squeezed me by the hand, and said, 'Anderson, don't leave me.' He spoke to the surgeons on their examining his wounds, but was in such pain that he could say little. After some time he seemed very anxious to speak to me, and, at intervals, got out as follows : 'Anderson, you know that I have always wished to die this way.' He then asked, 'Are the French beaten?' which he repeated to every one he knew, as they came in. 'I hope the people of England will be satisfied!—I hope my country will do me justice!—Anderson, you will see my friends as soon as you can—Tell them—every thing—Say to my mother'...Here his voice quite failed, and he was excessively agitated.—'Hope—Hope—I have much to say to him,—but cannot get it out—are Colonel Graham—and all my aides-de-camp, well—I have made my will, and have remembered my servants.—Colborne has my will,—and all my papers.'

"Major Colborne then came into the room. He spoke most kindly to him, and then said to me, 'Anderson, remember you go to —, and tell him it is my request, and that I expect he will give Major Colborne a lieutenant-colonelcy—He has been long with me,—and I know him most worthy of it.' He then asked Major Colborne, 'if the French were beaten?' and, on being told they were on every point, he said, 'It's a great satisfaction to me to know we have beaten the French.—Is Paget in the room?' On my telling him, no; he said, 'remember me to him.—It's General Paget I mean—he is a fine fellow.—I feel myself so strong—I fear I shall be long dying.—It is great uneasiness—It is great pain.' He thanked the surgeons for their trouble. Captains Percy and Stanhope, two of his aides-de-camp, then came into the room. He spoke kindly to both, and asked Percy,§ 'if all his aides-de-camp were well?' After some interval, he said, 'Stanhope,||—remember me to your sister.' He pressed my hand close to his body, and in a few minutes died without a struggle."

§ The Honourable Captain Percy, son of Lord Beverly.

|| The Honourable Captain Stanhope, third son of Earl Stanhope, and nephew of the late Mr. Pitt.

had taken up a position in advance, and victory was no longer doubtful.

When all the disadvantages under which this complete and brilliant victory was achieved, are taken into consideration, the honour which it reflects on the British arms will be duly appreciated. Exhausted and worn out by rapid marches over a country two hundred and fifty miles in extent, in the most inclement season of the year, destitute of food and shelter, and deprived by sickness and the casualties of war of ten thousand of their companions in arms, fifteen thousand British troops resisted and successfully repelled the attacks of an enemy amounting to at least twenty thousand men :\* and while the loss of the British in the battle of Corunna amounted to from seven to eight hundred, the loss of the French is estimated at two thousand.

General Hope, aware of the approaching succours of the French army, and of the circumstances under which the British troops were placed, judged it advisable to proceed in the embarkation, for which indeed the preparatory measures had been taken by Sir John Moore. Accordingly, about ten o'clock on the night of the 16th, the troops quitted their position, and marched into Corunna, where the embarkation for England immediately commenced ; and so well concerted were the arrangements, that during the night, and in the course of the following day, the whole army, including the sick and wounded, were placed on board the transports without molestation from the enemy.

As it had always been the wish of Sir John Moore to die upon the field of battle, so it had been his earnest request that he should be buried where he fell. This request, so congenial to the mind of a general whose distinguishing characteristic it was to have " spent his life among his troops," was strictly complied with. At the solemn hour of midnight the corps was carried to the citadel of Corunna by Colonel Graham, Major Colborne, and the aides-de-camp, and deposited in Colonel Graham's quarters. A grave was dug on the ramparts by a party of the 9th regiment, the aides-de-camp attending by turns. No coffin could be procured, and the body was never undressed, but wrapped up by the officers of his staff in a military cloak and blankets. At eight o'clock in the morning of the 17th the interment took place ; the officers of his family bore the body to the grave ; the funeral service was read by the chaplain ; and the earth received the remains of the departed hero.

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\* Narrative of the Campaign of the British army in Spain, by James Moore, Esq.



The benefits derived to an army from the example of a distinguished commander, do not terminate at his death; his virtues live in the recollection of his associates, and his fame remains the strongest incentive to great and glorious actions. Educated in the school of regimental duty, Sir John Moore at an early period obtained, with general approbation, that conspicuous station in which he gloriously terminated his honourable life. His country, the object of his latest solicitude, has reared a monument to his lamented memory, and at his death the commander-in-chief held him forth as an example to the British army.\*

This first campaign in Spain was disastrous in the extreme; the object of the enterprise, which was to drive the French from that country, entirely failed, and the apathy of the Spanish government, and of the native armies, favoured the supposition, that the first burst of patriotism, which had astonished all Europe, was merely a momentary ebullition. The British troops lost much in their retreat, but in battle they lost nothing. The battle of Corunna, which closed the glorious career of the commander-in-chief, and the sufferings of his followers, will for ever live in the recollection of his grateful country. Like Wolfe, Sir John Moore fell in the meridian of life, and in the moment of victory: and like that general, his memory will never cease to hold a distinguished place in the military annals of his country.

## CHAPTER VII.

FOREIGN HISTORY: *Mediation of Austria—Perilous Situation of Sweden—Subsidiary Treaty between Great Britain and Sweden—Invasion of Finland by the Russians, under Count Buxhovden—Surrender of Abo and Biorneberg to the Russians—Fall of Sweaborg—Armistice between the Russian and Swedish Forces—Unsuccessful Efforts of Sweden against Norway—English army despatched to the Baltic—Operations of the Squadron under Sir Samuel Hood—Predominant Influence of French Politics at the Court of St. Petersburg—Expulsion of the Swedes from Finland—Death of Christian VII. King of Denmark—Changes in Italy—Establishment of an Order of Hereditary Nobility in France—Nomenclature of the Court of the Emperor Napoleon—(note)—French Annual Expose—Relations between the United States of America and the belligerent powers of Europe.*

THE year 1808 was ushered in by an offer from the Emperor of Austria to become the mediator of a general peace.†

\* See General Orders, dated Horse-Guards, February 1, 1809.

† Note from Count Stahremberg to Mr. Secretary Canning, dated London, Jan. 1, 1808.

A similar offer had been made in the spring of the preceding year,\* when the emperor proposed his amicable mediation to the courts of London, Paris, Berlin, and St. Petersburg, and invited them to open a negociation for peace; intimating that any place in his dominions, remote from the seat of war, might be fixed upon for assembling the congress. To this proposal the British government acceded, provided that the proffered mediation was accepted by the other belligerents.† The affairs of the continent at this period were, however, such as to afford little expectation of the return of tranquillity, and seven months elapsed before any thing more was heard on the subject. The Prince de Stahremberg, the Austrian envoy extraordinary to the court of London, then transmitted another note to the secretary of state for foreign affairs,‡ announcing that he had received positive orders from his court, to make the most earnest representations on the importance of putting an end to the struggle which still existed between England and France, the effects of which might produce to the rest of Europe the most fatal consequences; and the emperor, therefore, officially and earnestly requested a formal assurance from the British government, of its readiness to enter into a negociation for a maritime peace. To this proposal Mr. Canning replied,§ that his majesty was now, as he had at all times been, prepared to enter into a negociation for the conclusion of such a peace as should be consistent with his fidelity to his allies, and should provide for the tranquillity and security of Europe. On the 1st of January the Austrian ambassador transmitted another note, stating, that he was charged by his court to propose to the British ministry to send plenipotentiaries immediately to Paris, for the purpose of treating for peace with all the powers at war with England; and in order to avoid every species of delay, he was authorised by France to give passports to the ministers who might be appointed to that mission. Mr. Canning, in reply, expressed the regret of his majesty, that, after the correspondence in the month of April last, the present overture did not notify the acceptance of the conditions then stated, as indispensable preliminaries to a negociation; and extended only to the powers combined with France in the war against Great Britain, and not to the allies of Great Britain in the war with France. It was further urged, that the Austrian ambassador had omitted to explain from whom he received his

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\* Note from the same to the same, dated London, April 18, 1807.

† Note from Mr. Canning to Count Stahremberg, dated April 23, 1807.

‡ Dated November 20, 1807.

§ November 23, 1807.



commission to propose that plenipotentiaries should be sent to Paris, whether from his imperial master, or from the government of France, and that no intimation was given of the basis on which it was proposed to treat; his majesty, therefore, could only repeat, that he was willing to enter into negotiations with France on a footing of perfect equality, embracing the interests of the allies of both powers; but under such circumstances, his majesty did not think it expedient to give the Austrian ambassador any authority to speak in his majesty's name to the government of France: as soon as the basis was settled, his majesty would be prepared to name plenipotentiaries, but he would not again consent to send them to a hostile capital. Four days after the date of this answer, the Prince de Stahremberg demanded his passports. At the same time Mr. Adair, the British envoy at Vienna, quitted that capital, in consequence of an intimation from the Austrian government; and in a declaration of war issued by the Emperor Francis against England, on the 18th of February, 1808, it was asserted, "that it was impossible not to perceive, in the course pursued by the British ministry, a disposition to remove the possibility of peace to a greater distance, and not to listen to whatever had any tendency to restore the tranquillity of Europe." Thus was the house of Austria added to the number of the enemies of Great Britain; but the local circumstances of the two countries, and their mutual apprehension of the power and influence of France, served to give to the contest the character rather of nominal than of real hostility.

The influence of the treaty of Tilsit upon the affairs of the north of Europe soon began to unfold itself; and Russia, now become the willing instrument of French policy, not only withdrew from her alliance with Sweden, but prepared to attack that country as soon as the season of the year would admit of hostile operations. Denmark, which, by the bombardment of her capital, and the seizure of her fleet, had been thrown completely into the arms of France, viewed Sweden as the ally of England, with feelings of hostility and disgust. These feelings were increased and exasperated by the suspicion that Sweden had approved of the attack on Copenhagen, and had been by no means indisposed to occupy the island of Zealand, when it was left by the English. In this perilous situation, the King of Sweden, threatened with an invasion of the southern part of his dominions, by the joint forces of Denmark and France, and with an attack on Finland by his powerful neighbour, the Emperor of Russia, it became the evident duty, as well as the interest of Great Britain, to assist her

weak but firm ally by every means in her power. Accordingly, on the 8th of February, 1808, a convention was entered into between his Britannic Majesty and the King of Sweden. By this subsidiary treaty it was mutually agreed, that Great Britain should pay to the King of Sweden the sum of twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling, in equal instalments of one hundred thousand pounds a month ; this sum was to be employed by Sweden in putting in motion all her land forces, with her flotilla, and such part of her fleet as might be deemed necessary. By a separate article, the respective sovereigns agreed to arrange and concert, as speedily as circumstances would allow, the measures which ought to be adopted, and the auxiliary forces which Great Britain should send into the Baltic, whenever the war between Sweden and Russia, or Denmark, should actually take place.

A very short time after this treaty was entered into, and before the rigours of a northern winter had subsided, the Russian troops, to the amount of forty thousand, crossed the frontier of Finland, and proceeded without interruption as far as Helsingfor ; and this hostile measure, which was undertaken without the previous formality of a declaration of war, the Emperor of Russia attempted to justify on the ground that Sweden had refused to co-operate with him in a war against England, provoked by the hostile aggression committed by that power against the King of Denmark. This charge was not denied by Gustavus Adolphus, who admitted that, by the terms of the treaties existing between Sweden and Russia, he was bound to avenge the violation of the Baltic in the attack on Copenhagen ; but, before he co-operated for this purpose, he called upon the Emperor of Russia to procure the liberation of the coast of that sea from the presence of the French army, and to open the German harbours to English vessels.

The declaration of Denmark against Sweden, which was issued on the 29th of February, dwelt at great length, and in very emphatic language, on the attack on Copenhagen. While all the rest of Europe resounded with cries of indignation at this atrocious crime, committed against a neutral and unoffending state, Sweden alone preserved a total silence ; and had actually renewed her alliance with a power which threatened the neutrality of the Baltic and the ports of Zealand with her armaments. Under these circumstances, Denmark found herself compelled to adopt entirely the resolutions of Russia in respect to Sweden, and to declare that she would not separate her cause from that of her august and faithful ally. The answer of the King of Sweden to the Danish declaration of war was simple and satisfactory. The relations of the two



countries were merely those of peace : they were not united for war. When, therefore, in 1806, Sweden, Russia, and Prussia, were leagued against France, Denmark preserved her neutrality without being called upon by Sweden to assist her in the war. From this circumstance, the King of Sweden was persuaded that the naval force of Denmark would not be employed for the interest of his kingdom, and after the treaty of Tilsit, he had every reason to fear that Denmark, overawed or persuaded by Russia and France, would direct her fleet against him. With these impressions and apprehensions, the King of Sweden did not think himself called upon to interfere when England attacked Copenhagen.

Count Buxhovden, to whom the chief command of the Russian army in Finland was confided, had scarcely crossed the frontiers, before he issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, assuring them that the Russian army did not enter their country as enemies but as friends ; and that the object of the emperor was to render Finland more prosperous and happy by incorporating that state with the Russian empire. The army which was sent by the King of Sweden to the defence of Finland was commanded by Count Klingspor, a general of uncommon talents and skill. On him Buxhovden endeavoured to prevail, by means of bribes and promises, to betray the cause of his master ; but the Swedish general remained firm and unshaken in his integrity, loyalty, and zeal. But although the Swedes were unassailable by the weapons of corruption, they were by no means in such force as to enable them to oppose, with any prospect of success, the first advances of their enemies ; and within a month after the invasion of Swedish Finland, Abo, the capital of that province, fell into the hands of the Russians. Biorneberg soon shared the fate of Abo ; and Count Klingspor, finding the Swedish army too weak to sustain the contest, fell back upon his resources. This retreat, continued for upwards of four hundred English miles, through a country almost without roads, and deeply covered with snow, has been compared to the celebrated retreat of Moreau from Germany ; and the Russians, disappointed in their attempt to surround or cut off Klingspor, returned from the pursuit towards the southern part of Finland.

The next place against which the Russians directed all their means, both of artifice and force, was Sweaborg. This city, from the great strength of its natural position, aided by the works which have been raised for its defence, has justly been called the Gibraltar of the north. The bombardment commenced at the beginning of April, but without much injury either to the houses or to the forces : few of the garrison

were either killed or wounded, and not more than one-third of the ammunition had been expended, when the Swedish governor, not without strong suspicions of treachery, agreed to surrender the place into the hands of the enemy. After the capture of Sweaborg, the Russians advanced into the north of Finland, and in many places, particularly at Wasa, they committed the most atrocious and barbarous cruelties. For a short time, however, the Swedes were enabled to act on the defensive, and to drive the Russians back into the south of Finland, but these successes were only of a temporary nature ; the Russian army suffered more from want of provisions than from the partial victories gained over them ; and when, by their vicinity to the more fertile part of the province, which borders on Russia, they had been recruited and supplied, they were again enabled to advance against the Swedes with a very superior force. Klingspor, after having performed the part of an able and skilful general, found himself obliged to conclude an armistice with the enemy, by which it was stipulated, that the operations in Finland should be suspended, and that they should not be renewed without eight days previous notice.

Gustavus Adolphus was not more successful against Norway. His first efforts against the unprepared Norwegians were attended with some success ; but as soon as the peasantry had put themselves in a state of preparation, and obtained the co-operation of the regular forces, they were enabled not only to defend their own territory from the eruptions of the enemy, but also to act offensively and successfully against the Swedes.

Amidst the difficulties with which the King of Sweden was surrounded, Great Britain was not unmindful of the assistance which she had engaged to afford him. An English army, consisting of about twelve thousand men, arrived at Gottenburgh on the 17th of May ; but after having remained on board the transports for several weeks, the troops returned to England without having been disembarked. The Swedish monarch, enraged at the refusal of Sir John Moore to expose his troops to loss and dishonour, without the smallest probability of benefiting the cause in which they were to be engaged, put the English general under arrest, and it was not without some difficulty that he effected his escape on board the British fleet. The squadron which was sent to the Baltic by the English government, under the command of Sir Samuel Hood, having joined the Swedish Admiral, Nauckhoff, with the Centaur and Implacable, sailed, on the 25th of August, in quest of the Russian fleet. On the day following the Russians were discovered off Hango Udd. The British ships out-sailed their allies ; and about five o'clock on the fol-



lowing morning, the Implacable brought the Sewolod, of seventy-four guns, to close action. In the course of twenty minutes the enemy's ship was completely silenced, and her colours struck. The British commander used every manœuvre to bring on a general action, but the Russian admiral, aware of this intention, took refuge in the port of Rogerswick. The Russian ship which had engaged with the Implacable, grounded at the entrance of the harbour, and an attempt was made by Sir Samuel Hood in the Centaur to bring her off, but owing to the shallowness of the water, it was found impossible to get her afloat. Sir Samuel Hood, finding all his endeavours fruitless, took the prisoners out of the Russian ship, and set fire to her. As soon as the Russian squadron had entered the port of Rogerswick, the men were employed in fortifying the harbour against the attacks of the combined fleet, and so successful were their exertions, that every attempt to injure the Russian ships proved ineffectual.

The influence of the French Emperor had now become predominant in the court of Russia. Of the nature and extent of that influence there were many proofs. Caulincourt, the Duke of Vicenza, was sent to St. Petersburg as the French ambassador, and his diplomatic talents were unremittingly exerted to guard the mind of the Emperor Alexander from every consideration which could interfere with the views of his master. Under this influence, the interests of Russia, were sacrificed, and in order to inflict a feeble blow on English commerce, the Russian nobility were deprived of the means of disposing of the produce of their estates. The English merchants who remained at St. Petersburg were continually harrassed with new restrictions, and exposed to every indignity and insult which the French ambassador thought proper to suggest. He alone possessed the confidence of Alexander, whom, sometimes by the allurements of pleasure, and at others by obscure threats of his master's vengeance, he managed with that facility which a man of experience and superior mind will always possess over one with less energy of intellect and less stability of character.

The King of Sweden soon became sensible of the influence which Bonaparte had exerted at the famous conference at Erfurth over the mind of Alexander. Scarcely had the emperor returned to St. Petersburg before orders were sent to his generals to renew the war in Finland, and the Swedes, incapable of withstanding the overwhelming force brought against them, were reduced to the necessity of negotiating a convention, by which they agreed to evacuate Uleaborg, and to retire to the west side of the river Kiemi, the utmost limit of

Findland. Thus terminated a campaign, during the whole of which the Swedish army behaved with the greatest bravery, but in which the inferiority of their numbers obliged them finally to succumb to the northern Autocrat.

The French, who had passed over to the islands in the Baltic, for the purpose of invading the southern part of Sweden, soon discovered, that while the British and Swedish fleets kept possession of that sea, their project was impracticable. The Danes, however, continued to attack our merchant ships with great success, sometimes from the negligence of the British convoys, but more frequently from the frigates not being able to injure the gun-boats. Christian VII., the King of Denmark, died this year, in a fit of apoplexy, and was succeeded by his son, the Prince Royal, who was immediately proclaimed King of Denmark and Norway, by the name of Frederick VI. The deceased monarch had long laboured under a mental infirmity, which rendered him totally incapable of all public business, and his death neither occasioned any sensation in Denmark, nor produced any change, either in the domestic policy or in the foreign relations of that kingdom.

The same spirit of personal ambition and of implacable hatred towards England which gave rise to the attack on the independence of Spain, induced Bonaparte, this year, to make considerable changes in the affairs of Italy. Under the plea that the temporal sovereign of Rome, as he styled the pope, had refused to make war against England, and that the two kingdoms of Naples and Italy ought not to be divided by the intervention of a hostile power, he decreed, that the ecclesiastical duchies of "Urbino, Ancona, Macerata, and Comerino, should be for ever united with the kingdom of Italy." The pope, in reply to some former aggressions of France, having appealed to his spiritual power and authority, Napoleon, in the decree of annexation, turned the arguments of his holiness against himself, by resting his own rights on those of his predecessor Charlemagne. At the same time that the territories of Rome were incorporated with the kingdom of Italy, Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, were annexed to the empire of France. The reasons assigned for this change proceeded on the usual principles of French policy; it was expressly declared that the whole coast of the Mediterranean sea must form a part of the French territory, that the Adriatic ought to be considered as naturally belonging to the kingdom of Italy; while the kingdom of Naples, lying on both sides, must be regarded as a distinct state, subject, however, to the same federative system, and to the same state policy. At the time of making these arrangements, Bonaparte also fixed the



settlement of the kingdom of Italy. He adopted his son-in-law, Eugene Beauharnois, as his own son, and settled that kingdom upon him in tail male. It was at the same time expressly stated, that the right which Eugene received by adoption should never in any case authorise him or his descendants to bring forward any claim or pretension to the crown of France, the succession of which was irrevocably fixed. The kingdom of Naples was bestowed upon Joachim Murat, brother-in-law of the French Emperor, after Bonaparte had thought proper to call Joseph Napoleon to the throne of Spain.

While these changes were taking place in Italy, an order of hereditary nobility was created in France ; and it was expressly declared that hereditary distinctions are, in some measure, essential to monarchical government. Thus, after all the storms of the revolution, was France rapidly returning to that state in which she was placed before the foundation of the republic.\*

The exposition of the state of the French empire, which was laid before the legislative body in the beginning of November, was distinguished by an annunciation that the trial

### \* NOMENCLATURE

OF THE DIGNITIES CONFERRED BY NAPOLEON, EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH, ON HIS FAMILY, MARSHALS, MINISTERS, &c.

KINGS	{	Joseph Bonaparte,	- - - -	King of Spain
		Louis,	- - - -	of Holland
		Jerome,	- - - -	of Westphalia
		Joachim Murat,	- - - -	of Naples
		Maximilian, (Elector of Bavaria)	- - - -	of Bavaria
		Augustus, (Elector of Saxony)	- - - -	of Saxony
		Charles, (Duke of Wirtemberg)	- - - -	of Wirtemberg
MARSHALS	{	Augereau,	- - - -	Duke of Castiglione
		Bessieres,	- - - -	of Istria
		Caulincourt,	- - - -	of Vicenza
		Clark,	- - - -	of Feltre
		Duroc,	- - - -	of Friuli
		Grouchy,	- - - -	Count Grouchy
		Junot,	- - - -	DUKE of Abrantes
		Kellerman,	- - - -	of Valmy
		Lannes,	- - - -	of Montebello
		Lefebvre,	- - - -	of Dantzic
		Macdonald,	- - - -	of Tarento
PRINCES	{	Bernadotte,	- - - -	Prince of Ponte Corvo
		Berthier, (Marshal)	- - - -	of Neufchatel
		Davoust, (Marshal)	- - - -	of Eckmuhl
		Massena, (Marshal)	- - - -	of Elchingen
		Ney, (Marshal)	- - - -	of Moskwa
		Talleyrand,	- - - -	of Benevente
		Eugene Beauharnois,	- - - -	Viceroy of Italy

by jury, on the exact principles of the English law, should, in future, prevail in the French courts. In this *expose*, the privations and distresses to which the French nation had been obliged to submit, in consequence of the operation of the British orders in council, were noticed, but it was principally to extol the resignation with which they were endured, and the genius of invention to which they had given birth. By these edicts, the French nation had been taught that a country, essentially agricultural, “can, by possessing in abundance all articles of utility, easily forego those which only form certain luxuries or conveniences of life, particularly when its independence and glory are at stake.” Under the head of marine, the minister of the interior announced, that at Antwerp, and the other naval arsenals, the building of ships was proceeding

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MARSHALS	Maret,	-	-	-	-	-	-	Duke of Bassano
	Marmont,	-	-	-	-	-	-	of Ragusa
	Moncey,	-	-	-	-	-	-	of Cornegliano
	Mortier,	-	-	-	-	-	-	of Treviso
	Oudinot,	-	-	-	-	-	-	of Reggio
	Savary,	-	-	-	-	-	-	of Rovigo
	Soult,	-	-	-	-	-	-	of Dalmatia
	Suchet,	-	-	-	-	-	-	of Albufera
	Victor,	-	-	-	-	-	-	of Belluno
Champagny,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	of Cadore
Fouche,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	of Otranto

Fourteen of the France marshals either emerged from the ranks, by military merit, or rose from employments in humble life: *Bessieres*, originally a common soldier, became in 1796 a captain of infantry in the army of Italy.—*Brune*, a printer at the commencement of the revolution, a member of the club of Cordeliers, and an intimate friend of Danton, commenced his military career in 1793.—*Augereau*, a private in the Neapolitan service in 1787, became soon after a fencing-master at Naples; in 1792, entered as a volunteer into the army of Italy; and in 1794 was a general of brigade in the army of the Pyrenees.—*Bernadotte*, at the commencement of the revolution, a sergeant in the regiment *de Royal Marine*; in 1794, a general of division.—*Jourdan* enlisted in 1778, but left the service in 1784; was a shop-keeper at the commencement of the revolution.—*Kellerman* began his career as a simple hussar in the regiment of *Conflans*.—*Lannes*, originally a common soldier, became, in 1795, adjutant of division in the national guard of Paris.—*Massena*, a subaltern in the Sardinian service at the beginning of the revolution, in 1793, became a general of brigade.—*Mortier*, a captain of a volunteer company in his native province at the same period.—*Ney*, an hussar, an adjutant-general in 1796, after passing through all the inferior grades.—*Lefebvre*, son of a miller of Alsace, became a sergeant of a regiment of French guards before the revolution.—*Soult* was a subaltern, before the revolution, in a regiment of infantry, and an adjutant-general in 1795.—*Murat* served originally in the constitutional guard of Louis XVI.; became afterwards an officer in the 12th regiment of *chasseurs a cheval*.—*Junot* began his career in 1792, as a grenadier in one of the volunteer battalions commanded by General Pille; and, in 1796, was one of the *aides-de-camp* of Bonaparte.



with great activity and spirit ; twelve sail of the line had been launched within the year, and twenty-five more, with as many frigates, were on the stocks. The statement of the military power and resources of France sufficiently proved that the views of Bonaparte extended to conquests not yet begun, and created, in the minds of the friends of peace and independence, the most alarming fears for what yet remained of liberty in Europe. The perfection of the military system was evinced by its simplicity and effect ; and this system was calculated to raise the country to a height, unknown in the annals of mankind.

The United States of America presented this year a very singular spectacle. By the embargo they had cut themselves off from the old world ; and those who imagined they were well acquainted with the character of the Americans, confidently predicted that this restraint on commerce would soon be withdrawn. These politicians held that the effects of the embargo would press with a heavy and immediate influence on many classes of the nation ; and that, if the pressure were continued, it would extend itself to the majority of the people. These consequences would, as they imagined, oblige the American government to yield, or if they ventured to persevere, the union would be dissolved by disaffection and internal commotion. Every account that reached this country seemed to give some countenance to these predictions ; many of the American newspapers were filled with the most bitter and violent invectives against the government, and the opposition to the embargo was represented to be so formidable and alarming, that no alternative seemed left, but its immediate removal. Still, however, Mr. Jefferson continued firm ; while, at the same time, he employed every method to induce the British and French governments to rescind their anti-commercial decrees. It soon appeared, from the result of the elections, that the American newspapers had greatly misrepresented the sense of the nation ; and that the predictions, so prevalent in this country, indicated rather the wishes of the commercial and manufacturing part of the community, than the sagacity of those by whom they were hazarded. On the 8th of November, the usual message of the president was read to the senate and the house of representatives. By this document, they were informed that the president, anxious to remove the evil consequences of the embargo, had authorised the ministers of the United States, in London and in Paris, to propose, that the commerce of America should be exclusively opened, to whichever of the belligerent powers should rescind her orders or decrees in relation to the commerce of the United States ;

and, that the ports of America should remain shut to the other power, in case of his refusal to adopt a similar policy. From France no answer had been received, and Great Britain had rejected this offer. In this state of things, nothing remained for America, but to persevere in a system, which, though it subjected her to some evils, was by no means unproductive of advantage. Not the least interesting part of this message related to the new direction which the suspension of commerce had given to the industry, skill, and capital of the United States. The internal manufactures and improvements were carried on with more spirit and success, and to a greater extent than usual. The disadvantages arising from want of experience, from the comparative inferiority in machinery and capital, were abundantly compensated by cheaper materials and subsistence; by the freedom of labour from taxation, and by protecting duties and prohibitions. The embargo, therefore, when viewed as the means of changing the direction of their industry and capital, and of thus rendering them less dependent upon foreign nations, might justly be deemed a benefit, though unavoidably attended with partial and temporary mischief.

In weighing the nature and the amount of the aggressions which had been practised towards America by the belligerent powers at this period of the war, if there were any preponderance, it must be confessed that the balance was against Great Britain. The French decrees were indeed as obnoxious in their formation and designs as the British orders in council; but the government of France claimed and exercised no right of impressment, and the maritime spoliations of France were comparatively restricted, not only by her own weakness on the ocean, but by the constant and pervading vigilance of the fleets of her enemy. But on which side soever the balance of injustice was to be found, the crisis had arrived when the United States were compelled, either to adhere to a system of commercial interdiction, or to engage in open and active war; and if the act of embargo fell with a more severe pressure upon Great Britain than upon her enemy, this circumstance was rather to be imputed to the superiority of her commerce, and the extent of her former dealings with America, than to any undue partiality shewn towards France by the government of that republic.



## CHAPTER VIII.

BRITISH HISTORY: *Meeting of the Parliament of 1808—Debates on the Bombardment of Copenhagen and the Seizure of the Danish Fleet—Petitions for Peace—Mr Whitbread's Motion of Censure for the Rejection of the proffered Mediation of Russia and Austria—Bill for the Prevention of Reversionary Grants—Sir Francis Burdett's Motion on the Appropriation of the Droits of Admiralty—Lord Castlereagh's Proposal for reviving the Practice of Enlistment for Life—for the Formation of a Local Militia—National Finances—Sir Samuel Romilly's Bill for ameliorating the Criminal Code—Mr. Sheridan's Appeal in favour of the Spanish Patriots—Rejection of a Bill for fixing a minimum Price on Labour—The Session of Parliament closed by a solemn Pledge to support the Cause of the Spanish Patriots.*

THE parliament of Great Britain assembled in the year 1808 under the most portentous circumstances. On the meeting of this assembly in former years, it had been the happiness of the sovereign to dwell upon the fidelity of his allies, and to animate the hopes of the national council with assurances of the cordial co-operation of the coalesced sovereigns of Europe against the common enemy ; but on the present occasion, it was the painful duty of the commissioners, as the organ of their sovereign, to declare, that the determination of France to excite hostilities between Great Britain and her former allies had been but too successful, and that the ministers of the Emperors of Russia and Austria, and the King of Prussia, had all demanded and received their passports from his majesty's government. The speech from the throne, which represented the country as "in the crisis of its fate," embraced the great public questions that afterwards engaged the attention of parliament ; and the expedition to Copenhagen, the relations of England with foreign states, and the orders which his majesty had issued in council, retaliating upon France her decrees against the commerce of Great Britain ; formed prominent features in that document. In the lords, the usual address to the throne was moved by the Earl of Galloway, seconded by Lord Kenyon ; and in the commons by Lord Hamilton, seconded by Mr. C. Ellis, and was in both houses carried without a division.

On the 3d of February, the subject of the late attack upon the capital of Denmark was brought under the consideration of parliament. The advocates of that measure contended,

1. That it was clearly the design of the French Emperor to draw the court of Denmark into his plan of maritime confederacy against England.

2. That he had the means of carrying this design into effect.

3. That the accomplishment of this object would have been most disastrous, if not fatal to Great Britain, and that the necessity of self-defence conferred the right to depart from the ordinary rules of procedure in order to avert an evil of such magnitude.

In support of the first of these propositions it was said, that his majesty's government had learned, that there were secret engagements in the treaty of Tilsit; that the views of the parties were to confederate all the powers of Europe, and particularly to engage or seize on the fleets of Denmark and Portugal. This information was derived from his majesty's ministers abroad, and from their faithful ally the Prince Regent of Portugal. They had received information of the hostile intention of Denmark from a quarter to which they had often been indebted for the first knowledge of the designs of Bonaparte; from, or rather through, the disaffected in Ireland! They learned through this medium that Ireland was to be attacked from two points, Lisbon and Copenhagen; and they had never found the information of these persons, however it was obtained, incorrect. Finally, ministers had received a confidential communication, that the question had been recently discussed in the council of the highest authorities in Copenhagen, whether they should, in case of the alternative, join England or France—on which occasion it was ultimately determined to unite themselves with the enemies of this country. With this information, ministers would have been traitors had they not secured the Danish fleet.\* All Bonaparte's capitulations and decrees served to confirm this information as far as France was concerned; he had on these occasions frequently and publicly avowed his design, and his firm and irrevocable determination, to combine all the powers of the continent in a general confederacy against the maritime rights and the political existence of Great Britain; and after the confederacies of 1780 and 1802, it was perfectly clear that Denmark waited only for an opportunity to aid this purpose. The crisis had arrived when Denmark must take part in the war, and her former conduct sufficiently indicated to which party she would attach herself. In fact, the heart of the Danes was not with us; it was with our enemy.† That the conference at Tilsit had produced resolutions inimical to the naval superiority of Great Britain, was perfectly manifest, for the moment the Emperor Alexander arrived at St. Petersburg, after signing the treaty with France, the first person he visited was the minister of marine, and the first order he gave was to repair the batteries at Cronstadt. It was the policy of France

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\* Lord Hawkesbury.

† Mr. Canning.



and Russia to make the Danish government a party to their designs ; and even if the expedition against Copenhagen had never taken place, we should at this moment have been at war with Denmark, who had neither the strength nor the resolution to resist these powers.\* The Prince Regent of Portugal, whom it was intended to make a party to this " Continental League," had been driven from his dominions, because he would not join France, Russia, and Denmark, in the confederacy against England.

To shew that Bonaparte had the means of accomplishing his object, it was stated by his majesty's ministers, that Denmark was on the point of being invaded at the time the expedition to Copenhagen was undertaken : French troops had assembled at Hamburgh ; the Danish army in Holstein had taken no steps to retreat into Zealand ; they had no transports for that purpose, and upon the first approach of the enemy they must have laid down their arms, and surrendered at discretion. That no disposition was felt on the part of the Danes to abandon their continental possessions was evident from the fact, that the Danish fleet was not in a state of preparation to oppose the passage of the French from the continent. They had indeed at one time exhibited indications of such an intention, but they had soon after abandoned their preparations, and when the moment of danger arrived, Denmark was totally unprepared, and ready to throw herself into the arms of France.† Various endeavours had been made by the British government to bring the court of Denmark to an explanation of its views before the expedition was undertaken, but without effect ; and the natural conclusion was that the crown prince in the whole of his conduct had secretly favoured the views of France.‡

The danger of the country, and a right to depart from the ordinary rules of procedure in so great an emergency, were insisted upon from the circumstance of France having issued her decree over the continent, " that the house of Brunswick had ceased to reign." The possession of the Danish fleet would have been one great step towards the accomplishment of this denunciation, and the combined navy of France, Spain, Russia, Holland, and Denmark, directed against the independence, and the very existence of Great Britain, would have placed this country in a state of imminent peril. To prove that the conduct pursued towards Denmark was consonant to the law of nations, it was argued, that the first law of nature, the foundation of the law of nations, is the preserva-

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\* Lord G. L. Gower. † Sir James Pulteney. ‡ Lord Castlereagh.

tion of man. It is on the knowledge of his nature that the science of his duty must be founded. When his feelings point out to him a mighty danger, and his reason suggests the means of avoiding it, he must despise the sophistical trifler, who tells him it is a moral duty he owes to others, to wait till the danger bursts upon his foolish head, lest he should hurt the meditated instrument of his destruction. And upon the general principle of the law of nations, the morality and the necessity of the expedition to Copenhagen were manifest.\* As to the morality of the measure, ministers had a moral duty to perform to their own, as well as to other countries, which was to vindicate its rights and to watch over its security and independence. Much was said on the law of nations, but there was no nation on the continent of Europe but one; they had all been swallowed up in the vortex of France; Russia, Germany, and Denmark, were but other names for France.† It had been laid down as a principle by a high authority, that when one nation was menaced by another, and a third power had resources that might be seized by the second to annoy the first, the nation thus threatened had a right, in self-defence, to take possession of these resources.‡ The success of the expedition against Copenhagen, was the greatest disaster that Bonaparte had suffered since the beginning of his reign. It had disappointed his scheme of subjugating England; it had augmented our maritime power, and it had secured the means of universal deliverance from his yoke, for it had frustrated the project of annihilating the intercourse of nations.§ So far from censuring his majesty's ministers for the conduct they had pursued towards Denmark, their prompt and vigorous measures for preventing the Danish navy from falling into the hands of the enemy, intitled them to the gratitude of their country.||

It was on the other hand contended, that the conduct pursued by the British government towards Denmark, was marked with features of peculiar atrocity; that it was repugnant to the obligations of justice, and at variance with the principles of a liberal and enlightened policy. That Denmark had no intention to abandon the system of neutrality, from which she had derived so many advantages, was self-evident; and it was a matter of doubt, whether France would have so far committed herself as to throw Denmark into the hands of Great Britain by an attack on Zealand. But supposing this attempt had been made, the questions then arose, whether the crown prince

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\* Mr. Lushington. † Mr. Robert Thornton. ‡ Secretary at War.  
§ Marquis of Wellesley. || Mr. Stuart Wortley.



had the disposition to resist, and the power to give efficacy to his resistance. That Denmark was disposed to defend her insular territory was obvious from the despatches of Mr. Garlicke, the British envoy at Copenhagen, who had officially declared, in his communications with his own government, that the crown prince and his ministers had a spirit that would reject with disdain every demand on the part of France to surrender their fleet,\* and this opinion was corroborated by the positive assertion of the crown prince himself. The British ministers had indeed held a different language, but instead of proving, from the documents they had thought proper to lay before parliament, that secret fraud or direct hostility had been intended against this country, it was manifest that the force of Denmark, in reliance upon the good faith of Great Britain, was actually employed in Holstein, to resist any attempt that might be made by Bonaparte; and that Zealand, drained of its military force, was exposed to our attack.† As to the previous hostile mind of Denmark, as evinced in the years 1780 and 1802, it was totally out of the question; and if this principle were to be acted upon, Sweden ought also to have been visited with the thunders of our navy, for she, as well as her neighbour, had proclaimed, “that free bottoms make free goods.”‡

In judging of the justice and policy of the expedition against Copenhagen, it was not enough to prove that France meditated the seizure of the Danish fleet; it should also be shewn that she had the means of executing her design. Was it to be supposed that Denmark would risk her most valuable colonies, her commerce, her ships, and every thing else dear to her existence, merely to gratify the wishes of the French ruler? She was not, as had been represented, unprepared; she had a force of thirty-five thousand men in Zealand, and thirty thousand men in Holstein, to resist any attack that might be made by France; and with such a force for her defence, and protected as Zealand was by two branches of the sea, Denmark might and would have bid defiance to the armies of France;§ it was, in fact, easier to invade Great Britain from Boulogne, than Zealand from Funen.||

As to the evidence of a hostile disposition on the part of Denmark, so much insisted on by ministers, it was no where to be discovered: on the contrary, all the evidence was on the other side; and it appeared from the papers on the table, that at the time when this unprovoked aggression was com-

\* Earl Grey.

† Duke of Norfolk.

‡ Dr. Laurence.

§ Mr. Ponsonby.

|| Earl St. Vincent.

mitted upon the capital, three hundred and twenty Danish vessels, valued at little short of two millions sterling, were, in the confidence of friendship, in the ports of Great Britain! but, that the whole transaction should exhibit the same character, these vessels were all detained, and, with their cargoes, placed in a state of sequestration.\* But the secret articles of Tilsit, and the readiness with which Denmark would have lent herself to the provisions of that treaty, were urged as motives for the attack upon Copenhagen; a reference to dates would shew that this was impossible; the battle of Friedland was fought on the 14th of June, the armistice was signed on the 22d, and ratified on the 24th, the conference of the Niemen took place on the 25th, and the treaty was signed on the 7th of July: the king's pleasure on the expedition to Copenhagen was taken the 19th, and on the 26th of July Admiral Gambier sailed for the Baltic; it was therefore quit impossible that any such information as that which was pretended, could at the time have reached ministers from Portugal or Ireland.† In urging this plea ministers had resorted to a mean, petty-fogging subterfuge. If they had even now the substance of the secret articles of Tilsit, why not give that substance to parliament? Precise legal evidence was not demanded from them, nor was it necessary to divulge the source from which they derived their information.‡ But they could not shew that which they never possessed; and the impolicy of the measure under consideration was as obvious, as the pleas resorted to in extenuation of its guilt were groundless. So far from the attack on Copenhagen being a measure of wisdom and security, it was the very reverse of those positions, and had plunged us into an unnecessary war with Russia, which, up to that period, was firm in her alliance; but from that moment she resolved on hostilities, and would have instantly declared war, had she not felt it her interest to be silent till she got her fleets into ports of safety. This declaration did not rest on vague information, but upon the authority of the emperor himself, who had repeatedly declared, in the presence of Lord Hutchinson, in the most peremptory language, tone, and manner, that he would have satisfaction for the unprovoked attack on Denmark.§ Any temporary advantage derived from that expedition was much more than counterbalanced by the consequences of a measure, that had augmented the number of our enemies, countenanced the injurious representations circulated throughout Europe of our principles and designs, and

\* Lord Sidmouth.

† Mr. Whitbread.  
§ Lord Hutchinson.

‡ Mr. Sheridan.



had inflamed against us the warmest passions of neutral and friendly nations.\* We had, indeed, taken from Denmark sixteen hulks ; and what had we paid for them ? We had given the whole maritime population of Denmark to France ; we had given too to the enemy the hearts of the Danes ; and much better for this country would it have been, to see the fleet of Denmark in forced hostility against us, manned by her sailors acting under compulsion, than to see them, after what had happened, moored in our own ports.† It was impossible to think so meanly of the power and resources of this empire, of the spirit of the people, or of the valour and discipline of our fleets and armies, as to admit that the seizure of the Danish fleet was necessary for any purpose of self-preservation. England had hitherto been considered as the conservator of the laws of nations ; but the character of the country was lost by this act, which had humbled and degraded us in the eyes of Europe ; it was an act that could neither be justified by state necessity, or national security, and would probably stand for ever unparalleled for national bad faith, unprovoked violence, and flagrant injustice.‡ Ministers ought to be warned against believing that nations may be absolved from the obligations of morality. France, by interfering between America and the mother country, had overwhelmed her own government, and sent her royal race into exile. Prussia and Austria had been severely punished for the share they took in the infamous partition of Poland ; and so also was Russia, who was the third in that act of spoliation, and who was even reduced to the humiliating situation of an obsequious suitor of the victor Napoleon.§ Ministers, to shew their energies, were running a race of injustice with the enemy ; and how did they acquit themselves ? Why, France had slain a giant, and England had fallen upon a helpless child. In such a case as this, the voice of the dead ought to be heard, if the admonitions of the living were disregarded, and the planners of the expedition against Denmark might be reminded of the words of a deceased statesman and patriot,|| who had declared, that “ whatever was morally wrong, could not be politically right ; ” and of the recorded declaration of one of the most eloquent and enlightened senators that ever occupied a seat in the British senate,¶ who had held, “ that justice is the standing policy of society, and that any flagrant departure from its changeless principles would be ultimately found to be bad policy.”

\* Earl Darnley.  
§ Mr. Ponsonby.

† Mr. Whitbread.  
|| Mr. Fox.

‡ Lord Erskine.  
¶ Mr. Burke.

To whatever attention these arguments, which were urged with great animation and perseverance, might be entitled, every attempt to censure the conduct of ministers was overruled, and the thanks of both houses of parliament were awarded, by large majorities, "to his majesty's ministers, for the prompt and vigorous measures adopted for the purpose of removing out of the reach of the enemies, the fleet and naval resources of Denmark."

Few subjects have been debated in parliament with more animation and pertinacity than the orders in council, issued during the recess; but as the views of the members on both sides of the question, have already been stated,\* the necessity for entering into the particulars of the debates originating in this new code of commercial warfare, is superseded. During the present session of parliament, the opposition to members was unusually keen, vigilant, and persevering; but though the superiority of powers in reasoning and in oratory was on the left side of the speaker's chair, the majorities were generally found on the right; and the orders in council were pronounced, by the repeated votes of the senate, to be conformable to the laws of nations, justly retaliatory towards our enemies, and indispensably necessary for the maintenance of British commerce and British rights.

During the present year, when every port in Europe, with the exception of those of Sweden, was shut against British commerce, and when our relations with America were in a most precarious situation, the pressure of distress was felt with extreme severity by the manufacturing interest, and on the 22d of February, Colonel Stanley, one of the members for the county of Lancaster, presented a petition to the house of commons, from certain inhabitants of Great and Little Bolton, in that county, the prayer of which was, that no opportunity should be neglected for entering upon negotiations for the restoration of peace upon honourable terms. The petition in substance stated,

"That thousands of the petitioners were reduced to great distress by the stagnation of trade, and the cessation of the customary demand for labour. That in the opinion of the petitioners, this arose from the present situation of the continent, occasioned by the continuance of war; that great numbers of the petitioners had been reduced to poverty, and that they were threatened with still greater distress: that their petition did not spring from any dread of the enemy; that all they asked was, that no opportunity for negotiation should be let slip; and that if the ambition of the enemy should lead him to insist upon demands incompatible with an honourable peace, the petitioners would with one heart suffer much greater privations, rather than see the security and honour of their country compromised."

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\* See Volume III. page 53.



The petition was ordered to lay upon the table.

On the 29th Mr. Whitbread rose to propose certain resolutions of censure against ministers for their rejection of the proffered mediation of Russia and Austria, accompanied by a declaration, that there was nothing in the present circumstances of the war which ought to preclude his majesty from entering into a negotiation with the enemy for the termination of hostilities. The commissioners who were appointed to open the proceedings of the present session of parliament, had, he said, after an awful exposure of our present situation, called this "the crisis of the country's fate," and it was highly important that no time should be lost in taking such measures as might be deemed necessary to rescue the country from the dangers with which it was environed. These dangers had increased as time rolled on, and now we were told that they had reached their crisis. He had a month ago stated some of the symptoms of the public danger; and since that time several petitions had been presented to the house, of which the statements were most distressing, the prayer most moderate, and the general tone most patriotic.\* He hoped the people would continue to express their feelings and their wishes till they made an impression upon ministers and upon that house; and till the problem was solved, whether it was possible or not to conclude a peace with the French government. All that could be expected or wished for, was peace on honourable terms; and such a peace, he maintained, was better calculated to establish our security as a nation, than a prolongation of the contest. In the speech of his majesty's commissioners, parliament was told that the war was now purely defensive on the part of this country; all the brilliant visions which had so long been presented to our imaginations, and which had so unfortunately biassed our judgments, were now given up; indemnity for the past and the expectation of dictating a constitution to France, or of curbing the power and restraining the ambition of Bonaparte, were no longer insisted upon, and our only aim now was to defend ourselves. This being the case, he would put it to ministers and to the house, whether a more honourable peace was likely to be concluded at a future time than on the present occasion. Before

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\* These petitions were chiefly from the counties of York and Lancaster. To the petition from Leeds, voted unanimously by a meeting supposed to consist of ten thousand persons, held in the yard of the Coloured Cloth Hall, on the 19th of January, 28,628 signatures were affixed. The Stockport petition was signed by 12,000 persons. A petition from Manchester by 47,000; and similar documents, very numerous signed, were sent from Bradford, Huddersfield, and Bingley.

the treaty of Tilsit was concluded, an offer had been made by Russia to mediate a peace between Great Britain and France ; an offer which he had always considered as an effusion of the heart of the Emperor of Russia towards this country. A similar offer had also been made by Austria ; and from the documents before the house, he contended that there had been two opportunities wantonly thrown away, of trying at least, whether it were possible to enter upon negotiation. On each of these points he had a resolution to propose ; but there was another subject, of far greater importance, and which regarded our conduct for the future. The ruler of France had at three distinct periods made offers of peace to this country, in terms unobjectionable. The first was rejected. The second was not absolutely rejected, but Lord Mulgrave wrote a contumelious letter, informing him "that his majesty must consult his allies." We had then an opportunity of selling to Napoleon a recognition of his title ; and we might have sold it many times before he had established himself as he now had in defiance of us ; his majesty's allies were indeed consulted, not however to see whether they would agree to open a negotiation, but to try whether they would enter into another coalition to destroy the power of France. They did not enter into that coalition, and the event had shown, that instead of crushing, they had increased the power of the enemy. But it was stated in the king's speech, that we were now looking about for an impartial mediator ; there was, however, no such power to be found ; and nothing remained but a direct communication. Ministers ought to send a direct offer of negotiation to France. This would be no degradation, as such a thing was not unusual. The French Emperor had done it ; and it had been done three times during the last war by Lord Grenville, who was incapable of compromising the honour of his country. If peace could not be obtained after a fair and candid attempt for that purpose, the knowledge of that circumstance would unite all hands and hearts in the war, which would then be manifestly just and necessary. It was said the French Emperor was ambitious, but great as was his ambition he had it under perfect command ; and as it was his interest to make peace with this country, it was probable that he would accede to moderate terms. If the advice of the Archduke Charles had been taken, much of the power of France would have this day been on the side of other nations, who might in that case have been in alliance with us. "If the advice of that immortal statesman, Mr. Fox, had been taken," continued Mr. Whitbread, "who so often urged the policy of peace, and exposed the errors of the system which



the government of this country had been so long acting upon ; if his advice had been taken, who from this spot where I stand, so often spoke the words of wisdom, and enforced his salutary counsels in a manner so much better, God knows, than I can do ; what misfortunes might we not have escaped ! how much more elevated would have been our situation !” The honourable gentleman concluded by moving three resolutions ; the first and second of which condemned the conduct of his majesty’s ministers in not availing themselves of the mediation offered by the Emperors of Russia and Austria ; and by the last it was stated, “ that this house feels it incumbent on itself to declare, that there is nothing in the present circumstances of the war, which ought to preclude his majesty from embracing any fair opportunity of acceding to, or commencing a negotiation with the enemy, on a footing of equality, for the termination of hostilities on terms of justice and honour.”

Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Wilberforce, and Lord Milton, objected to the third resolution proposed by Mr. Whitbread, on the ground, that instead of promoting peace, it might, by inducing the enemy to propose inadmissible terms, have the effect of protracting the war.

Mr. Canning asked, what were the views of the enemy when he professed his anxiety for peace, and even while at peace with us ? Did he not secretly employ every means to exclude our commerce, and to discourage and annihilate our manufactures ? Would he allow, if he could help it, the importation of a single yard of cloth, or any other article of our manufactures ? If such were his endeavours against the trade of this country at that time, what must they be now, when he had resolved to ruin the nation through the ruin of her commerce ? Would the cries of those for peace, whom he had more particularly resolved to undo by war, be a motive with him to listen to any terms of peace ? On the contrary, would they not encourage him to persevere in war, as the surest means of ultimately accomplishing his object ? He gave the honourable gentleman full credit for sincerity in the opinion he expressed ; but, admitting negotiation to be desirable and good when there was a prospect of its leading to peace, it was, he contended, mischievous when it did not afford that prospect ; by tending to excite deceitful hopes, and by paralyzing national exertion. The honourable gentleman was satisfied, that when Russia said we might have peace on honourable terms, the fact was so. But why, in that case, did not Russia state those terms ? What Russia might look upon as honourable terms, might not be so esteemed in this country. The conduct of Russia had given reason to suspect that she

was not favourably inclined towards this country, and her devotion to France was shown by her disinclination to complete the commercial treaty with Great Britain. The first offer of mediation from Austria was immediately subsequent to the battle of Eylau, and that offer was accepted without any other condition than that it should be agreed to by all the belligerent powers ; but before this point could come to issue, the battle of Friedland had totally destroyed the hopes of the allies ; and when Lord Pembroke, the British ambassador, mentioned the matter at Vienna, he was told, that things were so changed that nothing could be done. From that time till the 20th of November, 1807, when the communication was made by Prince Stahremberg, the matter was suffered to rest without further notice. The terms and tone of this second offer were different from the former, and bore evident marks of French dictation. Under such circumstances, it became the more necessary to ascertain the basis and the source from which it proceeded, and when Lord Pembroke asked at Vienna for some explanation of certain statements made by Prince Stahremberg, the Austrian government denied having given any authority for such statements. Mr. Canning concluded by giving his negative to the resolutions.

Mr. J. W. Ward, Lord Mahon, and Mr. Sheridan, supported the resolutions. With regard to the petitions for peace, they were decidedly of opinion that the best way to put a stop to them would be to pass the proposed resolutions, which would serve to satisfy the country that the house was strongly disposed to peace, when that object became fairly attainable. Thus alone would the suspicion which prevailed among the people, as to the hostility of ministers to peace, and which suspicion produced these petitions, be effectually removed.

On a division of the house the first resolution was negatived by a majority of 210 to 70 voices, and the two succeeding resolutions by still larger majorities.

Few internal events have created so strong a sensation of disappointment and alarm as the rejection in the house of lords of the bill introduced into parliament by Mr. Bankes, as the chairman of the committee of finance, for preventing reversionary grants. The fate of this bill was singular, and of a nature to awaken the jealousy, not only of the friends to economical reform, but also of those who suspected a secret and powerful influence behind the throne. On the 21st of January, Mr. Bankes reminded the house of commons, that a bill for preventing the grant of places in reversion had passed through that house during the last session, and was only pre-



vented from going to the lords by the prorogation of parliament. The house then thought the bill which he now should move for, to be of so important a nature, that they judged it necessary to present a petition to the crown, to which his majesty had been pleased to return a most gracious answer; and he now moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill to prevent the grant of offices and reversions during life, or with benefit of survivorship. This notice gave rise to some discussion, but the bill passed through all its stages in the commons, this year, as it had done in the preceding session, almost without opposition. When the bill reached the house of lords, it was supported by several of his majesty's ministers, and the friends to the measure in the country augured a favourable issue; but on the second reading, on the 1st of March, a strenuous opposition to its further progress was commenced by Lord Arden, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Redesdale, and the Duke of Montrose; and in a more advanced stage of the proceedings the bill was thrown out by a majority of eighty voices. The objection to this measure was almost single, and it was urged with a pertinacity and frequency of repetition that gave a weight to the argument which it would never have derived from its intrinsic strength. The limitation of reversionary grants was held up as an infringement upon the royal prerogative.

It is certainly most consonant to the true and genuine spirit of the British constitution to maintain that the king can possess no prerogative, which, in its own nature and exercise, has not for its sole object the interest and happiness of his people. To suppose that the king of England can have any interest repugnant to, or separate from the interest of the people over whom he reigns, and that he possesses a prerogative which secures such an interest, is to disparage that constitution which is so justly the boast of Britons. The king no doubt has prerogatives, but they are possessed by him solely because he can thus better guard the sacred deposit of liberty and happiness which is lodged in his hands. The king's prerogatives may also be attacked or weakened; but the proof that they are so must be derived from a clear and express fact, shewing that the means he possesses through them of guarding the liberties, and securing the interests of his people, are attacked or weakened.

Conceiving that it was incumbent upon the house of commons, as the guardians of the national purse, not to abandon a measure so clearly connected with their public duty, Mr. Banks, on the 7th of April, introduced another reversionary bill, similar in its object, but limited as to duration. By this

modified measure it was proposed, that the crown should be restricted from granting offices in reversion for one year after the passing of the act, and from the close of that period to the end of six weeks from the commencement of the subsequent session of parliament. This limitation was proposed for the sake of harmony between the two branches of the legislature, and with an understanding, that the friends to economical reform gave up no part of the principle of the bill, but looked forward to the further object of rendering the measure permanent. A long conversation ensued, in which the most distinguished members in the house concurred in opinion with Mr. Banks ; and the bill thus modified was ultimately passed in the upper house of parliament.

The appropriation of the droits of admiralty, a fund arising from the sale of vessels taken at sea, or seized in the ports of this country previous to a declaration of war, was this session brought under discussion in the house of commons by Sir Francis Burdett. On the 9th of February the honourable baronet observed, that it was stated in some of the newspapers that certain large sums, arising from the droits of admiralty, had been granted by his majesty to several princes of the blood, and particularly that 20,000*l.* arising in this way had lately been granted to the Duke of York. If this were really the case, he wished to ask, on what colour or pretext it was that the king came to seize on that property, and to dispose of it in such a manner ?

Mr. Perceval had no difficulty in admitting that the sum of 20,000*l.* had been granted to the Duke of York, being only equal to the sums formerly granted to the other younger male branches of the royal family from the same fund. The condemnation of the property alluded to was, he said, a judicial act of the court before which it came to be tried, and the right of his majesty to these droits resolved itself into two distinct parts : the right of the crown, and his right as lord high admiral. As to the appropriation of the fund, a considerable proportion of it had been granted to captors under various circumstances ; many grants had been made for the public service ; relief had in some cases been afforded to the sufferers by the sudden breaking out of the war ; and the fund being completely under his majesty's control, grants had been occasionally made to the younger branches of the royal family.

Sir Francis Burdett, after observing that the proceeds alluded to amounted to such a considerable sum, that he was convinced parliament could never endure that it should be left as the private property of the king, moved, with a view to



an ulterior inquiry, "That there be laid before the house an account of the net proceeds paid out of the court of admiralty to the receiver-general of droits, of all property condemned to his majesty in right of the crown, or in right of the office of lord high admiral, since the 1st of January, 1793, with the balances now remaining,"—which motion, after a conversation between a number of members, was carried by a majority of twenty-five voices.

The vacillation in the military system of the country still continued to prevail, and every new administration produced some important change in the organization of the army. On the 8th of March, when the mutiny bill came under consideration in the house of commons, Lord Castlereagh, referring to Mr. Windham's system, said, he had no objection to limited service under certain modifications; but he thought that it ought not to be enforced to the exclusion of unlimited service, where men were perfectly satisfied, and desirous to enter without limitation. With these views, the honourable gentleman moved, that a clause should be introduced into the mutiny bill, allowing such men as were inclined to enter the service, a fair option of enlisting for life; and after an animated debate, the proposition of the noble secretary was carried by a majority of one hundred and sixty-nine, to one hundred voices. Another and a more important measure relating to the army and the internal defence of the country, was submitted to the house by Lord Castlereagh on the 12th of April. His object was to create a force subsidiary to the regular militia, amounting to sixty thousand men. This body he proposed should form a local militia, and should be balloted for in their different counties, in proportion to the deficiency of volunteers of each, from among persons between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. Volunteer corps might, if they chose, transfer themselves, with the approbation of his majesty, into this local militia. The period of service during the year to be eight and twenty days, for which pay was to be allowed. This measure encountered strenuous opposition in its progress through parliament, but the bill, without any essential alterations, was ultimately passed into a law.

Since the advance of the property-tax to ten per cent. the finances of the country had assumed a more flourishing aspect than usual, and the different taxes had become so productive, that the chancellor of the exchequer did not this year find himself under the necessity of increasing the public burden, except in a very trifling degree. By an arrangement with the Bank of England, half a million of the unclaimed dividends were obtained for immediate use; a reduction in the charges

of the bank for superintending the pecuniary concerns of the public was effected to the amount of 64,000*l.*; and a loan of three millions sterling was granted by the directors to government, without interest, till six months after the termination of the war.\*

## \* FINANCES.

PUBLIC INCOME of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1808.

<i>Branches of Revenue.</i>		<i>Gross Receipts.</i>			<i>Paid into the Excheq.</i>		
		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Customs,	- - -	9,573,060	6	3	7,462,380	4	10 $\frac{3}{4}$
Excise,	- - -	19,621,076	15	9	17,896,145	14	2
Stamps,	- - -	4,543,971	17	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4,458,738	14	0 $\frac{3}{4}$
Land & Assessed Taxes,		6,909,190	12	9 $\frac{3}{4}$	7,073,530	10	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
Post-Office,	- - -	1,493,490	11	9	1,277,538	11	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Miscel. Permanent Tax,		175,247	9	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	170,818	17	11 $\frac{3}{4}$
Hered. Revenue,	- - -	57,760	2	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	91,422	14	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Extraord. Resources,							
War Taxes { Customs,	- - -	3,065,904	14	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2,730,791	14	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
{ Excise,	- - -	6,320,553	17	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	6,273,580	18	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
{ Property Tax,		10,158,008	19	11	9,890,150	15	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
Miscel. Income,	- - -	2,887,130	5	0 $\frac{1}{4}$	2,864,315	16	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
Loans, including } 1,500,000 for the } Service of Ireland, }		15,257,211	19	3	15,257,211	19	3
Grand Total		180,062,607	12	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	175,446,626	11	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, } 25th March, 1808. }</i>					(Signed) W. HUSKISSON.		

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1808.

<i>Heads of Expenditure.</i>		<i>Sums.</i>		
		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Interest,	- - - - -	20,701,252	0	4 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
Charge of Management,	- - - - -	297,757	16	1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Reduction of National Debt,	- - - - -	9,479,164	12	3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Interest on Exchequer Bills,	- - - - -	1,574,361	18	5
Civil List,	- - - - -	1,594,161	19	9
Civil Government of Scotland,	- - - - -	85,359	3	3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Payments in anticipation, &c.	- - - - -	674,889	3	9
Navy,	- - - - -	16,775,761	9	3
Ordnance,	- - - - -	4,190,748	6	6
Army,	- - - - -	9,956,683	13	5
Extraordinary Services,	- - - - -	5,431,867	0	11
Ireland,	- - - - -	3,681,251	3	4
Miscellaneous Services,	- - - - -	1,227,383	0	8 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
Deductions for Sums forming no part of the } Expenditure of Great Britain, }		75,670,641	8	2
		3,681,251	3	4
Grand Total		171,989,390	4	10
Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, } 25th March, 1808. }		(Signed) W. HUSKISSON.		



The great blemish in the criminal code of England consists in the numerous crimes for which the punishment of death is ordained ; and the most pernicious consequences arise from the punishment appointed by law, and the punishment actually inflicted, being so frequently at variance. It is a sound maxim in criminal jurisprudence, that the proper end of punishment is much more effectually secured by its certainty, than by its severity.\* The English law, in many instances, seems to proceed on the converse of this proposition : it enacts severe punishment, but the execution seldom following the enactment, this object and end is not answered.† Sir Samuel Romilly, in common with many other enlightened men, had long lamented, that in the criminal law of the country, capital punishments were appointed to be inflicted for so many crimes ; and on the 18th of May he obtained permission to introduce a bill into parliament, which subsequently passed into a law, to repeal so much of the act of the 8th Elizabeth, cap. 4, as made private stealing a capital crime, without benefit of clergy. In pursuing the course which he had commenced for the purpose of rendering our criminal jurisprudence more consonant to the present state of society, and more conducive to the true ends of justice, Sir Samuel further proposed to grant a compensation to persons unjustly accused, and who were acquitted of crimes ; but this object was not effected. It certainly is extremely desirable, in many instances, that persons in such a situation should be compensated for their sufferings and loss of liberty ; but the difficulty of drawing the line, and the extreme liability to the abuse of such a principle, form objections and obstacles to the proposed measure hardly to be overcome.

The cause of the Spanish patriots had awakened the zeal and animated the enthusiasm of the people of this country to a degree almost unexampled ; and Mr. Sheridan seemed only to be the organ of the public voice, when he rose in the house of commons, on the 15th of June, to direct the attention of the legislature to the affairs of Spain, and to demand their utmost exertions in favour of the Spaniards. “ I am far, Sir,” said Mr. Sheridan, “ from wishing ministers to embark in any rash or romantic enterprise ; but if the enthusiasm and animation which now exist in part of Spain should spread over the whole of that country, I am convinced, that since the first burst of the French revolution, there never existed so happy an op-

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\* Marquis Beccaria.

† In 1805, three hundred persons were capitally convicted in England and Wales, of whom only sixty-five were executed ; and in 1806, three hundred and twenty-five were capitally convicted, of whom fifty-seven only suffered.

portunity for Great Britain to strike a bold stroke for the rescue of the world. Hitherto, the administration of this country, instead of striking at the core of the evil, have contented themselves with nibbling at the rind; I wish, therefore, Sir, to let Spain know, that the conduct we have so long pursued we will not persevere in, but that we are resolved fairly and fully to stand up for the salvation of Europe. Bonaparte has hitherto run a most victorious race. Hitherto he has had to contend against princes without dignity, and ministers without wisdom. He has fought against countries in which the people have been indifferent as to his success: he has yet to learn what it is to fight against a country in which the people are animated with one spirit to resist him. Sir, I think this a most important crisis. Never was any thing so brave, so generous, so noble, as the conduct of the Asturians. They have magnanimously avowed their hostility to France; they have declared war against Bonaparte; they have no retreat; they are resolved to conquer, or to perish in the grave of the honour and the independence of their country. It is that the British government may advance to their assistance with a firmer step, and with a bolder mien, that I have been anxious to afford this opportunity to the British parliament, of expressing the feelings which they entertain on the occasion." Mr. Sheridan concluded with moving for copies of documents illustrative of the present situation of Spain.

Mr. Canning declared that his majesty's ministers saw with a deep and lively interest the noble struggle which a part of the Spanish nation was now making to resist the unexampled atrocity of France, and to preserve the independence of their country; and assured the house, that there existed the strongest disposition on the part of the British government to afford every practicable aid in a contest so magnanimous. His majesty's ministers, regardless of the war existing between Spain and Great Britain, would have three objects in view; first, to direct the united efforts of the country against the common foe; second, to direct those efforts in a way that should be most beneficial to the ally; and third, to give them a direction peculiarly conducive to British interests; though the last of these objects would be left entirely out of the question when compared with the other two. In this contest in which Spain was embarked, no interest could be so purely British as Spanish success; no conquest so advantageous to Britain as conquering from France.

In the prosecution of all wars, the employment and prosperity of the manufacturers are subject to fluctuations and failure; but in the war by which the world was now agitated,



when the belligerent powers of Europe were engaged in a contest of commercial proscription, and when America, to escape the evils of actual hostility, had proclaimed an embargo in all her ports, the interests of the merchants and manufacturers of England were sacrificed to a degree hitherto unexampled. In Yorkshire, this state of depression and suffering began to give way to better hopes and brighter prospects. The Brazils afforded an advantageous market for British woollens, and the manufacturers found their accumulated stocks diminish, and their capitals obtain a more beneficial channel of circulation; but unfortunately, the other manufactures of Britain did not equally partake of the renovation of commerce. The cotton trade of Lancashire still continued to labour under severe depression, and the wages of the weaver were insufficient to procure for his family the common necessities of life; while the habits contracted in more prosperous times, unfitted them for that patient endurance to which they were exposed by the pressure of the present crisis. To alleviate the sufferings of the operative workmen engaged in the cotton business, an attempt was made in the house of commons to fix the *minimum* wages of the weaver; but the bill introduced for that purpose was rejected, and soon afterwards, disturbances, rather distressing from their cause, than alarming from their nature and extent, broke out at Stockport, Manchester, and other manufacturing towns in that district. Several expedients and arrangements between the delegates of the weavers and the merchants and master manufacturers took place, but it was soon discovered, that an increased demand for Manchester goods afforded the only means of bringing the differences to an amicable and permanent arrangement; and this event, happily, soon afterwards took place. Many of the persons who had most distinguished themselves in the riots, were apprehended, and brought to trial at the summer assizes for the county of Lancaster, but as the extreme distress by which they had been driven to their improper and illegal conduct, made its just impression on government, the prosecutions were conducted with lenity, and the punishments inflicted were neither vindictive nor severe.

One of the last objects to which the attention of the session of parliament of 1808 was directed, was the affairs of Spain and Portugal. The Duke of Norfolk, availing himself of his privilege as a peer of parliament, took an opportunity, on the 30th of June, to offer some advice to his majesty's ministers regarding the posture of affairs in the peninsula. The conduct lately displayed towards Spain on the part of the French Emperor was characterised by the duke as an act of the most

wanton ambition, of the most foul and flagitious perjury, and of the most cruel and unprovoked oppression, ever recorded in the annals of the world. There was no man but what must wish success to a generous and gallant people, thus struggling in the cause of national independence. He hoped ministers would collect from the delegates of the brave people of Spain, now in England, the best information as to the real state of the country ; but before they made common cause with the patriots, it was their duty to ascertain the principles on which they were acting, and the end to which their co-operation was to be directed.

Lord Hawkesbury, on the part of his majesty's ministers, declared, that the people of Spain had manifested a spirit and determination which would have done honour to the most glorious periods of their history ; and that his majesty's ministers would feel it their duty to do every thing, in support of so glorious a cause, that the most generous heart could wish. On the 4th of July parliament was prorogued, and the commissioners, speaking in his majesty's name, declared that he would continue to make every exertion in his power for the support of the Spanish cause ; guided in the choice and in the direction of his exertions by the wishes of those in whose behalf they were employed. In contributing to the success of this just and magnanimous struggle, the object of his majesty would be to preserve unimpaired the independence and the integrity of the Spanish monarchy ; and he trusted that the efforts which were directed to that great object, might, under the blessing of divine providence, lead to the restoration of the liberties and peace of Europe.

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## CHAPTER IX.

**FOREIGN HISTORY:** *Military Preparations of the House of Austria—Rupture between France and Austria—Passage of the Inn by the Archduke Charles—Departure of Bonaparte from Paris to place himself at the head of his Army in Germany—Battle of Ebensberg—Fall of Landshut into the hands of the French—Napoleon and the Archduke meet for the first time at Eckmühl, where the Austrians sustain a signal Defeat—Fall of Ratisbon—Advance of the French Army to Vienna—Battle of Essling—Operations in Poland and the North of Germany—Campaign in Italy—Battle of Wagram—Retreat of the Austrian Army—Termination of the Fourth Punic War by an Armistice—Treaty of Peace—Gallant Resistance of the Tyrolese—Annexation of the Papal Territories to France—Excommunication of the Emperor Napoleon—Imperial Divorce—Revolution in Sweden.*

AT the critical and gloomy moment in which the last hopes of Spain seemed to be extinguished, when her capital was oc-



cupied by the invaders, her armies defeated and dispersed, and the troops of her British ally obliged to seek safety on board vessels sent to convey them to their own shores ; the important events which took place in Germany, brightened for a time the political horizon. Austria, whose strength had been broken by the disasters of Ulm and Austerlitz, and whose dominion and resources had been curtailed by the peace of Presburg, resolved to convert to her advantage the war in which France was engaged with Spain, and to make a grand effort to regain her ancient independence and power. From the period of the conferences at Erfurt, till Bonaparte crossed the Pyrenees for the purpose of putting himself at the head of his armies in Spain. Austria went on completing her military preparations. These advances towards a state of hostility were not viewed by France with indifference, and the watchful jealousy of Bonaparte was expressed by his ministers in reproaches and threats. Austria was charged with having opened the harbour of Trieste to the English ; her vessels, loaded with British manufactures or the produce of the English colonies, were protected in the passage from Malta to the Levant by ships of war ; an official messenger from the Spanish patriots was permitted to land at Trieste ; accident, it was asserted, had put the French government in possession of a formal promise made by the cabinet of Vienna to assist the Spanish Junta with one hundred thousand men ; and providence itself had interfered to unveil the hostile intentions of the Emperor Francis, by permitting the King of England to allude to them in no ambiguous language, in the official declaration published by that sovereign on the rupture of the negociations for peace. From Valladolid, Bonaparte sent his mandate to the princes of the confederation of the Rhine, to furnish their contingents, and to hold themselves in readiness for war ; and soon afterwards he left Spain and returned to Paris.

In the month of March, 1809, the preparations for war were prosecuted by both parties with uncommon vigour and activity. The court of Vienna, as if sensible of the causes to which in a great measure its former misfortunes had been owing, adopted in almost every respect a different line of conduct from that which had been pursued in former wars with France : having placed the army, in point of numbers, on what was deemed an adequate establishment, continued and zealous efforts were next made towards the organization and discipline requisite to give efficacy to numerical strength. The blind and ruinous policy which had hitherto made advancement or rank to depend upon antiquity of birth and illustrious

descent, was in a great measure relaxed. Different officers, who had distinguished themselves in former campaigns by superior skill or courage, were advanced to a higher rank, and placed in a more extensive sphere of action. The Austrian army was divided into nine corps, each consisting of from thirty to forty thousand men. The Archduke Charles, freed from the interference of the aulic council, was appointed generalissimo; and six out of the nine corps were placed under his immediate command; the seventh corps was sent under the Archduke Ferdinand into Poland; and the eighth and ninth to Italy, under the Archduke John. There were also two corps of reserve, one of them consisting of twenty thousand men, commanded by Prince John of Lichtenstein, and the other of ten thousand men, under General Kinmayer; exclusive of the partisan corps and the landwehr, or militia, and by which the force at the disposal of the commander in chief, was swelled to four hundred thousand men.

The force on which Bonaparte principally relied at the commencement of the war, consisted of the troops of Bavaria, Wirtemberg, Saxony, and the other contingents from the confederation of the Rhine. The Bavarians were formed into three divisions, under the Duke of Dantzic, to whom the temporary command of the allied troops was confided till the arrival of Bonaparte. In the mean time, the whole of the north and west of Germany, and the interior of France, were stripped of troops, which proceeded by rapid marches towards the banks of the Danube. On the side of Italy, Prince Eugene, the Viceroy of that country, had concentrated a formidable army; and the Saxon troops, under the Prince of Ponte Corvo, were stationed in the neighbourhood of Dresden, to protect that capital from the Austrian army in Bohemia.

Before the actual commencement of hostilities, the Archduke Charles issued a proclamation of war, in the form of an address to his soldiers, by which they were informed, that the protection of their country demanded their services, and summoned them to new scenes of honour and glory. On the 9th of April, the archduke, having established his head-quarters at Dintz, in the archduchy of Austria, sent formal notice to the French general commanding in Bavaria, that he had received orders from his august brother, the Emperor Francis, to advance with the troops under his command, and to treat as enemies all who should oppose him. This notice served as an intimation to the King of Bavaria, who, quitting his capital, repaired to Augsburg. On the following day the Austrians threw a bridge of boats over the Inn, between Brannau and



Scharding, and after crossing that river, advanced slowly into Bavaria.

On the 12th Bonaparte learned by the telegraph, that the Austrians had crossed the Inn; and in the evening of that day he quitted Paris, and arrived at Donawarth on the 17th; from which place he removed his head-quarters to Ingolstadt. On the 19th the Duke of Auerstadt advanced to the village of Pressing, where he met a division of the Austrian army; and an engagement immediately took place, which ended in the defeat of the latter. On the same day another French corps attacked an Austrian division in front, while the Bavarian troops under the command of the Duke of Dantzic, fell upon their rear, and completed their rout. These partial and insignificant attacks were made by the French generals, apparently for the purpose of preparing the way for a general engagement, and to try the steadiness and courage of their German allies. Bonaparte, during the few days he had passed with the army, had made himself completely acquainted with its positions; and had so far ascertained the situation of the country, as to be able to take advantage of the errors of his enemy. The Archduke Louis and General Keller had very imprudently drawn their divisions to so great a distance from the other corps of the Austrian army, as at once to present a weak point of attack to the French, and to expose the troops under the Archduke Charles to disorder or destruction. Bonaparte, perceiving the mistake, resolved to profit by it, and immediately attacked the archduke in front at Ebensberg. A brigade of light infantry, two battalions of horse artillery, and nearly the whole of the cavalry, commenced the attack: the Austrians having taken up their position on broken and intersected ground, were quickly dislodged; the infantry, chiefly composed of the troops of Wirtemberg and Bavaria, formed in column; and the Austrians, compelled to fall back, retreated in all directions, and in extreme disorder, before the victorious confederates, who, in this battle, took eight standards, twelve pieces of cannon, and eight thousand prisoners.

The flank of the Austrian army having been completely laid open by the battle of Ebensberg, Bonaparte lost not a moment in advancing to Landshut. The Austrian cavalry, which had formed before the city, was attacked and driven back by the Duke of Istria; the same fate awaited the infantry; and the town, with thirty pieces of cannon, nine thousand prisoners, and all the magazines established at that place, fell into the hands of the enemy.

At two o'clock in the afternoon of the 22d, Bonaparte ar-

\*rived opposite Eckmuhl, where four corps of the Austrians, amounting to one hundred and ten thousand men, under the immediate command of the Archduke Charles, were already posted. Never before had these chiefs been opposed to each other, and as neither of them had ever yet experienced a defeat, the utmost confidence reigned in their respective armies. Bonaparte's military eye immediately perceived that the left wing of the Austrian army was disadvantageously posted. This wing he ordered the Duke of Montebello to attack, while the front of the Austrians was opposed by the main body of the French. The contest was long and obstinate, but at the close of the day, the left wing of the archduke's army was turned, and being driven from all his positions, he was compelled to retreat. A large body of the Austrians, endeavouring to make a stand, under the covert of the woods in the neighbourhood of Ratisbon, were driven into the plain, and suffered dreadfully from the French cavalry. An attempt to cover the retreat of the main body of the army by the cavalry, was equally unsuccessful; the covering corps were attacked on both wings, but after maintaining their ground for a considerable length of time, they were at length obliged to give way, and to seek their safety in flight. The Archduke Charles narrowly escaped being taken prisoner, and it was entirely owing to the fleetness of his horse that the Austrian commander in person did not serve to swell the trophies of the enemy.

Under cover of the darkness of the night, the broken and discomfited divisions of the Austrian army collected at Ratisbon. At this place they endeavoured to make a stand; but after three successive charges, they gave way, leaving the field covered with eight thousand of their slain. The French troops, following up their successes, entered the city through a breach in the fortifications; here a sanguinary engagement took place, in which six Austrian regiments were either cut to pieces or taken prisoners; and the remainder, not having had time to break down the bridge, were closely pursued to the left bank of the Rhine. In these battles, Bonaparte pursued his usual plan, of breaking the enemy's forces into detached parts, and then attacking them separately; and the Austrians, uninstructed by experience, had so disposed their troops as to favour his operations. At Ebensberg, the two divisions of the Archduke Louis and General Keller were beat separately; at Landshut, Bonaparte broke through the centre of their communications, and took their magazines and artillery; and in the battle of Eckmuhl, he defeated the remaining divisions of the Austrian army of the Danube, except that of General Belle-



garde, which did not join the archduke till the day after his disaster. In the battles of Eckmuhl and Ratisbon the French army took upwards of twenty thousand prisoners, and the greater part of the Austrian artillery; and in the short space of five days, the Austrians had lost forty thousand men, and one hundred pieces of cannon.

The defeat of the Austrian armies had laid open their capital to the invaders, and on the 10th of May, Bonaparte, without encountering any formidable resistance in his way from Ratisbon, appeared before the gates of Vienna. The Archduke Maximilian, to whom the command of the city was intrusted, animated and encouraged the citizens to resistance, as long as the imperfect nature of the fortifications, and their unskilfulness in the art of war, would permit. For four and twenty hours the French howitzers played upon the town; their fire, though destructive, did not shake the constancy of the inhabitants. When, however, the enemy had succeeded in crossing smaller branches of the Danube, by means of the numerous craft which are constantly on that river, and when the communication with the left bank was on the point of being cut off, surrender became indispensable, and the regular troops, amounting to about four thousand, effected their retreat by means of the great bridge of Tabau, to which they soon afterwards set fire. The emperor, in anticipation of the advance of the French to Vienna, had quitted that city soon after the defeat of the archduke, and had taken up his abode at Znaim in Moravia. After the battle of Eckmuhl, the Archduke Charles crossed to the north side of the Danube, and retreating in the direction of Bohemia, attempted to gain the capital by forced marches before the arrival of the French. But the capture of Vienna was an object of too much importance not to be aimed at by Bonaparte with all his powers, and when the archduke had advanced to Meissau, and before he could form a junction with General Keller, he learned, to his extreme mortification, that the Archduke Maximilian had been obliged to capitulate with the French for the surrender of the city. Deprived by this capture of a point of support for the operations of his army, the archduke fixed his head-quarters on the 16th of May at Enzersdorf, the chain of his out-posts extending on the right as far as Krems, while Presburg, lower down the river, was occupied by his left. The advanced guards were at the same time pushed forward on the banks of the Danube, and the cavalry was posted on the margin of a small rivulet, on ground covered and partly concealed by bushes.

Bonaparte lost not a moment in forming the determination

to attack the Archduke Charles in his new position, and for this purpose the French army was marched down the south bank of the river to Ebersdorf, where two islands of unequal dimensions divide the river into three branches, of the average breadth of about two hundred yards. On the 19th of May the French engineers threw two bridges from the right bank\* of the Danube to the smaller island; and on the 20th two other bridges were erected from that island to the Isle of In-der-Lobau,† which forms a convenient rendezvous for troops, and where Bonaparte fixed his head-quarters. In three hours, a bridge, consisting of fifteen pontoons, was thrown over that arm of the river which separates Lobau from the Marsh Field, and the archduke having formed the resolution not to interrupt the passage of the enemy, they were permitted to extend themselves along the left bank of the river without molestation. Bonaparte was accordingly left at liberty to fix on the field of battle, and he immediately determined to post the right wing of his army on the village of Essling, and the left on the neighbouring village of Aspern.

On the 21st, at day-break, the Archduke Charles formed his army in two lines on the rising ground behind Gerasdorf, near the Bisam-Hill. Between the Austrian army and the Danube was an extensive plain, which, from the even and unobstructed nature of its surface, appeared destined to become the theatre of a general engagement. The Archduke Charles, having duly considered the advantageous position of the French army, and the difficulties he had to surmount, ordered the attack to be made in five columns.

The 1st col. consisted of	19 batt.	and	22 squadrons
2d,	-	-	20 - - 16
3d,	-	-	22 - - 8
4th,	-	-	13 - - 8
5th,	-	-	13 - - 6
The corps of cavalry,	-	-	78
of grenadiers,	16	-	-

103 battalions. 138 squadrons.

Constituting a force of 75,000 effective men. Of artillery there were eighteen batteries of brigade, thirteen of position, and eleven of horse artillery; in the aggregate two hundred and eighty pieces of ordnance of different calibres.

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\* It will always be understood that the *right* of a river is the bank to the right of any body floating down its stream; and as the Danube rises in Suabia, and passing Vienna eastward, empties itself into the Black Sea, the bank occupied at this time by the French was the right, and that occupied by the Austrians the left of the river.

† In-der-Lobau is about eight English miles in length, and four in breadth.



The possession of Aspern was essentially necessary, in order to enable the Austrian artillery to play with effect upon the centre of the enemy's lines, and the army being put into motion exactly at twelve o'clock, the first and second columns were ordered to attack that village. The contest here was most obstinate and murderous : in every street, every house, and every outbuilding, the battle raged with unexampled fury ; every wall was an impediment to the assailants, and a rampart for the attacked ; the steeple, attics, and cellars, were to be conquered before either party could style himself master of the place ; and for seven hours the conflict continued, each army rivalling the other in courage and perseverance. Scarcely had the Austrians succeeded in gaining possession of one part of the village, when the French poured in strong reinforcements, and dislodged them at another ; at length, the second column, combining its movements and attacks with those of the first, made itself master of the upper part of the village, and maintained its position during the whole of the first day's combat. In the mean time, the enemy, having formed his left towards Aspern, and his right towards Essling, advanced in columns upon the main body of the Austrian army, supported by a heavy cannonade. The cavalry, unable to withstand the impetuosity of this shock, fell back in disorder ; but the infantry, having reserved their fire till the French had advanced within ten paces, opened upon them with so much effect as to put them completely to rout. The Austrian line, thus disengaged from the enemy, obtained possession of the remainder of the village of Aspern, and maintained their ground in the face of all opposition.

The third column endeavoured to take advantage of the rout of the enemy, by advancing against them in close battalion, supported by their artillery ; but the French cavalry, commanded by Lassalle, suddenly rushed forward, in such numbers, and with so much rapidity, that the Austrian artillery narrowly escaped falling into their hands, and the battalions were left to defend themselves by their own unsupported exertions. The enemy's cavalry had succeeded in turning both the wings of this column, and in the confidence of victory had summoned them to lay down their arms. This degrading proposal was answered by a steady and well-directed fire, and the enemy was ultimately compelled to abandon his object, leaving the field covered with his slain.

The fourth and fifth columns of the Austrian army were directed to drive the French out of the village of Essling, a position of as much importance to the right of the enemy as Aspern was to his left. Here the French fought with still

greater obstinacy and courage than they had displayed in the defence of Aspern; the safety of their retreat depended upon the possession of this village, and although the Austrians succeeded in driving back the corps which were posted in front of the enemy's position, all their efforts to dislodge them proved ineffectual, and at the close of this day's engagement, the village of Essling remained in possession of the French. The battle of the 21st was terminated only by the night: the French had been driven from Aspern, but they still retained possession of Essling. New efforts were to be expected the following day; Napoleon's glory, as well as the existence of his army, was at stake, and the fate of the Austrian Monarchy was suspended upon the success of the army under the archduke. All the disposable troops in Vienna, under General Oudinot, were during the night, transported across the Danube, in order to reinforce the French army; while the grenadier corps, which had not had any share in the first day's engagement, was ordered to advance from its position near Gerasdorf, to reinforce the Austrians, and the night was too short to complete their respective preparations for the second day's tragedy. The character of Bonaparte left no doubt, that on the morrow all his military talents would be stretched to retrieve the glory he had lost, and to compensate for the disappointment he had sustained. During the battle of the 21st, the archduke had ordered fire-ships to be sent down the river, and these vessels had been so well managed and directed, that the two bridges which connected the island of Lobau with the small island, and that island with the southern bank of the Danube, were destroyed. By the destruction of the bridges Bonaparte was rendered less able to repair the disasters and losses he had sustained: and in case the battle of the succeeding day should prove decidedly adverse, his retreat, it was apprehended, would be completely cut off. In this point of view, the burning down of the bridges might justly be considered as highly advantageous to the Austrians; but on the other hand, it led the archduke to expect a most obstinate defence from an army placed in such a situation of peril.

At four o'clock in the morning of the 22d the battle recommenced, and the Duke of Rivoli again possessed himself of the village of Aspern. The regiments of Klebeck were now directed to make another effort to regain the village; but after a desperate contest, carried on for upwards of an hour in the midst of conflagrations, the Austrians were at length obliged to give way. The regiment of Benyowsky now rushed in, and at the first onset gained possession of the church-



yard, the walls of which were immediately destroyed, by order of General Hiller, and the church, and the parsonage-house, soon after shared the same fate. This regiment, supported by some battalions under General Bianchi, succeeded in establishing itself at the entrance of the village, and maintained this position against the repeated attacks of the flower of the French army. The Archduke Charles was now enabled to act on the offensive; the corps of the Austrian General Bellegarde, having its right wing resting on Aspern, and its centre and left towards Essling, by degrees gained the right flank of the enemy; while the artillery, stationed near the former village in such a manner as to command the intervening space, was brought to bear on his left flank: thus attacked and exposed, the French army was compelled to give way, and retire towards the Danube. While the division of Count Bellegarde was engaged at Aspern, the French cavalry, by a desperate effort, endeavoured to break in between the Austrian cavalry, commanded by Prince Lichtenstein, and the left wing of the Prince of Hohenzollern. Here the Archduke Charles particularly distinguished himself: the battalion of Zach seeming disposed to give way, he seized its colours, placed himself at its head, and inspired the whole army with the same enthusiasm with which he himself was animated. In the midst of this attack by the French cavalry, the Prince Hohenzollern, perceived on his left wing, near Essling, an opening in the French line, formed during the heat of the engagement; of this circumstance he immediately took advantage, by ordering thither a regiment in three divisions, which succeeded in gaining and maintaining their position till the arrival of the grenadiers of reserve, by whose co-operation they were enabled to turn and attack the centre of the enemy. The only post which the French were now able to maintain was the village of Essling, which was attacked by Prince Rosenberg, and defended by the Duke of Montebello. The attack was made with redoubled bravery, and the Austrians pushed into the village with irresistible impetuosity; still, however, they found it impossible to maintain this post. Five times did these gallant troops rush up to the houses burning within, and placed in a state of defence; but all their efforts were fruitless, for their antagonists fought the fight of despair.

In the night between the 22d and the 23d the French accomplished their retreat to Lobau, and at three o'clock in the morning their rear-guard evacuated Essling, and all the positions they had held on the left bank of the Danube. Thus terminated a conflict of two days, which will ever be memo-

nable in the military annals of the world. In this dreadful battle the loss of the enemy was prodigious ; it can only be accounted for by the effect of the concentric fire on an exceedingly confined field of battle, where two hundred pieces of cannon crossed one another ; and calculated by the following authentic data ; the Duke of Montebello, Generals d'Espagne, St. Hilaire, and Albuquerque, were killed ; Massena, Bessieres, Molitor, Boudet, Legrand, Lassalle, and the two brothers Legrange, were wounded ; and Generals Durosnel and Foulcr made prisoners. Upwards of 7,000 men, and an immense number of horses, were buried on the field of battle ; upwards of 5,000 were conveyed to the Austrian hospitals ; and in Vienna and the suburbs there were 29,773 wounded, exclusive of 2,300 who were taken prisoners. The burying of the sufferers was continued for several days, and in the figurative language of the Austrian gazette, " a pestilential air was wafted down the theatre of death."\* The loss of the Austrians was also very great : their official accounts acknowledged the death of eighty-seven superior officers, and of upwards of four thousand subalterns and privates ; and twelve of their generals, six hundred and sixty-three officers, and fifteen thousand six hundred subalterns and privates, were wounded.

In detailing the events of the battle of Aspern, and in estimating the loss of the respective armies, our information has been principally drawn from the official documents published by the Austrian government ; but candour demands the acknowledgment, that these accounts are at variance with the French bulletins in many important particulars. According to the tenth bulletin, " the Austrian army, having sustained a defeat on the 21st, was on the point of being destroyed, when, at seven o'clock in the morning of the 22d, an aide-de-camp of the Emperor Napoleon came to inform him, that a sudden rise in the Danube had set afloat a great number of trees, which were cut down during the late events at Vienna, and that the bridges, which formed the communication between the right bank and the little island and that of In-der-Lobau, had thereby been carried away. All the reserve park of artillery, which were advancing, were, by the loss of the bridges, detained on the right bank of the river, as was also a part of the heavy cavalry, and the whole of the Duke of Auerstadt's corps. This dreadful accident induced the emperor to put a stop to the movements in advance."—" The Austrians, having learned that the bridges were thrown down, recovered

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\* Supplement to the London Gazette of the 11th of July, 1809.



from the frightful state of disorder into which they had been thrown ; and from nine o'clock in the morning till seven in the evening they made the most astonishing exertions, supported by the fire of two hundred pieces of cannon, to throw the French army into disorder ; but all their efforts tended to their own disgrace ; and after discharging forty thousand cannon shot, they were obliged to return to their old position, leaving the French masters of the field. The loss of the Austrians was very great ; it was estimated that they left more than twelve thousand dead upon the field. The French loss was also considerable, they had eleven hundred killed, and three thousand wounded.”\*

It is difficult to decide, between the conflicting statements, at what period, or by what means the bridges were thrown down ; but it is perfectly clear, from their own accounts, that the loss of the French was infinitely greater than they acknowledged. For ten hours the French army was retreating, and consequently in a disadvantageous situation, and during this time they were exposed to the fire of two hundred cannon, from which forty thousand shot were discharged, and by which an immense slaughter must have been inflicted. In the short demi-official accounts published by the Austrians immediately after the battle of Aspern, it was unequivocally and triumphantly declared, that the ruin of Bonaparte was complete ; but the event proved the fallacy of these expectations ; and the state of inaction into which the army of the archduke was suffered to fall after the 22d, too plainly indicated, that he had failed in his “ principal object,” which was to “ drive back the enemy entirely over the first arms of the Danube, destroy the bridges he had thrown over them, and occupy the bank of the Lobau with a numerous artillery.”†

While the hostile armies are reposing after their sanguinary labours, busied in repairing their mutual losses, and in preparing for future combats, the attention of the reader may with propriety be directed to the operations of the subordinate armies in other parts of Germany, and in Poland and Italy : On the 15th of April the Archduke Ferdinand, who commanded the Austrian army in Poland, crossed the Perica, and entered the duchy of Warsaw. The Polish General, Prince Poniatowski, being much inferior in strength, retreated before the archduke, and Warsaw was occupied by the Austrians. This city they continued to occupy, as well as the

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\* Tenth Bulletin of the French army, dated Ebersdorff, May 23, 1809.

† See the plan of the attack published by the Archduke Charles on the morning of the 21st of May.

surrounding duchy, till the disasters experienced by the main army, under the Archduke Charles, rendered it expedient, that, foregoing all subordinate objects, they should march to join their countrymen on the Danube, and contribute, if possible, to sustain the declining interests of the monarchy. At the beginning of the month of June the grand duchy was accordingly abandoned by the Austrians, while the Russian and Polish armies, in the service of France, occupied nearly the whole of Galicia.

The King of Saxony, having been compelled, like the other tributary princes of Bonaparte, to take up arms against Austria, soon found himself stripped of a great part of his dominions, and forced to abandon his capital. The Austrians, possessing a powerful army in that quarter—more powerful indeed than appeared either necessary or advisable, when it is considered that the main prize was to be contended for on the banks of the Danube, not only obtained possession of Dresden and Leipsic, but even threatened the newly formed kingdom of Westphalia. The war in this part of Germany was attended with various success, but the operations do not, from their general character, claim any particular or detailed narration. A most formidable insurrection sprang up in Saxony, Westphalia, and Hanover, which, if it had been cherished and directed by the support and skill either of the British or the Austrians, would have rendered the situation of Bonaparte dangerous and critical in the extreme. Unfortunately, however, no such aid was afforded to the insurgents, so that, after having harassed the French, and prevented the march of troops to the Danube, they were at last crushed by superior numbers and discipline. At the head of these partisans appeared two men, well calculated by their characters, their talents, and their influence, to collect and to animate their followers. Schill, a Major in the Prussian service, filled with a strong and influential detestation of Bonaparte, found no difficulty in rousing the inhabitants of a conquered country; and although it does not appear that the corps which this officer commanded was at any time very numerous; yet it was formidable to the enemy by the rapidity of its movements, by its sudden and unexpected appearance, and by the countenance it afforded to the discontented inhabitants. After traversing the whole of the north of Germany in different directions, and perplexing and defeating the troops that were opposed to him, Schill was at length compelled, from the want of co-operation, and the pressure of superior numbers, to take shelter in Stralsund. Before he had recourse to this measure, he had made himself master of the whole of Mecklenburg, where he



had levied very heavy contributions, and raised a great number of recruits. A strong body of Dutch troops, with a column of fifteen hundred Danes, pursued him to Stralsund ; in this place, although deprived of its fortifications, Schill had, with incredible industry, perseverance, and skill, made very formidable preparations to defend himself, and resist the attacks of his enemies ; but after an obstinate resistance the town was forced ; the insurgents were driven from their guns, and the enemy gained possession of streets, filled with the bodies of dead men, who merited a better fate. Schill, and twenty of his officers were killed ; and such of his officers as were taken prisoners were tried and executed as deserters from the service of the king of Prussia. The Duke of Brunswick Oels, though in his own person less unfortunate than Schill, did not effect by his army any thing more decisively or permanently beneficial to the cause of Germany. The duke did, indeed, for some time distract the attention of the French, and occupy some of the troops destined to reinforce the army under Bonaparte ; but he was at length compelled to seek for safety in flight, and succeeded in embarking with his little corps for England.

The operations and movements of the hostile armies in Italy were more important than those of the armies in Poland or in the north of Germany. At the beginning of the campaign in Italy, the Austrians were eminently successful ; they soon made themselves masters of Padua and Vicenza, crossed the Adige, and threatened Venice itself. But the victories of Bonaparte in Bavaria rendered it advisable for the Archduke John, who commanded the Austrian army in Italy, to measure back his steps. To this determination he was also probably in some degree led, by the reinforcement of ten thousand men, which the Viceroy of Italy, Prince Eugene, received from Tuscany. Thus reinforced, the French army of Italy retook Padua and Vicenza, and attacked and overthrew the Austrians beyond the Piave, with the loss of sixteen pieces of cannon, and four thousand prisoners. A few days after this engagement the French crossed the Tagliamento, and after a few partial skirmishes, inflicted another defeat upon the Austrian army at Tarvis. Advancing towards Vienna in their victorious career, the French were enabled, on the anniversary of the battle of Marengo, to bring the Archduke John to another engagement at Raab. Victory was for a long time doubtful, but that part of the archduke's army which consisted of the raw and undisciplined troops of the Hungarian insurrection, at length gave way, and six pieces of cannon, four standards, and three thousand prisoners, fell into the hands of the

French. After this engagement, the Archduke John retreated with considerable rapidity, and in some disorder, towards Pest, for the purpose of forming a junction with the main Austrian army. After the battle of Raab, the Viceroy of Italy advanced without impediment to the Austrian capital, and by the addition of the force under his command, served to swell the number of combatants in the approaching great and decisive battle of Wagram.

From the day of the battle of Aspern till the end of the first week in July, Bonaparte continued stationary on the south bank of the Danube ; but though stationary, he was by no means inactive. That he was alarmed, both for his own situation, and from the effects which his repulse might have on the continent, was abundantly evident. Scarcely a day passed without producing a bulletin, the ostensible object of which was to register the rise and the fall of the Danube, and to congratulate his army on the approach of the Russians, and the junction of the troops under the Viceroy of Italy. But amidst all this seeming trifling and gasconade, Bonaparte was making the most formidable preparations, not merely to protect himself against an attack from the Archduke Charles, but also to enable him to resume offensive operations in such a manner as might secure success. The construction of the bridges over the Danube was intrusted to General Count Bertrand. In the short space of a fortnight, this engineer raised a bridge of sixty arches to In-der-Lobau, so broad that three carriages could pass abreast, over four hundred fathoms of a rapid river. A second bridge, eight feet broad, was constructed for infantry. These bridges were secured against the effects of fire-ships by stuccadoes, raised on piles between the islands in different directions, and an armed flotilla cruised upon the river to defend these various and copious sources of communication. Each of the bridges was covered and protected by a *tete-du-pont*, a hundred and sixty fathoms long, surrounded by palisades, frizes, and ditches filled with water ; and magazines of provisions, a hundred pieces of cannon, and twenty mortars, were stationed on the island. Opposite Essling, on the left arm of the Danube, another bridge was formed by the Duke of Rivoli, guarded in like manner by a *tete-du-pont*. At this time the Austrian army was strongly intrenched on the north bank of the Danube ; the left wing stretching towards Enzersdorf, and the right resting on the village of Aspern, which was surrounded with field fortifications, for the purpose of opposing the passage of the river.

While Bonaparte was thus engaged in fortifying his positions, and in preparing such stupendous means for crossing



the Danube, the Archduke Charles had not only raised works and planted cannon to secure himself against an attack, but he had also drawn from Germany, Poland, and Hungary, immense reinforcements. It is not easy to calculate exactly the number of troops in either army, but at a fair estimation they may be taken at 150,000 men each. As the principal means of passing the Danube had been formed directly opposite to the Austrian redoubts, between Aspern and Essling, the attention of the Archduke Charles was in a great measure confined to this point. But the object of Bonaparte in making so much parade about this bridge, was to divert the attention of the archduke, and by no means to cross the river in the face of the enemy's most formidable position. On the 4th of July, at ten o'clock at night, General Oudinot, with 1,500 voltigeurs, embarked in ten gun-boats on the great arm of the Danube, and crossed the river opposite Muhlleiten. During the night four new bridges were completed; one of them, in a single piece eighty toises long, was fixed in less than five minutes, and the three others consisted of boats and rafts thrown over the river. The night was unusually dark, the rain fell in torrents, and the violence of the storm favoured the operations of the enemy. At two o'clock in the morning of the 5th the whole French army had crossed the Danube, the corps of the Duke of Rivoli forming the left; that of Count Oudinot the centre; and that of the Duke of Auerstadt the right. At day-break they were arranged in order of battle at the extremity of the left flank of the Austrians. The Archduke Charles was thus completely out-generaled; his works were rendered useless, and he was compelled to abandon his positions, and to fight the enemy on the spot chosen by themselves. At five o'clock, three bodies of the French cavalry, and as many of infantry, with an immense quantity of ordnance, were seen defiling near Wittau. At six o'clock the enemy had surrounded and taken all the Austrian fortifications between Essling and Enzersdorf, and the garrisons of which were almost all either killed or wounded. The whole of the 5th was spent in manœuvring, and during the night Bonaparte attempted to gain possession of the village of Wagram, but owing to the gallant resistance of the Austrians, and to a column of Saxons and a column of French mistaking each other in the dark, the operation failed.

A general engagement had now become inevitable, and at the dawn of the morning of the 6th, the two armies, each provided with upwards of five hundred pieces of cannon, were drawn out for battle. The right of the Austrian army, under Marshal Klenau, consisting of the third and sixth grenadier

corps, extended from Sussenbrunn to the Danube; the left, commanded by Prince Rosenberg, supported by Prince Hohenzollern, was stationed in the neighbourhood of Wagram; and the centre, commanded by Count Bellegarde, and supported by the reserve cavalry, under Prince Lichtenstein, was posted in front of Aderklaa. The left of the French army was commanded by the Prince of Ponte Corvo; the right, by the Duke of Auerstadt; and the centre, by Bonaparte in person.

The arrangements of the two hostile commanders were directly at variance with each other. Napoleon had passed the night in accumulating a force to strengthen his centre, where he placed himself in person within cannon-shot of Wagram. The Archduke Charles, who was with the corps of Bellegarde, had on the contrary extended his flanks and weakened his centre. The corps of Prince Rosenberg, and that of the Duke of Auerstadt, moving in opposite directions, encountered each other in the morning, and gave the signal of battle. At this time the Austrians were preparing to make a storming attack upon Ober Siebenbrunn, when the Archduke Charles, perceiving that the right wing had not arrived, ordered the prince to halt, and he was ultimately obliged to retire under a galling fire to his former position. This inauspicious commencement of the battle was succeeded by a vigorous attempt on the centre of the French lines at Raschdorf, where Napoleon, surrounded by sixty thousand men in close order, stood directing the operations of his army. The attempt to penetrate the French lines proving unsuccessful, two columns of infantry, protected by a body of cavalry, advanced towards Aderklaa; here the quantity of grape-shot poured in upon the Austrians became overwhelming, and a momentary panic seized the battalions under Marshal Bellegarde; but, at length, the heroism and energy of the field officers succeeded in restoring order, and the enemy was driven at the point of the bayonet towards Aderklaa. The cannonade now became general along the whole line, and the effect of the injudicious dispositions of the Austrian general, in weakening his centre, every moment manifested itself. Bonaparte, surprised at this manœuvre, at first suspected some stratagem, but he was soon convinced that the Archduke Charles had committed a fatal error, of which he hastened to take advantage. With this view the Duke of Rivoli was ordered to attack the Austrians at the extremity of the centre, while the Duke of Auerstadt was directed first to turn the position of Mark Grafen Neusiedel, and then to push upon Wagram. The attack upon Mark Grafen was vigorous in the extreme, and Prince Rosenberg



was, after a desperate resistance, obliged to evacuate that village. The success of the enemy in out-flanking the Austrians continued to increase ; and five battalions and one regiment of cavalry, sent by Prince Hohenzollern, were found incapable of arresting his operations. The tower of Neusiedel, built in ancient times to check the incursions of the Hungarians, formed the key of this position, and was defended by Prince Rosenberg, with great gallantry and perseverance ; but a concentric discharge of grape-shot mowed down his ranks with so much rapidity that he was at length obliged to give way, and to leave the French general in possession of the eminence. At the same moment that the attack upon Mark Grafen was taking place, a furious effort was directed against the Austrian centre. Napoleon, acting upon the principle of all his former campaigns, ordered the centre of his army to form in two columns, supported by two batteries consisting of one hundred and sixty pieces of artillery. As soon as these columns were formed General Macdonald advanced at their head at the *pas de charge* ; General Reille, with the brigade of fusileers and sharp-shooters, supported Macdonald ; and to render the attack irresistible, the guards at the same time made an advance in front. The Austrian centre, incapable of withstanding this tremendous onset, fell back a league. The right, perceiving the dangerous position in which it was now placed, retreated along with the centre ; and the left, being out-flanked by the Duke of Auerstadt, fell back upon Wagram. At ten o'clock in the morning, it was clear, to a military eye, that the fate of the day was decided, and from that moment the Austrians fought only to secure their retreat. At noon the important position of Wagram was carried ; and the Archduke Charles, finding himself cut off from Hungary and Moravia, fell back upon Bohemia. At four o'clock in the afternoon, the Archduke John, at the head of his corps, arrived on the field of battle from Presburg, but the battle was then decided, and in the evening he retreated in the same direction in which he had advanced.

This battle, fought in the vicinity of the Austrian capital, by three hundred thousand warriors, in the view of an equal number of spectators, decided the fate of Germany. The number of the slain was immense ; and ten pair of colours, forty pieces of cannon, and twenty thousand prisoners, formed the trophies of the victory.\* The French, in estimating the loss of the Austrians, stated that the battle of Wagram had deprived them of sixty thousand soldiers ; and the Austrians,

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\* Twenty-fifth French Bulletin.

in their official returns, admit a loss, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, of upwards of thirty thousand men.\* The loss of the French, was considerable; in their own bulletins it was stated at fifteen hundred killed, and four thousand wounded; but the Austrian accounts swell that number to twenty thousand.

One of the disastrous consequences of this sanguinary day, was the destruction of twelve of the most considerable villages in the beautiful plain of Vienna, and Bonaparte, with his usual address, imputed these conflagrations to the guilty men who had drawn down upon their country all these calamities.

The French, who lost no time in pursuing the Austrians, came up with the retreating army on the 10th of July at Znaim; here another battle was fought, which was terminated by a proposal from the Emperor Francis to conclude an armistice. On the 12th the armistice was signed, and the terms of this document too plainly indicated the extent of the Austrian losses, and the exhausted state of their resources. From causes which at the time were not understood, but which a subsequent matrimonial alliance tended in some degree to explain, the negociations for a definitive treaty of peace between France and Austria proceeded very slowly, and were not finally closed till the month of October. When the terms of peace were made known, they were generally regarded as by no means unfavourable to Austria. The cessions made by the Emperor Francis were, however, very considerable, and may be comprised under three heads: first, those to the sovereigns forming the Rhenish league generally; secondly, those to the French Emperor; and thirdly, those to the King of Saxony. To the King of Bavaria were ceded Salzburg, and a portion of territory extending along the banks of the Danube, from Passau to the vicinity of Linz. To France, Austria gave up Fiume and Trieste, with the whole of the country to the south of the Saave, till that river enters Bosnia. The King of Saxony obtained several villages in Bohemia; and in Poland, the whole of Western Galicia, from the frontiers of Silesia to the Bog, together with the city of Cracow, and a district round it in eastern Galicia. Russia obtained so much of this latter province as should contain four hundred thousand souls. With respect to external politics, the Emperor Francis agreed to acknowledge Joseph Bonaparte King of Spain; to accede to the continental system; and to break off

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\* Muller's Relation of the Operations of the Austrian and French armies in 1809.



all intercourse with Great Britain. But the most mortifying and humiliating condition of this treaty was that by which the Austrian Monarch gave up the inhabitants of the Tyrol to Bavaria, with a provision indeed that Bonaparte should procure for them a complete and full pardon.

In every part of Germany peace was now established except in the Tyrol: the inhabitants of this country, though deserted and given up by that government in whose favour they had risen in arms, and to whom they had manifested an attachment unbroken by the most dreadful sacrifices and sufferings, still refused submission to the conquerors. Their resistance was most formidable; some of the most experienced generals of Bonaparte, at the head of his best troops, were repeatedly defeated, and driven back with great loss, even after they had penetrated into the centre of the Tyrol. At the head of the mountaineers appeared a man worthy of being a leader among a nation of heroes. The brave Hoffer animated and directed the actions of his countrymen; and before him, untutored as he was in the art of war, the experienced troops of Europe fled in dismay. In vain did Bonaparte pour in fresh forces, block up the passes of the mountains, and forbid all communication between the inhabitants and the neighbouring countries. All his schemes were foiled; and if for a short time the Tyrolese fled before his armies, or appeared not to oppose their progress, it was only to attack them to more advantage in the passes of the mountains, or to fall upon them when they were unprepared. On the conquest of the country, however, Bonaparte was determined, and at length he effected his purpose, by pouring in continued reinforcements, and by the capture and infamous execution of the gallant Hoffer.

While Bonaparte was at Vienna, and within a few days of the great battle of Aspern, when a less ambitious mind would have been solely fixed on military preparations, he caused proclamations to be made in the public squares and market-place of that city, that from the 1st of June the Papal territory should be united with the French empire; and that Rome should at the same time be declared a free and imperial city. This decree, which fixed the annual revenue of the pope at two millions of francs, was grounded on three propositions; first, that the territories of Rome were fiefs bestowed by the Emperor Charlemagne, the predecessor of the Emperor Napoleon, on the Bishops of Rome, to maintain the peace of his subjects; second, that ever since that time the union of temporal and spiritual power has been, and still is, the source of dissension; and third, that the temporal pretensions of the pope are irrecon-

cileable with the security of the French army, the repose and prosperity of the nations subject to the sway of Napoleon, and the dignity and inviolability of his empire. The pope solemnly protested against the violence and injustice by which he had been stripped of his temporal sovereignty ; and at the same time issued an act of excommunication against the French Emperor, and all his co-operators in this act of unprovoked spoliation. But the thunders of the Vatican had lost their terrors ; and an act, which three centuries ago would have roused to arms all the states of Europe, was now witnessed without one single effort on the part of the surrounding sovereigns to pluck the prey from the hands of the spoiler.\*

A rumour had for a long time prevailed, which, though it occasionally died away, was always revived after a short interval, that Napoleon meant to divorce Josephine, for the purpose of uniting himself with a younger and more noble bride. On the 16th of December, this design to dissolve his marriage was formally announced to the conservative senate ; and on the same day, the project of a decree was submitted to that assembly, and before the sitting terminated, the law authorising the divorce was enacted. To witness these proceedings most of the relations of the emperor and empress were summoned to Paris. The arch-chancellor was ordered to attend in the grand cabinet of Napoleon, where the Empress, the Kings of Holland, Westphalia, and Naples ; the Viceroy of Italy ; the Queens of Holland, Westphalia, and Spain ; Madame the mother of Bonaparte ; and the Princess Pauline, were assembled. The emperor explained to the assembly his views, and the motives by which he was actuated : and the empress declared that she willingly consented to the

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#### \* ACT OF EXCOMMUNICATION.

“By the authority of God Almighty, and of St. Paul and St. Peter, we declare you, (Napoleon Bonaparte, Emperor of France,) and all your co-operators in the act of violence which you are executing, to have incurred the same excommunication, which we, in our apostolic letters, contemporaneously affixing in the usual places of this city, declare to have been incurred by all those who, on the violent invasion of this city on the 2d of February, last year, were guilty of the acts of violence against which we have protested, as well really in so many declarations, that by our order have been issued by our successive secretaries of state, as also in two consistorial colloquutions, of the 16th of March, and the 11th of July, 1808, in common with all their agents, abettors, advisers, and whoever else may have been accessory to, or himself been engaged in, the execution of those attempts.

“Given at Rome, Santa Maria Maggiore, June 10, in the 10th year of our pontificate.

(*Locus Signi*)

“PIUS PAPA VII.”



divorce, in order to further the policy of the emperor and the interests of France. A process verbal was then drawn up, which was signed by the kings, queens, princes, and princesses, present, as well as by the emperor and empress, and to which was annexed a decree, pronouncing the marriage contract between the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Josephine to be dissolved.\* This extraordinary act, which was conducted with all the dignity and solemnity of which such a ceremony was capable, served to elicit a secret article

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\* IMPERIAL DIVORCE.

*Extract from the Register of the Conservative Senate of Saturday the 16th of December, 1809.*

His majesty the Emperor and King addressed the personages assembled to witness the ceremony in these terms:—

“The politics of my monarchy, the interests and wants of my people, which have constantly guided all my actions, require, that after me I should leave to children, inheritors of my love to my people, that throne on which Providence has placed me ; but for several years past I have lost the hope of having children by my marriage with my well-beloved consort the Empress Josephine. This it is which induces me to sacrifice the sweetest affections of my heart to attend to nothing but the good of the state, and to wish the dissolution of my marriage. Arrived at the age of forty years, I may indulge the hope of living long enough to educate, in my views and sentiments, the children which it may please Providence to give me. God knows how much such a resolution has cost my heart ; but there is no sacrifice that my courage will not surmount, when it is proved to me to be necessary for the welfare of France. I shall add, that far from ever having had reason to complain, on the contrary, I have been fully satisfied with the attachment and affection of my well beloved consort. She has adorned fifteen years of my life, the remembrance of which will ever remain engraven on my heart. She was crowned by my hand. I wish her to preserve the rank and title of empress ; but above all, that she should never doubt my sentiments, and that she should ever regard me as her best and dearest friend.”

The Emperor having ended, her majesty the Empress spoke as follows:—

“By the permission of our dear and august consort, I ought to declare, that not preserving any hope of having children, which may fulfil the wants of his policy, and the interests of France, I am pleased to give the greatest proof of attachment and devotion which has ever been given on earth. I possess all from his bounty, it was his hand which crowned me, and from the height of his throne I have received nothing but proofs of affection and love from the French people. I think I prove myself grateful in consenting to the dissolution of a marriage which heretofore has been an obstacle to the welfare of France, which deprived it of the happiness of being one day governed by the descendant of a great man evidently raised up by Providence to efface the evils of a terrible revolution, to re-establish the altar, the throne, and social order. But the dissolution of my marriage will in no degree change the sentiments of my heart ; the emperor will ever have in me his best friend. I know how much this act, demanded by policy, and by so great an interest, has chilled his heart ; but both of us exult in the sacrifice which we make for the good of the country.”

in the late treaty at Vienna, and paved the way to that imperial alliance, which, by raising Napoleon to a giddy eminence, laid the foundation of his final ruin.

The affairs of Sweden had now become desperate ; Gustavus Adolphus IV. whose romantic character set at defiance all the ordinary calculations of prudence, had embarked his country in a war to which its resources were totally inadequate. At the commencement of the contest with Russia the Swedes had displayed traits of heroism that would have reflected honour on the army of Charles XII. But notwithstanding the liberal subsidy granted by Great Britain, and the gallant exploits of the English fleet in the Baltic, under Sir James Saumarez, neither the population nor the finances of Sweden were equal to the exigency of their present situation. The progress of the Russians in Finland, and the increasing calamities of the war, aggravated by the ravages of a contagious distemper, and the knowledge of the army that it was the fixed purpose of the king again to measure his strength against the empires of Russia and France, excited universal discontent ; and a confederacy was formed against Gustavus, which terminated in his expulsion from the throne of his ancestors. This bloodless revolution, which took place on the 13th of March, 1809, was effected without commotion, and the diet being assembled at Stockholm, the Duke of Sudermania, uncle to the king, was declared regent, and was afterwards chosen king to the exclusion of his nephew.

Charles XIII. on ascending the throne of Sweden, professed his determination not to consent to any peace with Russia that should be disgraceful to his country, or that should oblige her to take up arms against her faithful ally Great Britain. The war between Russia and Sweden was accordingly renewed, but misfortune still attended the Swedish armies, and peace was at length purchased by the sacrifice of Finland. Soon after the conclusion of the treaty of peace with Russia, negotiations were opened between Sweden and France, and on the 6th of January a treaty was concluded, by which Swedish Pomerania, with the principality of Rugen, was restored to Sweden ; the former commercial relations between the two countries were revived ; and the Emperor Napoleon, acting upon his usual policy, prevailed upon his new ally to adopt the continental system, and to exclude British commerce from the ports of the Baltic.

The time had now arrived when the efficacy of this system was to be fairly submitted to the test of experience : the ports of France, Italy, Holland, Russia, Germany, Denmark, and Sweden, were all closed by law against the introduction of



English manufactures and merchandise ; the continental system had become the law of the continent ; but the spirit of British enterprise, co-operating with the wants of the various states of Europe, and assisted by the connivance of several of the involuntary auxiliaries of France, relaxed the rigours of commercial interdiction, and served to prove the futility of all attempts to destroy an intercourse grounded on the necessities and benefits of surrounding nations.

## CHAPTER X.

**BRITISH HISTORY:** *Meeting of the Parliament of 1809—Monument voted to the Memory of Sir John Moore—Thanks of Parliament voted to Sir Arthur Wellesley, and the Officers and Troops under his Command—Augmentation of the Military Force of the Country—Discussions on the Convention of Cintra—Charges exhibited against His Royal Highness the Duke of York—Nature of the Evidence—Decision of the House of Commons at variance with the Public Voice—Resignation of the Commander-in-Chief—Expressions of Public Gratitude to Colonel Wardle—Abuse of India Patronage—Charge against Lord Castlereagh of trafficking in Seats in Parliament—Public Finances—Extortionate Conduct of the Dutch Commissioners—Charge of Corrupt Practices preferred by Mr. Madocks against Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Spencer Perceval—Sir Francis Burdett's Plan of Parliamentary Reform—Mr. Wardle's Motion relative to the Public Expenditure—Prorogation of Parliament—Destruction of the French Fleet in Basque Roads—Naval Operations in the Mediterranean—Colonial Conquests—Relations between Great Britain and the United States—Disastrous Expedition to the Scheldt—Dissensions in the Cabinet—Duel between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning—Dissolution of the Ministry—Ministerial Arrangements—The Jubilee.*

THE parliamentary session of 1809 was more distinguished for discussions regarding the domestic concerns of the country than for the agitation of those topics which concerned its foreign relations ; and the charges against the commander-in-chief, grounded on an abuse of patronage in his official situation, and against his majesty's ministers, arising out of the corrupt disposal of high offices and seats in the commons house of parliament, occupied a large portion of the session, and imparted to its proceedings an unusual degree of interest and animation. On the 19th of January parliament assembled, when his majesty's speech was delivered by commission. This document, which related principally to the peninsula of Spain and Portugal, strongly recommended an augmentation of the regular army, in order that his majesty might be the better enabled, without impairing the means of defence at home, to avail himself of the military power of his dominions to con-

duct the great contest in which he was engaged, to a conclusion compatible with the honour of his majesty's crown, and with the interest of his allies, of Europe, and of the world.

The usual address to his majesty, which was moved in the house of lords by the Earl of Bridgewater, seconded by Lord Sheffield; and in the house of commons by the Honourable Frederick Robinson, seconded by Mr. S. B. Lushington; was carried in both houses without a division, but not without several strong and pointed adimadversions on the manner in which the war had been conducted, and on the general policy of his majesty's government.

One of the first subjects that engaged the attention of parliament, was the expression of the feelings of the country towards those distinguished characters whose services had tended in so eminent a degree to support its military renown; and on the 25th of January, the Earl of Liverpool, in the house of peers, and Lord Castlereagh, in the house of commons, moved the thanks of parliament to the officers and men under Sir John Moore, by whose gallantry and good conduct the victory of Corunna was achieved. The battle of Corunna, it was observed, was never surpassed in the annals of military fame. The engagement took place under the most adverse circumstances; and yet so complete was the victory, that the army, after remaining unmolested for the whole night on the field of battle, were on the following day able to embark in the presence of a superior force, and without leaving a wounded soldier, a piece of artillery, or any thing which the enemy could boast of as a trophy. The triumph was indeed damped by the death of the hero who achieved the victory. It was unnecessary to expatiate on the merits of Sir John Moore; they were fresh in the memory of his country; during the two last wars there was scarcely an important service in which he was not engaged; he had indeed devoted the whole of his life to the public service, and his memory would live for ever in the gratitude of his country.\* That country would cheerfully concur in handing down to posterity an expression of its gratitude for his eminent and illustrious deeds in arms, and devote to the memory of General Moore a lasting mark of national estimation, by erecting to him a monument, as a just trophy to his fame, and an excitement to those he had left behind him to imitate his example.

In every tribute to the memory of Sir John Moore, and in every eulogium upon his character, the opposition side of the house fully concurred. It was a mark of duty and of grati-

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\* Lord Liverpool.



tude due from the house and from the country, to that immortal commander, to perpetuate his memory.\* It was owing to the talents of Sir John Moore that any part of his army was brought away; and the conduct of the troops, like that of the commander, was above all praise. The failure and slaughter through which they had passed to the glorious exhibition of their valour, they owed solely to the disastrous councils which employed that valour upon a frantic and impracticable object.† For what purpose was so much precious blood shed? Did it produce any advantage to the country? Were the troops sent to Spain to escape from it?‡ Their lives had been squandered as little to the advantage of the country as if they had been shot on the parade of St. James's Park.§ The hand of Providence was upon us. Within three years we had lost two of the greatest statesmen the country ever saw; within the same time we had lost a naval hero of transcendent talents and courage; and now we had to regret the loss of a military chief, who, if it had pleased Providence to spare him to us, would have equally upheld the power and increased the glory of the country.

The motion for the thanks of parliament was carried unanimously in both houses, and a monument was voted to the memory of Lieutenant-general Sir John Moore.

These proceedings were succeeded by a motion for thanks to Sir Arthur Wellesley, and the officers and men under his command, for the brilliant victory obtained at the battle of Vimiera. In proposing this vote of thanks, Lord Castlereagh observed, that it was impossible to find in the military annals of Great Britain a more glorious instance of the superiority of her arms than had been displayed on that occasion. We had had our victories of Egypt and of Maida; but none of these triumphs ever exceeded the victory of Vimiera, which had afforded a further striking and unquestionable proof, that whenever or wherever British troops were brought into action with the French, they were greatly their superior in courage, hardihood, and discipline.

Lord Folkestone was very ready to admit all the courage and gallantry which attached to the character of Sir Arthur Wellesley, and also the enthusiasm of the army under his command, but he objected to the vote of thanks for the battle of Vimiera, because he did not think it of that brilliant description to demand such a tribute from parliament, and because it fell short of those good consequences which ought to result

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\* Lord Henry Petty.

‡ Lord Moira.

† Lord Grenville.

§ Lord Erskine.

from victory, and ended in a manner disgraceful to the country.

A long and animated debate ensued ; after which the vote of thanks was carried with the sole dissentient voice of Lord Folkstone.

In the speech by his majesty's commissioners, at the opening of the present session of parliament, an augmentation of the disposable force of the country had been strongly recommended ; and so early as the 2d of February a bill was introduced into the house of commons, by Lord Castlereagh, for that purpose. His lordship, in submitting this measure to the consideration of parliament, observed, that it had now been ascertained, that in every extraordinary crisis a considerable supply of troops could be had for the regular army by availing ourselves of the zeal and spirit which were always manifested on such occasions by the militia, who were ever willing to volunteer their services when there was a great and pressing necessity for increasing the disposable force ; and out of twenty-eight thousand men permitted on a late occasion to volunteer from the militia into the line, twenty-seven thousand did actually enter within the space of twelve months. The extent to which he now proposed to limit the volunteering into the line would be, that no regiment of militia should be reduced to less than three fifths of its present force ; and instead of thirty-six thousand men, to be raised in England, to supply the deficiency, he should now propose only twenty-four thousand. In order to relieve the counties from the great pressure of the ballot, he should propose, that the expense of raising the men to fill up the vacancies in the militia, should be defrayed, not by the counties, but by the public. The bounty to recruits he should fix at ten guineas ; and if the voluntary enlistment for the militia did not succeed, and it was found necessary to resort to a ballot, it was his intention, in that case, to propose, that the bounty of ten guineas should be given to the ballotted man to assist him in procuring a substitute. In the progress of this measure through parliament, it was stated by the Earl of Liverpool, that the regular army at the present moment consisted of upwards of two hundred and ten thousand infantry, and twenty-seven thousand cavalry. The infantry was disposed into one hundred and twenty-six first battalions, averaging nine hundred men each, and fifty-six second battalions, of which the average number was about four hundred men, and the object of this bill was to render the second battalions complete.

The inroad made by the army augmentation bill upon the constitution of the militia, and the uncertainty to what service



this additional force was to be applied, called forth a very animated opposition, but the measure ultimately passed into a law by large majorities.

The terms of the convention of Cintra, and the circumstances which led to the conclusion of that treaty, were, on the 21st of February, brought under the consideration of parliament by Lord Henry Petty, who concluded a long and eloquent speech by moving the two following resolutions :

1. "That the convention concluded at Cintra, on the 30th of August, 1808, and the maritime convention concluded off the Tagus on the 3d of September, in the same year, appear to this house to have disappointed the hopes and expectations of the country.

2. That the causes and circumstances which immediately led to the conclusion of those conventions, appear to this house, in a great measure to have arisen from the misconduct and neglect of his majesty's ministers."

This motion was strenuously opposed by ministers, who contended that it was a brilliant addition to the military glory of the country, to have expelled, in the course of a short campaign of three weeks, an army of twenty-five thousand French from Portugal ; and on the motion of Lord Castlereagh, the previous question was put, and carried by a majority of 203 to 152 voices.

The proposed vote of censure on ministers for the unfortunate termination of the campaign in Portugal, was succeeded by a motion introduced into the house of commons three days afterwards, by Mr. Ponsonby, for the institution of an inquiry into the causes, consequences, and events of the late disasters in Spain. This inquiry ministers judged it proper to resist, and a majority of the house confirmed their decision.

Amidst the momentous events which presented themselves on the continent, and the weighty deliberations which occupied the councils of the British nation, an inquiry was instituted in the house of commons, which for a time seemed to cast into the shade every other public consideration, and which in its consequences involved the character of the commander-in-chief, the discipline of the army, and the future estimation of parliament. On the 27th of January, Colonel Wardle\* rose in his place in the house of commons, to submit to that assembly a motion respecting certain abuses which had prevailed in the British army. In bringing forward this subject he was impelled by no other motive than a sense of public duty, and he should make no assertions that were not supported by positive facts. The power of disposing of commissions

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\* Gwyllym Lloyd Wardle, Member for Oakhampton, and Lieutenant-colonel in the Ancient British Light Dragoons.

in the military service of the empire, had been placed in the hands of a person of high birth, and extensive influence ; and he was sorry to say that this power had been exercised to the worst of purposes. The disposal of commissions in the army had been placed in the hands of the commander-in-chief for the purpose of defraying the charges of the half-pay list, for the support of veteran officers, and for increasing the compassionate fund for the aid of officers' widows and orphans ; but he could bring positive proof that such commissions had been sold, and the money applied to very different purposes ; and this duty, so essential to the rights of the army and the interests of his country, he should discharge without dismay. For this purpose it was absolutely necessary to call the attention of the house to an establishment of the commander-in-chief in Gloucester-Place ; this establishment, which consisted of a splendid house, a variety of carriages, and a long retinue of servants, commenced in the year 1803, and at the head of it was placed a lady of the name of Clarke. Of that lady's name he should have occasion to make frequent mention, in connection with a number of names and facts, to shew the house that he had not taken up this subject on light grounds.

The first case which he should state was that of Captain Tonyn : this officer, who held his captaincy in the 48th regiment of foot, received his commission as a captain on the 2d of August, 1802, and was promoted to a majority in the 31st regiment, in August, 1804. He was indebted for his promotion to the influence of Mrs. Clarke. Captain Tonyn was introduced to that lady by Captain Huxley Sandon, of the royal waggon train ; the terms of agreement were, that Mrs. Clarke should be paid five hundred pounds upon his majority being gazetted, and this sum was, in the mean time, lodged in the hands of Mr. Jeremiah Donovan, a surgeon, of Charles-street, St. James's Square. This Mr. Donovan was appointed a lieutenant in the 4th royal garrison battalion, in 1802, and was afterwards promoted to the 11th battalion, but since the day of his appointment he had never joined his regiment, and seemed to have leave of perpetual absence. Major Tonyn was gazetted, and the money which had been lodged in Mr. Donovan's hands, was then paid to Mrs. Clarke by Captain Huxley Sandon. The regulated difference between a company and a majority was 1100*l.* ; but in this instance Mrs. Clarke gained 500*l.*, and the 1100*l.* was lost to the half-pay fund. This sum of 500*l.* was paid by Mrs. Clarke to Mr. Birkett, a silversmith, in part payment for a service of plate for the establishment in Gloucester-Place, the balance for which plate was afterwards paid by the Duke of York. "From this case," said Colonel Wardle, "it is clearly deducible, that Mrs. Clarke possessed the power of military promotion ; that she received pecuniary consideration for such promotion ; and that the commander-in-chief was a partaker in the benefit arising from such pecuniary consideration.

The second case was an exchange, concluded on the 25th of July, 1805, through the influence of Mrs. Clarke, between Lieutenant-colonel Brooke, of the 56th regiment of infantry, and Lieutenant-colonel Knight, of the 5th dragoon guards. It was agreed that Mrs. Clarke should receive 200*l.* on this exchange being gazetted, and as the lady wanted some money to defray the expenses of an excursion into the country, she urged the commander-in-chief to expedite this exchange ;



her request was made on Thursday ; the exchange was gazetted upon the Saturday following, and Mrs. Clarke received in consequence the 200*l.* from Dr. Thynne, a physician, who negociated the transaction. Here then was a case which proved that exchanges, as well as promotions, were at the disposal of Mrs. Clarke, and that the purse of the commander-in-chief was saved by the supply which his mistress derived from such sources.

The next was the case of Major Shaw, appointed deputy barrack-master-general at the Cape of Good Hope. It appeared that the commander-in-chief had no favourable opinion of Major Shaw ; but Mrs. Clarke interposes : he consents to pay her 1000*l.* Of this money he immediately paid 200*l.* ; shortly after he paid her 300*l.* more ; when she, finding he was backward in the payment, sent to demand the remainder ; but seeing no chance of receiving it, she complains to the commander-in-chief, who immediately put Major Shaw upon the half-pay list. The honourable gentleman said, he had a letter from Major Shaw himself, stating the fact, and he never knew but one other instance of an officer being thus put on the half-pay list. Here then was a further proof, to show that Mrs. Clarke's influence extended to the army in general, and that it operated to put any officer on the half-pay list, and that the commander-in-chief was a direct party in her authority.

The next case to which he should advert, of the lady's influence, was that of Colonel French, of the horse guards. This gentleman was appointed to a commission for raising new levies in 1804, and the business was set on foot by Mrs. Clarke. He was introduced to her by Captain Huxley Sandon, and she was to have a certain sum out of the bounty for every recruit raised, and a certain portion of patronage in the nomination of the officers. She was waited on by Colonel French, of the first troop of horse guards, and as the levy went on, she received various sums of money by Colonel French, Captain Huxley Sandon, Mr. Corri, and Mr. Cokayne, an eminent solicitor in London. To so great a height had the practice of selling commissions in this disreputable manner arisen, that a written scale of Mrs. Clarke's prices, as contrasted with the regulated price of commissions, was sent by Mr. Donavan to Captain Tuck, to whom he very strongly recommended this path to promotion.

<i>Mrs. Clarke's Prices.</i>				<i>Regulated Prices.</i>	
A Majority,	1,900	-	-	-	12,600
A Company,	700	-	-	-	1,500
A Lieutenantcy,	400	-	-	-	550
An Ensigncy,	200	-	-	-	400

From this scale it appeared that all this was lost to the half-pay compassionate fund, to put money into Mrs. Clarke's pocket.

The next instance was one in which the commander-in-chief himself was a direct partaker in the advantages of this traffic, by a loan to be furnished through Colonel French, the writings for which were drawn by a Mr. Grant, an eminent solicitor of Barnard's Inn, for the purpose of raising 3000*l.* ; but he did not receive it, because a sum of 3000*l.* was due from government to Colonel French. Hence then it was obvious that Mrs. Clarke exercised an influence in raising the military force of the country, in disposing of commands in that force, and in converting the purchase of commissions to her own private advantage.

The honourable gentleman next alluded to the case of Captain May, of the African corps, who had attained promotion in the army over the heads of all the subalterns, though he had never joined his regiment ; and was in fact still a clerk in the office of Mr. Greenwood, the army agent.

There was another circumstance in this case which he could not pass unnoticed ; it was the existence of a public office in the city of London,

where commissions in the army were offered to purchasers at reduced prices, and where the clerks openly and unequivocally stated, in his own presence, and in his hearing, that they were employed by the present favourite mistress of the commander-in-chief, Mrs. Carey; and that, in addition to commissions in the army, they were employed to dispose of places in every department of church and state; and those agents did not hesitate to state, in words and writing, that they were employed under the auspices of two of his majesty's principal ministers.

Having gone through the whole of his statement, Colonel Wardle concluded by moving for a committee of inquiry into the conduct of the Duke of York, in respect to the disposal of military commissions; which motion was seconded by Sir Francis Burdett.

Few subjects have ever been listened to with such deep attention in the house of commons, as the speech delivered by Colonel Wardle on this occasion; and few subjects have ever taken such firm hold on the public mind. Confidently, however, as the charges were made, they were met with equal confidence by the friends of the royal duke. On the ministerial side of the house, it was said, that so far from shrinking from inquiry, the commander-in-chief was anxious for a full investigation of the business now submitted to the consideration of parliament. The matter had now assumed a tangible shape, and it behoved the honourable gentleman to establish the very serious and important charges which he had thought it his duty to exhibit. Every loyal subject had, for some time past, viewed, with the deepest concern, the continued and rapid current of anonymous scurrility which had been poured forth against the various branches of the royal family; and it was perfectly clear, that a vile jacobinical conspiracy existed against the illustrious house of Brunswick.\* If, in bringing forward these charges, the honourable gentleman was actuated solely by patriotic motives, and a regard to the public welfare, his conduct was entitled to the highest admiration; but it was not to be disguised, that when such imputations were once exhibited, they must be brought to a conclusion, and ignominy and infamy must attach somewhere.† It was a great satisfaction to find such an universal concurrence of sentiment with respect to the necessity of examining, in the most solemn manner, the charges which had now been brought forward.—It was a proud situation for the constitution of the country, as well as for the illustrious personage who was the subject of this accusation, to have a person the most exalted in rank of any subject of the realm, one excepted, desiring the same publicity in prosecuting the investigation against him, as would take place in the lowest and meanest subject.‡ It was

\* Mr. Yorke.

† Mr. Canning.

‡ Lord Castlereagh.



true the proposed investigation would subject the house to extreme inconvenience, by protracting the business, both public and private ; but if ever there was a case that required that all convenience should give way, this was unquestionably that case.\*

The members in the ranks of opposition concurred fully in this inquiry. It was expedient that the rumours in circulation to the disadvantage of the Duke of York, should be fairly brought to the test of investigation, before so grave, so honourable, and so competent a tribunal as the house of commons, and there receive the judgment and decision, which, no doubt, would be highly honourable to the character of the illustrious personage, who had been so vehemently assailed by them.† As to the anonymous libels complained of, they had nothing to do with this inquiry ; the charges now made were not anonymous, and the Duke of York ought to be obliged to the honourable gentleman who had brought them forward, and given him an opportunity of rendering his character impervious to future attacks.‡ Not only the eyes of the country, but the attention of all Europe would be fixed upon the pending investigation, and it behoved the house to act in the most grave and decisive manner.§ At the conclusion of this debate, the chancellor of the exchequer said, that publicity had been mentioned as desirable ; he was of the same opinion ; and, on the motion of that right honourable gentleman, it was determined that the investigation should be conducted before a committee of the whole house.

The charges against the commander-in-chief, divested of their technicality, resolve themselves into this one point—that, availing himself of his high office, he had knowingly permitted the woman whom he kept as his mistress, to traffic in commissions in the army, and did himself participate in the emoluments which were derived from this scandalous, corrupt, and illegal traffic. And the evidence on which Colonel Wardle supported this momentous charge arose from the testimony of Mrs. Clarke, the principal agent in these transactions, filled up where it was defective, and corroborated where it was weak, by the testimony of those to whom she had disposed of commissions, or by documents brought forward in the progress of the inquiry.

That Mrs. Clarke had received large sums of money from a great number of persons for the exertion of her influence, real or supposed, with the Duke of York, while she was liv-

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\* The Chancellor of the Exchequer.

† Mr. Whitbread.

‡ Sir Francis Burdett.

§ Mr. Wilberforce.

ing under his *protection* (such was the phrase) in Gloucester-Place, was proved beyond all possibility of doubt, by the evidence of Doctor Thynne, Mr. Robert Knight, Captain Huxley Sandon, Mr. Dowler, and others, who had themselves purchased her services, and who, for the most part, appeared as unwilling witnesses; but that the duke was cognisant to these corrupt practices, and that the money so raised was, with the knowledge of his royal highness, applied to defray the expenses of the establishment of his mistress, was not made equally clear. There was however, strong ground of suspicion, and the prevailing opinion of the country was, that this charge also was satisfactorily established by the evidence of Mrs. Clarke, Miss Taylor, her relation, Mr. Dowler, of the commissariat department, and the documents elicited in the progress of the investigation. The history of the origin of this nefarious traffic was thus given by Mrs. Clarke. The establishment in Gloucester-Place, she said, consisted of two carriages, six or eight horses, and eight or ten men servants, of all of which she had to pay the expense. Her allowance from the Duke of York was a thousand a year; but for three months before his royal highness left her, he never gave her a guinea, and so far were the sums which she received from him from defraying the expenses of the establishment, that they would scarcely pay the servants their wages, and buy them liveries. This she often represented to his royal highness, and after they had been acquainted a few months, he told her, that if she was clever, she would never ask him for money; he added, that she had more interest than the queen, and that she might use it. Of these hints she did not fail to profit; and the duke was well aware that she used her influence with him in order to procure money from military officers and others, and that the money so obtained was applied to defray the expenses\* incident to her situation.

In the course of the cross-examinations, much important

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\* The statement that the duke had allowed only 1,000*l.* a year for the support of the prodigal and profligate establishment in Gloucester-Place, made so strong an impression on the public, that the chancellor of the exchequer was driven to the humiliating necessity of contradicting this assertion, by declaring, in the face of a burthened people, that the sum lavished by the Duke of York upon this seat of voluptuousness from January, 1804, to May, 1806, amounted to 16,760*l.*; this assertion, however, though it exposed the extravagance of the duke, did not invalidate the evidence of his discarded mistress, for when the purchase of the lease of the premises, the expense of furniture, and the presents of plate and jewels, were taken into the account, not more than a balance of 1,000*l.* a year remained to meet the current domestic expenditure.



evidence was adduced ; and one of the most conclusive proofs of the truth of the charges, arose from the fact that they derived additional strength from the means taken by the advocates of the commander in chief to refute them ; indeed his royal highness was more indebted for the strong parts of the case made out against him to his friends than to his enemies ; and the numerous letters brought to light by their means, of which the prosecutor at first was totally ignorant, placed Mr. Wardle on high ground, and induced the ministers of the crown to change the lofty tone of menace and defiance into the humble note of pity and commiseration. At the close of the evidence on the 22d of February, the opinion of the general officers, who were members of the house of commons, was asked with respect to the improvement of the army in discipline and condition, and whether the system of promotion had not been improved under the administration of the Duke of York. Generals Norton and Fitzpatrick, the Secretary of War, Sir Arthur Wellesley, and General Grosvenor, all answered these questions affirmatively, and pronounced high eulogiums on the character and conduct of his royal highness.

During this inquiry, which was continued for three weeks without the intervention of any other business, Mrs. Clarke, the heroine of the drama, was examined at the bar again and again ; and by the readiness and smartness of her answers to the infinite number of questions proposed by the learned and honourable gentlemen by whom she was surrounded, gave a degree of relief to the protracted examinations. This new and splendid theatre for the display of her person and talents, seemed to afford her great satisfaction, and she sometimes carried her ease, gaiety, and wit, to the borders of pertness and indecorum.\*

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\* Being asked by Mr. Croker, if she had not written an anonymous letter to the Prince of Wales? she answered, Yes. Did you sign any name to this *anonymous* letter, said Mr. Croker? Mrs. Clarke made no reply, but, looking archly at the chairman, burst into a fit of laughter, in which indeed she was joined by the whole house. Being asked by Sir Vicary Gibbs if she had given the same account to Mr. Wardle of the negociation for the exchange between Colonels Brook and Knight, that she now gave to the house of commons? she replied, No. Which then is the true account? Both. In what then, inquired Sir Vicary, did they differ? They did not differ at all, replied Mrs. Clarke ---she had not entered into the same detail with Colonel Wardle. The attorney-general, in order to weaken her evidence, by bringing her motives and general character into discredit, enquired if she had not said, that if the Duke of York did not come into her terms she would expose him? No; she had said that if the duke did not pay her the annuity of 400*l.* which he had promised, she would publish his letters, and pay her creditors with the profits of the publication. Had she not sworn that

On the 23d of February a letter was addressed by the commander in chief to the house of commons, through the medium of the speaker, in which his royal highness, in the most solemn manner, upon his honour as a prince, distinctly asserted his innocence, and claimed from the justice of the house, that he should not be condemned without a trial. On the 8th of March the subject was resumed, when Mr. Wardle moved an address to his majesty, stating, that, after a diligent and laborious inquiry, it had been proved, to the satisfaction of the house, that corrupt practices had existed to a very great extent in the different departments of the military administration; and praying that his majesty would be graciously pleased to remove the Duke of York from the command of the army. To that address an amendment was proposed, by the chancellor of the exchequer, substituting two resolutions, the first stating that an inquiry had been instituted into the conduct of the commander in chief; and the second, that it was the opinion of the house that there was no just ground to charge his royal highness with personal corruption or criminal connivance. To this amendment another amendment was afterwards moved by Mr. Bankes, acquitting the Duke of York

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she was not a married woman, when she was examined before a court-martial? No; she thought it would be improper to say that she was a married woman, when it was known that she had been living with the Duke of York, and she said she was not, but did not swear it. Had she not sworn that she was a widow? The duke had insisted that she should plead her marriage to avoid her debts contracted at Gloucester-Place, or else she might go to prison; and when she applied to him for a few hundred pounds, he returned for answer, that if she dared to speak against him, or to write against him, he would put her in the pillory or in the Bastile. Who brought this message respecting the pillory? said the attorney-general. A very particular friend of the Duke of York's, replied Mrs. Clarke, one Taylor, a shoe-maker in Bond-street. By whom was the request sent for a few hundreds? By my own pen, said Mrs. Clarke. How was the letter sent? By this ambassador of Morocco. Who do you call by that name? The lady's shoe-maker. Here the chairman admonished the witness of the impropriety of giving her evidence in this flippant and unbecoming manner, and apprised her, that if she persevered in such conduct, she would expose herself to a heavy censure.

Mr. Sheridan, in the examination of the 17th of February, sprang a new mine of discoveries, by asking Mrs. Clarke if she had ever any negotiations respecting promotions unconnected with the military department---in the church for instance? Yes, said the witness, several; among others, Dr. O'Meara, an Irish divine, applied to me to be made a bishop; and the Duke of York, at my request, procured him an opportunity of preaching before royalty at Weymouth; but the duke told me that the king did not like the great O in the doctor's name, and the negotiation failed. This story was at first thought incredible, but a letter from the Duke of York, produced on the investigation, proved that his royal highness had actually corresponded with his mistress on this subject.



of personal corruption or criminal connivance, but expressive of an opinion that abuses could scarcely have existed to the extent to which they had been proved, without exciting some suspicion in the mind of the commander in chief, and suggesting that, after the exposures made by the recent inquiry, the cause of religion, and a regard to the public happiness and tranquillity, required the removal of the Duke of York from the command of the army.

The motion of Mr. Wardle, and the subsequent amendments, gave rise to many long and animated discussions, which continued for several nights; and in the course of these debates, it was urged, in favour of the original motion, that whatever might be due to the superior rank of his royal highness, the members of that house should, as representatives of the people, always bear in mind that it was their duty to protect the public interests, and to watch over the security and welfare of the state.\* It was not meant to be insinuated that the Duke of York had put money in his own pocket, he was superior to such low and grovelling motives; what he had done had been as a favour to his mistress, and Mrs. Clarke had clearly shewn how she had effected it. In the outset of the business, it had been declared that there was a conspiracy against the Duke of York, extending even to the illustrious house of Brunswick, but the witnesses, instead of appearing to be in a conspiracy with Mrs. Clarke, seemed to be in one against her. It had been said too that infamy must attach some where; and where had it fallen? Not on the accuser, most certainly. Jacobins had been talked of; but where did jacobins dwell? Jacobins indeed there were; and the genius of jacobinism presided in Gloucester-Place—there he held his midnight revels, and there sat the Duke of York himself as chairman of the festive board. There was the nest in which jacobinism was nourished. Jacobinism held its habitation as much in the palace of the prince as in the cottage of the peasant; and if we would exclude him from the latter, we must be cautious not to admit him into the former. Jacobinism makes the food it feeds upon; it hangs upon a prince's follies, that it may turn them into vices, and even aims its venom at senates, in tempting them to neglect the faithful discharge of their duty. The house had been reduced to a melancholy situation by the letter of the Duke of York; they were obliged to credit the evidence they had heard, even against the honour of a prince.† It was a little extraordinary to observe the chancellor of the exchequer, the attorney-gene-

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\* Mr. Wardle.

† Mr. Whitbread.

ral, and in fact the whole legal phalanx of the house, whose constant and practical habit was accusation ; now ranged, as if *una voce*, on the side of the accused. How did the Duke of York behave to Mrs. Clarke, she for whom he had expressed such fondness ? What a picture did this woman present, even when contrasted with a prince ! What a melancholy comparison ! She demanded her annuity only to pay the debts she had contracted under his protection, and he refused her that paltry pittance, because she could not produce his bond. So much for the honour of a prince.\* As to the question whether the house ought to address his majesty to remove the Duke of York from his command, it was impossible to conceive a case in which the representatives of the people could address for the removal of a public servant from his situation, if not upon the evidence they had before them. If once the opinion should prevail that the house of commons had heard of corruption existing in the state, and heard of it with indifference—if ever that fatal time should arrive, no man could tell the consequence.†

It was contended by the supporters of the Duke of York, that Mrs. Clarke was wholly unworthy of credit, and that there was no evidence to establish the corrupt participation or criminal connivance of the duke. Was it to be supposed that an illustrious prince, of such high rank, would associate himself with such miscreants as the witnesses in this investigation ? If he had entered into so foul a plot, he would have found different agents ; he would not have surrounded himself with men of honour and the avowed enemies of army-brokers, but he would have found some supple, bending, complying agent, for his military secretary. If it could once be supposed that the duke was a party in such a conspiracy, how was it possible that there should have been any distress for money, when there was a mint for making it constantly at work ? There were then in the army upwards of ten thousand officers ; and such was the eagerness for promotion, that there were always persons enow to give ample premiums above the regulated price. Had not his royal highness felt secure in conscious innocence, was it to be supposed that he would have ventured to discard Mrs. Clarke, to withdraw her annuity, to irritate her to the utmost, and to set all her threats at defiance ?‡ It was true indeed that Mrs. Clarke had obtained money by inducing a belief that she had great influence over the duke ; but in no one instance could it ever be proved that his royal highness was acquainted with any of her stratagems,

\* Sir Francis Burdett.

† Sir Samuel Romilly.

‡ Mr. Burton.



much less had he ever participated in the fruits of her impositions.\* If the Duke of York had not entertained a high sense of the value of honour and character, he would not have parted from Mrs. Clarke, when he found her character would not stand the test of investigation. It ought to be recollected, that the person against whom the charge now under the consideration of the house was directed, was not only high in office and in rank, but one whose birth placed him so near the crown, that events might one day call him to the throne itself; and yet, by the proceeding now proposed, the house was called upon, on the most questionable evidence, to disgrace itself, by pronouncing the duke guilty of the lowest and most infamous species of corruption.\*

In favour of Mr. Bankes's amendment it was urged, that the case of Dr. O'Meara, which rested upon the Duke of York's own letter as much as upon the evidence of Mrs. Clarke, shewed that the duke held communication with his mistress on public concerns. It was astonishing that the constant applications of this woman did not create some doubts and suspicions in the royal mind of the duke. The house was not only the guardian of the public purse but of the public morals. It was impossible, after the evidence that had been given, to entertain any doubt that a public scandal had been brought upon the country by the conduct of his royal highness; and it was necessary, as a reparation to public morals and decency, to remove him from the command of the army.† The duke could not be ignorant that the mistresses of princes are in every instance the source and means of corruption. It was customary in that house to call things by very soft and gentle names. That which used to be called adultery is now living under protection; and by applying these delicate expressions to acts of immorality, a blow was levelled at the morals of the country. Suppose the case to be according to the mildest interpretation of his friends, that the duke had no knowledge or suspicion of the transactions, but that he was completely deceived and blinded by the woman whom he passionately loved, that would be a sufficient reason for calling for his removal from the command of the army; the more innocent and unsuspecting he was described to be, the more danger there was that the enemy might find out his foible, and use it to the disadvantage, and even to the ruin of the country.§

The first division on the question whether the house should

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\* The Attorney-general.

† Mr. Bankes.

‡ Mr. Perceval.

§ Mr. Wilberforce.

proceed by address or resolution, decided the fate of Mr. Bankes's amendment, and there appeared for proceeding by address, one hundred and ninety-nine ; for proceeding by resolution, two hundred and ninety-four ; leaving a majority against Mr. Bankes's address of ninety-five. A second division then took place on Mr. Wardle's motion, which was supported by one hundred and twenty-three, and opposed by three hundred and sixty-four voices. On the 17th of March the chancellor of the exchequer brought forward his resolution, modified by more mature consideration, and expressed in these terms :—

That this house having appointed a committee to investigate the conduct of the Duke of York, as commander-in-chief, and having carefully considered the evidence which came before the said committee, and finding that personal corruption, and connivance at corruption, have been imputed to his said royal highness, find it expedient to pronounce a distinct opinion upon the said imputation, and are accordingly of opinion that it is wholly without foundation.

This motion being put, was carried in the affirmative ; there appearing for the motion, two hundred and seventy-eight, against it, one hundred and ninety-six, majority eighty-two.

Previous to the divisions it was pretty generally understood that the Duke of York had come to the determination to resign his office of commander-in-chief ; and on the 20th of March the chancellor of the exchequer rose in his place to announce, that his royal highness, having obtained a complete acquittal of those criminal charges which had been moved against him, was desirous of giving way to that public sentiment which those charges, however ill-founded, had unfortunately drawn down upon him ; that, under these circumstances, he had tendered to his majesty his resignation of the office of commander-in-chief, and that the king had been graciously pleased to accept the same.

The issue of this great and important trial did honour to the English nation. It showed the people, notwithstanding the deficiency in the just measure of their representation in parliament, that their voice could be heard in any great political emergency, and that even a prince of the blood, enjoying the favour of his father, and himself so near the throne, could not resist the public will. The fate of the Duke of York sufficiently proved that responsibility is more than a name ; but candour demands the admission, that the course of justice was in this case inverted ; and that it was the nation, and not the representatives of the nation, that compelled his royal highness to resign. Although it might have been wished that the house of commons had acted more completely as the organ of the people ; yet it is consolatory to remark, that while, on the one hand, the nation was not disposed to forego its privileges



of assembling for the purpose of declaring its sentiments on public affairs ; the ministers of the crown, on the other, felt the prudence and propriety of yielding to the public voice. When their extreme unwillingness to give up his royal highness is considered, and when the denunciation of infamy and the accusation of jacobinism which they suspended over the head of the accuser are recollected, some stirrings of indignation will arise ; but when we reflect on what the British nation felt and expressed on this occasion, and on the effect which the expression of these sentiments produced, we look round in vain for any other people who would have been equally bold, persevering, temperate and successful. The intrepid and manly conduct of Colonel Wardle, and of those who had been his principal supporters, was publicly acknowledged in the warmest terms of gratitude, esteem, and admiration, by the cities of London and Westminster ; and the impressive voice of the people, raised in almost every county, city, and town, in the kingdom, served to show, that a sense of public wrong, where injury has been sustained, and of public gratitude, where benefits have been conferred, are ever to be found among a free and generous people.

On the resignation of the Duke of York, the office of commander-in-chief was conferred on General Sir David Dundas, and the nation had the satisfaction to find, that one of the first consequences of the investigation was the enactment of a law, declaring the brokerage of offices, either in the army, the church, or the state, to be a crime highly penal.

In the course of the investigation into the conduct of the Duke of York, it was ascertained beyond all doubt, that there was a regular, systematic, and almost avowed traffic in East India appointments, as well as in subordinate places under government. These discoveries led to the appointment of a committee of the house of commons to inquire into the abuse of East India patronage ; and from the report of that body it appeared, that a vast number of cadetships and writerships had been disposed of in an illegal manner. To remedy so great an evil, Mr. Thelluson, one of the directors, deeply implicated in these transactions, was, at the usual annual election, rejected by a great majority ; and the court, after long and animated debates, determined, that all those young men named by the committee of the house of commons as having obtained their appointments by corrupt practices, should be deprived of their employments and recalled from India.

The examination of the witnesses by the committee appointed to inquire into the abuse of India patronage, developed transactions intimately connected with the character of the

house of commons, and the proceedings of some of its most distinguished members ; and on the 25th of April, Lord Archibald Hamilton rose to submit a motion to the house, grounded on the conduct of Lord Castlereagh, who, in his evidence before that committee, had stated, that he, in the year 1805, delivered into the hands of his friend Lord Clancarty a writership, of which he had the gift, for the purpose of exchanging it for a seat in parliament. This negotiation, it appeared, was carried on between Lord Castlereagh and a Mr. Reding, an advertising place-broker, who was a perfect stranger to his lordship. The treaty was opened by letter ; and it appeared from the evidence on the table of the house, that Lord Castlereagh told Mr. Reding that he did not want a seat for himself but for one of his friends. Different meetings took place between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Reding, but the nomination to the writership did not finally take place, and the negotiation was broken off ; but this plea, said Lord Archibald Hamilton, cannot avail his lordship, for his intention was obvious, and of that intention the house was to judge.

Lord Castlereagh expressed his sorrow, that any act of his, or rather any intention, could be deemed such as to call for parliamentary inquiry ; the case before them had no reference to pecuniary transactions ; and he could only regret that any motives of private friendship or of public zeal should have induced him to do any thing requiring the cognizance of that house. If he had erred it was unintentionally, and he would submit with patience to any censure which he might be thought to have incurred : having made this declaration, his lordship bowed to the chair and retired.

After his lordship had withdrawn, the minutes of the evidence were read, and Lord A. Hamilton moved,

“ That it appears to this house, from the evidence upon the table, that Lord Viscount Castlereagh, in the year 1805, he having just quitted the office of president of the board of control, and being then a privy counsellor, and one of his majesty’s secretaries of state ; did deliver up into the hands of Lord Clancarty, a writership of which he had the gift, for the purpose of exchanging it for a seat in parliament. That merely from the disagreements of some subordinate agents employed, this design was not carried into effect. That such conduct was a dereliction of his duty, as president of the board of control, a gross violation of his engagements as a servant of the crown, and an attack on the purity and constitution of the house.”

A long debate ensued, in which there was an unusual degree of mildness and forbearance, and in which it was contended, by the friends of his lordship, that the intention ought not to be punished with the same severity as the actual commission of an offence. There was no *malus animus* ; no corrupt de-



sign appeared in the whole transaction ; and it was evident that the noble lord had not acted in his official capacity, but merely as an individual wishing to oblige his friend. Officially he had committed no offence, and the degree of punishment ought to be proportioned to the degree of guilt.\* On these grounds it was moved that the house should proceed to the order of the day.

It was on the other hand contended, that the intention manifested and acknowledged by Lord Castlereagh was sufficient to establish his criminality ; and that if the negotiation failed, it was not for want of inclination on the part of the noble lord.† This was an abuse of the patronage of a minister with a view to make an attack on the independence of parliament ; and if the house shrunk from the performance of their duty in this case, by passing to the order of the day, they would sanction the opinion, that they were always ready to punish the petty offender in retail, but that they passed over the wholesale trade in corruption without animadversion. The offence was one of the gravest kind. What was the crime of Hamlin compared with this ? and yet the poor Plymouth tinman was sent to gaol for offering Lord Sidmouth a bribe, while it was recommended to pass over the conduct of the noble lord in silence. This would not be dealing out equal justice ; it would not be doing justice to the character of the house, it would make the whole nation parliamentary reformers.‡

At the close of the debate the house divided, when the motion of Lord A. Hamilton was rejected by a majority of two hundred and thirteen to one hundred and sixty-seven voices. A motion was afterwards proposed, and carried, to the effect, that it was the duty of the house of commons to maintain and guard the purity and independence of parliament ; but that the intention charged not having been carried into effect, no criminatory proceeding appeared to the house to be necessary.

The finances of this year, like those of the last, exhibited no feature of novelty ; and the navy and army estimates were nearly the same as in 1808. The fourth report of the committee of public expenditure was, however, received with considerable surprise ; and the disclosures it exhibited regarding the conduct of the commissioners appointed to manage, sell, and dispose of the Dutch ships detained or brought into the ports of Great Britain, could not fail to awaken the public indignation. This document, which was brought under the consideration of the house of commons by Mr. Ord, on the

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\* Lord Binning, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Canning.

† Mr. C. W. Wynne.

‡ Mr. Whitbread.

1st of May, stated, that the commissioners were five in number, namely, James Crawford, John Breckwood, Allen Chatfield, Alexander Baxter, and John Bowles; that the appointment of the commissioners took place in the year 1795, and that their transactions were nearly brought to a close in 1799.\*

## \* FINANCE.

PUBLIC INCOME of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1809.

<i>Branches of Revenue.</i>	<i>Gross Receipts.</i>			<i>Paid into the Excheq.</i>		
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Customs, - - -	9,214,131	0	8	7,726,116	19	9½
Excise, - - -	19,824,315	9	0	18,182,174	12	1½
Stamps, - - -	4,821,865	2	2½	4,695,871	9	10½
Land & Assessed Taxes,	7,606,192	18	3¾	7,789,816	19	4½
Post-Office, - - -	1,498,251	2	8½	1,268,536	2	1½
Miscel. Permanent Tax,	168,238	11	4	164,223	13	5½
Hered. Revenue, -	65,119	16	5½	109,341	16	3½
Extraord. Resources,						
War Taxes { Customs, -	2,784,544	4	1	2,368,850	17	8½
{ Excise, - - -	6,876,798	17	7½	6,827,510	11	10½
{ Property Tax, -	11,413,562	4	0	11,135,152	2	1½
Miscel. Income, - -	2,781,598	15	8½	2,758,967	17	2½
Loans, including } £1,200,000 for the } Service of Ireland, }	10,102,620	15	6	10,102,620	15	6
Grand Total	£77,157,238	17	7	£73,129,183	17	4½
Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, } 24th March, 1809.				(Signed) W. HUSKISSON.		

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1809.

<i>Heads of Expenditure.</i>	<i>Sums.</i>		
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Interest, - - - - -	20,771,871	13	8½
Charge of Management, - - - - -	210,549	2	7
Reduction of National Debt, - - - - -	10,188,606	16	6
Interest on Exchequer Bills, - - - - -	1,610,562	16	10
Civil List, - - - - -	1,638,677	3	2
Civil Government of Scotland, - - - - -	85,470	4	1
Payments in anticipation, &c. - - - - -	787,262	3	0
Navy, - - - - -	17,467,892	8	2
Ordnance, - - - - -	5,108,900	3	2
Army, - - - - -	11,353,299	12	10
Extraordinary Services, - - - - -	5,847,762	2	11
Loans to Sweden and Sicily, including } 2589,166 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> to Ireland, }	3,989,166	13	4
Miscellaneous Services, - - - - -	2,920,491	8	3½
Deductions for Sums forming no part of the } Expenditure of Great Britain, }	81,980,512	8	6½
	2,589,166	13	4
Grand Total	£79,391,345	15	2¾
Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, } 24th March, 1809.			(Signed) W. HUSKISSON.



As no fixed remuneration had been assigned to them, they resolved to remunerate themselves, and charged a commission of five per cent. on the gross proceeds of their sales, which commission amounted in all to 132,000*l.*, being at the rate of 26,000*l.* for each commissioner. Not satisfied with this enormous allowance, the money intrusted to their hands was employed in discounting private bills for their own emolument, and when an application was made to them by Mr. Pitt, in 1796, to pay a sum of money into the exchequer, in aid of the public exigencies, they refused to afford any relief to the state, although it was now obvious that they had at that time in their hands a balance amounting to 190,000*l.* This conduct, Mr. Ord said, was the more to be deprecated, as one of the commissioners—Mr. John Bowles, was a monopolist of loyalty, the eulogist of existing power, and the denouncer of all who might condemn abuses, or call for reform, as vile and unprincipled jacobins. After an animated discussion, the house resolved that the commissioners, taking advantage of the omission of government to inquire into their proceedings, had, without authority, appropriated to their own use large sums of the public money, and had thereby been guilty of a flagrant violation of public duty.

The exposure of the conduct of the Dutch commissioners was followed by a charge, exhibited by Mr. Madocks, of corrupt practices against two of his majesty's ministers. The honourable gentleman, without giving the authority on which his information rested, stated, that at the last election a sum was paid, through the negociation of Lord Castlereagh, to Mr. Henry Wellesley, as the agent of the treasury, by Mr. Quintin Dick, in consequence of which payment, a seat in parliament for the borough of Cashel was obtained by Mr. Dick; and that Mr. Spencer Perceval was privy to the transaction. Mr. Madocks stated, that Mr. Dick having accordingly taken his seat in that house, did, pending, the discussions concerning the administration of the army under his Royal Highness the Duke of York, wait upon Lord Castlereagh, and acquainted him with the nature of the vote he intended to give upon that subject; on which Lord Castlereagh, after consulting with Mr. Spencer Perceval, suggested to Mr. Dick the propriety of resigning his seat rather than give the vote he proposed. These facts, the honourable mover said, he was prepared to prove, and moved that the house should resolve itself into a committee, to examine into the matter of the said charge.

Mr. Perceval and Lord Castlereagh protested against the dangerous precedent of entering into discussions and charges

made without any specified proof; and the house, conceiving that no sufficient ground had been laid for entering on the inquiry, negatived the motion by a majority of three hundred and ten to eighty-five voices.

One of the first consequences of the exposure of public abuses made during the present session of parliament, was the introduction of a bill into the house of commons by Mr. Curwen, for better securing the purity and independence of parliament, by preventing the procuring or obtaining seats by corrupt practices, and likewise for the more effectual prevention of bribery. The unanimous leave of the house was given to introduce this bill, which ultimately passed into a law. But so completely were the salutary provisions of the original measure fritted away in its progress through parliament, that many of the friends to reform refused to vote for its enactment, under the apprehension, that it would stand in the way of more efficient regulations, and tend to give to the treasury a monopoly of parliamentary patronage. Pending the debates on this bill in the committee, the speaker took occasion to observe, that the question under consideration was no less than this—"Whether seats in this house shall be henceforth publicly saleable? A proposition, at the sound of which our ancestors would have startled with indignation; but a practice," said he, "which, in these days, and within these walls, in utter oblivion of every former maxim and feeling of parliament, has been avowed and justified."

The parliament was now on the eve of terminating its labours for the present year, when Sir Francis Burdett submitted to the consideration of the house of commons a plan of parliamentary reform, grounded on the laws and constitution of the country, and resembling in the leading features the plan proposed by the Duke of Richmond thirty years before. The disease under which the country laboured, had, he contended, been caused by the disunion of property and political rights, and the remedy he should propose would consist in re-uniting them. For this purpose he should propose:—

"That freeholders and others, subject to direct taxation in support of the poor, the church, and the state, be required to elect members to serve in parliament.

"That each county be subdivided according to its taxed male population, and each subdivision required to elect one representative.

"That the votes be taken in each parish by the parish officers; and that all the elections shall be finished in one and the same day.

"That the parish officers make the return to the sheriffs' court, to be held for that purpose at stated periods.

"And that parliament be brought back to a constitutional duration."

It was not the wish of the honourable baronet to call for an



immediate decision upon this momentous subject, but merely to move, "That this house will, early in the next session of parliament, take into consideration the necessity of a reform in the representation." The chancellor of the exchequer, and several other members, contended, that the plan now proposed would never produce the effects anticipated from it, unless the mover of the measure could alter, not only our political constitution, but the frame of the human mind; unless he could at once get rid of human prejudices and human passions. On a division of the house there appeared for the motion fifteen, against it seventy-four voices.

While the question of parliamentary reform was under discussion, Mr. Wardle observed, that an efficient reform in the commons house of parliament would ensure to the people in their representatives active supporters of their rights and faithful guardians of their purse; and he did not hesitate to say, that in such an event, the amount of the income tax might be saved to the public. This declaration he was loudly called upon to explain; and on the 19th of June, the honourable gentleman recapitulated the savings he had calculated upon, and stated them to be in the army 6,182,000*l.*; in the navy 5,822,000*l.*; in the management of the revenue 1,110,000*l.*; commissions of accounts and inquiry 75,000*l.*; pensions 300,000*l.*; colonies 500,000*l.*; bounties 150,000*l.*; allowance in management of debt 210,000*l.*; military expenditure of Ireland 2,000,000*l.*; making an aggregate saving of 16,349,000*l.*; per annum. In order to show how these savings might be effected, Mr. Wardle moved for a large mass of accounts in the respective departments of the state to which he had referred, all which documents were ordered to be laid on the table.

Two days after the introduction of this motion, parliament was prorogued, and never, perhaps, in the annals of the British legislature, had the attention of the nation been fixed with more deep and anxious interest upon the proceedings of that assembly.

The transactions of the British navy never failed to present a highly interesting and animating object; and the gallantry and skill displayed in the successful attack on the French fleet in Basque Roads, will serve to grace the naval annals of Great Britain. The enemy's fleet, consisting of eight sail of the line and two frigates, had recently sailed from the harbour of Brest, and effected their escape to the mouth of the Charente, where they were joined by four sail of the line and two frigates, and where they anchored under the batteries, in such a manner as to afford mutual support and protection to each

other. In this situation it was determined to attack them ; and Lord Cochrane, in the *Imperieuse*, was despatched from England on this arduous and hazardous service. On the 10th of April a number of fire vessels, and transports filled with Congreve's rockets, joined Lord Gambier's fleet ; and the preparations for the attack were immediately begun. The fitting up and management of the explosion ship were entirely intrusted to Lord Cochrane, and the gallant captain determined that nothing should be wanting to render the preparations complete ; for this purpose he caused puncheons, placed with the ends upwards, to be filled with gunpowder, and fifteen hundred barrels of this death-dispensing combustible were used to charge the hogsheads. On the top of the puncheons, nearly four hundred shells with fusees were placed, and in the intermediate space about three thousand hand grenades. In order that the explosion might be as violent and destructive as possible, the puncheons were fastened together by cables, and kept steady and immoveable by wedges, and sand rammed down between them. In this floating volcano, at which the imagination instinctively shrinks with dismay, Lord Cochrane, with one lieutenant and four seamen, committed himself. On the 11th, the fire-ships, led on by Captain Woodridge, and the explosion ship, bearing its small adventurous crew, proceeded to the attack, favoured by a strong northerly wind and the flood tide. On approaching the enemy's vessels, they perceived a boom stretched across the entrance of the roads in front of their line. This impediment, however, was soon broken down, and the English advanced, undismayed by the heavy fire from the forts in the Isle of Aix. Lord Cochrane having approached with his ship as near to the enemy as possible, set fire to the fusee, and betook himself with his companions to the boat. Nine minutes after they had quitted the ship, and six minutes before the time calculated, she blew up with a tremendous explosion, and scattered death and destruction in every direction. His lordship had no sooner reached his own ship, than he proceeded to attack the French vessels, and sustained their fire for some time before any other man of war entered the harbour. Early in the morning of the 12th, Lord Gambier, in consequence of a signal from Lord Cochrane, announcing that seven of the enemy's ships were on shore, and might be destroyed, made the signal to unmoor and weigh, but the wind and tide being against him, the admiral was obliged to anchor again before he reached the roads. The enemy, availing themselves of this circumstance, succeeded in getting six of their ships up the river Charante. Four of the remaining ships were attacked



by Lord Cochrane, in the *Imperieuse*, followed by the *Revenge*, the *Indefatigable*, and the *Valiant*, of seventy-four guns each : while the other ships advanced, his lordship laid his vessel alongside of the *Calcutta*, and compelled her to surrender, although she had one-third more guns than the *Imperieuse*. His lordship, supported by the other English men of war, next attacked the *Ville de Varsovie*, and the *Aquilon*, and succeeded in taking them, in the face of the tremendous fire from the batteries of Aix. These ships it was found impossible to get off, and they were destroyed, along with the *Tonnerre*, another of the French squadron. By this brilliant and gallant achievement, one ship of one hundred and twenty guns, five of seventy-four guns, and two frigates, were driven on shore, and either totally destroyed or rendered useless ; one of eighty guns, two of seventy-four, and one of fifty guns, with three frigates, were burnt, and the French had the mortification to perceive that their ships could not be secured from British intrepidity and skill, even by the batteries of their own forts, and the intricate and dangerous navigation of their own bays.\*

In addition to the services performed by Lord Cochrane, and by some other naval officers in the Bay of Biscay, the fleet of Lord Collingwood, in the Mediterranean, distinguished itself in the cause of the Spanish patriots. Towards the end of October, three sail of the line, four frigates, and twenty large transports, were despatched from Toulon, under the French Admiral Bauden, to the relief of <sup>the</sup> Barcelona. As soon as this fleet was discovered, Lord Collingwood gave orders to Admiral Martin to chase them. The sight of the English fleet was the signal for the flight of the French ; and in order to escape their pursuers, the line of battle ships, and one of the frigates, ran ashore between Cette and Frontignan, where they were set on fire by their crews, and destroyed, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the British. The transports separated from the men of war, and took refuge in the bay of Rosas ; where, under the shelter of an armed store-ship, two bombards, and a xebec, they seemed to regard

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\* In the course of this enterprise, Lord Cochrane displayed his humanity in as signal and noble a manner as his courage. A captain of one of the French seventy-fours, when delivering his sword to his lordship, lamented, that the conflagration of his ship, which was just about to take place, would destroy all the property he possessed. On hearing this, Lord Cochrane instantly went into the boat along with him, in order, if possible, to rescue the captain's property from the devouring element ; but, unfortunately, his lordship's humane intentions were frustrated in a most shocking manner : as they passed a French ship, which was on fire, her loaded guns went off, and one of the balls striking the French captain, killed him by the side of his generous conqueror.

themselves secure ; but in this situation they were attacked by Captain Hollowell, who headed the boats of the English squadron, and notwithstanding a gallant resistance, every ship and vessel of the enemy was either burnt or brought off, in the sight of thousands of spectators, who witnessed the humiliation of their countrymen, and the resistless bravery of British seamen.

In the West Indies, the island of Martinique and the city of St. Domingo, were this year added to our numerous possessions ; and the colony of Cayenne, under the government of Victor Hughes, fell an easy conquest to a combined attack made by English and Portuguese troops. In the east, the Island of Bourbon surrendered to the English on the 21st of September, and nearly about the same time, the small Grecian Islands of Zante, Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Cerigo, acknowledged the sway of the British sceptre.

The unhappy differences between Great Britain and America this year assumed a more confirmed character, and while both countries professed an anxious desire for the revival of those amicable relations which had been so long interrupted, such was the tendency of the measures pursued, that a state of actual hostility was fast approaching. For the purpose of removing one of the most objectionable and irritating parts of the British orders in council, the board of trade, in the beginning of April, issued certain regulations, by which it was declared, that all neutral vessels were at liberty to trade with any port whatever, except those in a state of actual blockade ; and the blockade was expressly defined to extend to the whole coast of France, Holland, and the ports of Italy under the dominion of France. By these regulations, America was therefore permitted to trade with Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and all the ports of the Baltic, without molestation ; and all vessels conforming to these rules, though brought into our ports under the former orders in council, were to be liberated without expense or trouble. About the same time that these regulations were issued in England, an official assurance was given to the American secretary of state, by the honourable D. M. Erskine, the British envoy extraordinary, and minister plenipotentiary to the United States, that he was authorised to declare, that his majesty's orders in council, of January and November, 1807, would be withdrawn, as respected the United States, on the 10th of June next, in the persuasion that the president would issue a proclamation for the renewal of the intercourse with Great Britain.\* In virtue of this

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\* Mr. Erskine's Letter to Mr. Smith, dated Washington, April 18, 1809.



assurance, Mr. Madison, who had been elected President of the United States on the resignation of Mr. Jefferson, issued a proclamation on the following day, announcing that the trade between Great Britain and America would be renewed on the 10th of June.

The American merchants, presuming on this adjustment of the existing differences, prepared to renew their usual direct and uninterrupted communication with the different states of Europe; and the British merchants were congratulating themselves on the speedy and certain prospect of having the trade to America fully opened to them, when they were informed by the lords of the council, that the arrangements entered into by Mr. Erskine with the American government, were unauthorised by his instructions, and that, therefore, his majesty did not deem it proper or advisable to carry them into effect. At the same time Mr. Jackson was appointed by ministers to supersede Mr. Erskine, who, in his zeal to accommodate the existing differences with America, had, undoubtedly, exceeded his authority. Previously to the arrangement with Mr. Erskine, the American government, finding the embargo to fall with a severe pressure upon every part of the community, determined upon some relaxation; and accordingly the embargo was raised as to all other nations, and a system of non-intercourse and non-importation towards England and France, substituted in its stead.\* By this act of congress, all voyages to the British and French dominions, and all trade in articles of British or French manufacture, were prohibited; with the reservation, however, that whichever of the belligerents should so revoke or modify her edicts that they should cease to violate the commerce of the United States, the trade with that country should be renewed.

Soon after the breaking out of the war between France and Austria, the British ministry began to make preparations for a large and formidable expedition, and 40,000 troops, meant to be assisted in their operations by the powerful aid of thirty-five sail of the line, and about two hundred sail of smaller vessels, were assembled on the coasts of Kent and Hampshire. Although it was the intention of the government to keep the precise destination of the expedition a profound secret, yet long before its departure the point of attack was generally known in England, and publicly announced in the French newspapers. It is probable, however, that when the expedition was first planned, and up to the period of the fatal battle of Wagram, the British ministry had other objects in view be-

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\* Act of Congress, dated 1st of March, 1809.

sides the occupation of Flushing, and the destruction of the French ships of war in the Scheldt ; and it may be fairly presumed that their intention was at once to make a diversion in favour of Austria, and at the same time to secure an object exclusively British.

The expedition was fitted out in the most complete manner, and nothing seemed wanting to secure it as much success as the nature of the enterprise would admit, except the appointment of an able military commander. But here, unfortunately, the formidable strength, and the complete equipment of the troops, were rendered useless ; and when it was known that the command was to be conferred on the Earl of Chatham, a man proverbial for indolence and inactivity, the nation no longer looked forward to the result with confidence.\* At length, on the 28th and 29th of July, the expedition sailed from the Downs ; and on the 1st of August Flushing was invested. On the 13th the batteries were completed, and the frigates and smaller vessels, having taken their respective stations, the bombardment commenced on that day. The town suffered dreadfully from the effects of Congreve's rockets, while the fortifications were little injured. The French General Monnet, the commander of the place, made an attempt to inundate the island ; but this purpose was not so far effected as materially to retard or impede our offensive operations. On the 14th, Sir Richard Strachan, to whom the naval part of the expedition was confided, cannonaded the town for some hours, with so much effect, that a summons was sent in ; but some delay and difficulty having arisen, the attack recommenced, and the advanced post was carried at the point of the bayonet. The next day the enemy demanded a suspension of arms, which was succeeded by the surrender of the town, and the garrison, amounting to more than four thousand troops, were made prisoners of war. While the operations were proceeding against Flushing, the troops who were unemployed were suffered to remain cooped up in transports, instead of being sent against the forts of the Scheldt, and soon after the surrender of their fortress a rumour reached England that no ulterior operations would be undertaken. It afterwards appeared that no decision on this point had been come to before the 27th of August, when Sir Richard Strachan, having waited upon Lord Chatham in person to learn his lordship's plans, was informed that he had come to the

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\* When his lordship held the office of First Lord of the Admiralty, he was, in allusion to his hour of rising, called the *late* Earl of Chatham.



determination not to advance. The French, in the mean time, had not been inactive ; every preparation was made to oppose the passage both of our army and navy ; the interior of the Netherlands, and of France as far as Paris, was stripped of the national guards ; and an army formidable from numbers, if not from discipline and experience, had actually been collected for the defence of Antwerp and the shipping ; the naval stores were removed, and preparations were made for conveying the ships so high up the river, as to put them beyond the reach of either the invading army or navy.

While the commander of the British land forces displayed none of the requisite qualities of a general, and while, by his delay and indecision, he gave the enemy an opportunity of assembling force sufficient to oppose our progress, Sir Richard Strachan acted with the usual promptitude and decision of a British sailor. He offered, in the most unqualified manner, every assistance and co-operation which the navy was capable of affording, and received with undissembled dissatisfaction and indignation the determination of Lord Chatham to reject his proffered assistance, and proceed no further.

The most melancholy and disastrous part of this ill-judged and ill-conducted expedition remains to be told. Lord Chatham, with a great proportion of the troops, returned to England ; and the remainder found it expedient to give up all their conquests but the Island of Walcheren. This pestilential station it was resolved to keep, for the purpose of shutting up the mouth of the Scheldt, and for enabling our merchants to introduce British merchandise into Holland. But, from this island, the sole fruit of one of the most formidable and expensive expeditions ever sent from this country, we were doomed to be driven by an enemy more cruel and destructive than the French. A malady of the most fatal kind soon shewed itself among the troops, and suggested, in a language that could not be misunderstood, the necessity for immediate recall. Ministers, however, clung with paternal attachment to this dearly-bought acquisition, and it was not till a great proportion of the forces had either died of the prevailing epidemic, or been rendered incapable of performing their duty, that the fortifications, which we had repaired at an enormous expense, were destroyed, and the island was evacuated in the sight of an enemy, who, knowing that the ravages of disease would render any attack unnecessary, took no measures to expel the British forces from their fatal conquest.

The attention of the people was soon diverted from the dis-

astrous expedition against Walcheren, by two circumstances of a very opposite nature—the intrigues and disputes among the ministry, and the celebration of a jubilee, on the king having attained the fiftieth year of his reign. It had long been suspected that the members of the British cabinet were at variance; and the failure of the expedition to Holland called forth those disputes into a disgraceful act, calculated to awaken the public indignation at home, and to lower the British government in the estimation of foreign states.\* On the 21st of September, a duel took place between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, two members of his majesty's cabinet, holding the highest official situations in the state; the former being secretary for the war and colonial department, and the latter, secretary for foreign affairs. The parties, who met on Putney-Heath, fired a first time without effect; and as the nature of the difference did not appear to the combatants to admit of explanation or apology, they fired at each other the second time, when Mr. Canning received his antagonist's ball in his right thigh. This duel was preceded, and immediately occasioned, by a letter from Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Canning. In this letter, his lordship accuses the foreign secretary of having clandestinely endeavoured to procure his removal from his situation, and of having obtained a positive promise to that effect from the Duke of Portland. His lordship declares that he would not have deemed the conduct of Mr. Canning improper or unfair towards him, if he had not concealed his intention from his lordship, who, as the person most interested, ought explicitly, and at first, to have been made acquainted with Mr. Canning's proposal for his removal. But instead of pursuing this manly and liberal course of conduct, Mr. Canning, notwithstanding he had declared his conviction that Lord Castlereagh was unfit for his situation, and had prevailed upon the premier to consent to his removal, continued to treat his lordship as if he still possessed his confidence and good opinion, and permitted a minister, whom he had denounced as incapable, to plan and carry into execution the most extensive and formidable expedition perhaps ever sent from the British shores.

Against these serious charges, equally implicating Mr. Canning as a gentleman and a public minister, the nation naturally expected a prompt if not a satisfactory reply; but

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\* Bonaparte, in a letter to the Emperor of Russia, pending the negotiations at Vienna, and dated the 10th of October, 1809, says, "I send your majesty the English journals last received; you will see that the English ministry are fighting with each other, that there is a revolution in the ministry; and that all is perfect anarchy."



nearly a month elapsed before Mr. Canning found himself prepared to enter on his defence ; and in the mean time the ministry was completely dissolved. The Duke of Portland gave in his resignation, on account of his age and infirmities ; and Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning resigned. At length Mr. Canning's statement made its appearance. In this document it is admitted that the proposal and plan for Lord Castlereagh's dismissal continued from Easter till September ; but Mr. Canning contends that it was entirely owing to his lordship's friends that the actual dismissal was delayed till the termination of the expedition to the Scheldt. The principal point on which he insists is, that he supposed his colleague knew that his dismissal was in contemplation, and that the proposal originated with him. Upon the futility of this reasoning it is unnecessary to dwell. The line of conduct which Mr. Canning ought to have pursued is obvious and simple ; it was chalked out to him by the usual practice of parliament ; there no member ever makes a motion against another, till he has given notice to the gentleman who is to be the object of his censure ; and if such a proceeding be deemed necessary in parliament, it is still more requisite in the cabinet.

On the day after the duel, Mr. Perceval, on whom, in consequence of the resignation of the Duke of Portland, the ostensible, as well as the real superintendence of the government of the country had fallen, wrote to Earl Grey and Lord Grenville, inviting them to co-operate with him, " for the purpose of forming an extended and combined administration." Both these noblemen were at that time in the country, and Earl Grey, in reply to Mr. Perceval's letter, declined coming to London, since it was utterly impossible for him to form an union with his majesty's ministers, with any hope of promoting the interests of the country. Lord Grenville immediately repaired to town ; but the day after his arrival he sent a reply, objecting to an union with his majesty's present ministers, and adding, that his objections were not personal, but applied " to the principle of the government itself, and to the circumstances which attended its appointment." After this refusal, Mr. Perceval applied to several public men, who were known to be generally favourable to the line of politics which he had pursued ; and after suffering the mortification of several refusals, the arrangements were at length completed. Mr. Perceval himself took the office of first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer ; the Marquis of Wellesley succeeded to the foreign department ; Lord Liverpool was transferred from the home to the department of war and colo-

nies ; Mr. Ryder was appointed to succeed Lord Liverpool ; and Lord Palmerston was at the same time appointed secretary at war, in the room of Sir James Pulteney.

Amidst all the disasters of their arms and the embarrassments of their councils, the British people were not unmindful of the virtues of their sovereign. Hence the enthusiasm manifested on that day, which, for the third time in the annals of their country, saw a monarch, deservedly dear to his people, enter the fiftieth year of his reign. Nor was the celebration of this day more remarkable for the enthusiastic loyalty which was displayed, than for the wise and humane manner in which the gratitude of the nation to providence was expressed, for having permitted their sovereign to reign so long, and for the continuance of independence and prosperity in the midst of the wreck of Europe. Numerous institutions of benevolence and utility were founded in various parts of the empire ; the hungry were fed ; the naked were clothed ; the prison doors were thrown open to numbers of unfortunate debtors ; and every heart which man was capable of making glad rejoiced on this memorable day.\*

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\* In surveying the surrounding states on this day of Jubilee, it appeared that the short period of twenty years had swept from their thrones all the sovereigns of Europe, that monarch alone excepted whose long and eventful reign the national festival of the 25th of October, 1809, was appointed to celebrate : and the following brief but comprehensive record, will afford an impressive illustration of the mutations of the present age, and of the instability of human greatness.

Louis XVI. King of France, deposed 10th of August, 1792, executed January 21st, 1793.

Louis XVII. died in the Temple, June 9th, 1795.

Joseph II. Emperor of Germany, Died Feb. 20th, 1790.

Leopold II. Emperor of Germany, ——— March 1st, 1792.

Catharine II. Empress of Russia, ——— Nov. 17th, 1796.

Frederick-William II. King of Prussia, ——— Nov. 16th, 1797.

Christian VII. King of Denmark, ——— March 13th, 1808.

Stanislaus, King of Poland, deposed Nov. 25th, 1795 ; died Feb. 12th, 1798.

Pope Pius VI. deposed February, 1798 ; died August 19th, 1798.

William V. Stadtholder of Holland, deposed, Jan. 1795 ; died, April, 1806.

Charles Emanuel, King of Sardinia, Deposed June 4th, 1801.

Charles IV. and Ferdinand VII. Kings of Spain ——— May, 1808.

Gustavus Adolphus IV. King of Sweden, ——— March 13, 1809.

Pope Pius VII. ——— June 1st, 1809.

Ferdinand IV. King of Naples, ——— Jan, 23d, 1799.

Gustavus III. King of Sweden, Assassinated March 27th, 1792.

Paul I. Emperor of Russia, ——— March 22d, 1801.

Selim III. Grand Seignor, ——— May 29th, 1807.

Maria Frances Isabella, Queen of Portugal, expatriated, Nov. 1807.



## CHAPTER XI.

**SPANISH CAMPAIGNS:** *State of the hostile Armies at the Beginning of the Year 1809—Capture of Oporto by the French—Defeat of the Spaniards at Medellin—Treaty of Peace and Alliance between Spain and Great Britain—Return of Sir Arthur Wellesley to the Peninsula—Expulsion of the French Army from Oporto—Second Siege and Fall of Saragossa—Defeat of General Blake in Catalonia—Battle of Talavera—Retreat of the British and Spanish Armies after the Victory of Talavera—Elevation of Sir Arthur Wellesley to the Peerage—Appointment of the Marquis of Wellesley as Ambassador Extraordinary to Spain—The Nature of his Mission—Recall of the Marquis—Defeat of General Venegas near Toledo—Signal Defeat of the Spanish Army under General Ariezaga—Defeat of the French Army at Zamames—Battle of Alba—Fall of Gerona—Popular Commotion at Seville—Fall of that City—Advance of the French Armies to Cadiz—Dissolution of the Supreme Central Junta and the Appointment of a Council of Regency—Abortive Attempt to rescue Ferdinand VII.—Military Operations in Portugal—Plan of the Campaign—Advance of the French Army under Massena into Portugal—Fall of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida—Battle of Busaco—Retreat of Lord Wellington to the Lines of Torres Vedras—Close of the Campaign—Election of the Spanish Cortes—Meeting of the Cortes in the Isle of Leon—The Proceedings of that Body—Appointment of a new Council of Regency—Situation of the Peninsula at the Close of the Year 1810.*

FROM the moment that Bonaparte left the peninsula in order to prepare for war against the Emperor of Austria, the operations and movements of the French armies in Spain became not only less interesting, but more difficult to be traced and narrated. The marshals of France, instead of following up the grand scheme of their emperor, by connecting and uniting their whole force, and pressing forward against the different Spanish corps successively, divided their forces into as many bodies as there were hostile armies opposed to them. Instead of distinguishing themselves by the celerity of their movements, and by quickly following up their successes, they advanced slowly, and generally remained stationary after a victory. It must, however, be observed, not only in justice to the enemy, but as a tribute due to the Spaniards, that a victory in Spain did not, as in Germany, open the way for a rapid and secure advance. The Spanish armies were almost always conquered in regular and general engagements, but the spirit of the people, although it sometimes unaccountably slumbered, generally broke out immediately after the defeat of their armies, and never failed to fill up the vacancies in the patriot ranks. After the army under Sir John Moore had embarked for the peninsula, the attention and movements of the French were principally directed to the pursuit and discomfiture of the Spanish corps, which still occupied the centre of

the kingdom, and to the occupation of such of the sea-ports in the north and east as kept open the communication with England, or that contained the Spanish navy. Accordingly, in the centre of Spain the Duke of Belluno attacked and defeated the division of the Duc del Infantado's army, under the command of General Venegas; while in the north the Duke of Dalmatia advanced to Ferrol, and, through the pusillanimity and perfidy of the civil and military authorities, made himself master of that place, as well as of the fleet moored in the harbour. The next place against which the operations of the French were directed was Oporto, and of this city, though defended by twenty-four thousand troops and two hundred pieces of cannon, the Duke of Dalmatia possessed himself without encountering any formidable resistance.

In the beginning of April, 1809, the principal Spanish and French armies occupied the following positions: The Marquis del Romana was at Villafranca; General Cuesta, having been joined by the division under the Duc d'Albuquerque, had halted in his retreat before the French near Talavera; General Reding, having suffered severely in an attempt to surprise Barcelona, and in a succession of engagements near Tarragona, had been reinforced by the army of General Blake, and was, with that general, employed in opposing the progress of the French in Catalonia. Of the French forces, Soult was at Oporto; Ney in the neighbourhood of Corunna and Ferrol; and Victor was advancing towards Lisbon, by the route of Badajoz, with the Spanish force under General Cuesta in his front.

The only engagement worthy of notice, either on account of its general nature, or the consequences which resulted from it, was fought between Marshal Victor and General Cuesta, at Medellin, a town of Estramadura, equi-distant from Merida and Truxillo. Towards this place the Spanish general marched with a determination to attack the invaders, and on the 29th of March he found the whole of Victor's division, consisting of twenty thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry, drawn up in front of Medellin. Unintimidated by the force and skilful dispositions of the enemy, Cuesta determined upon a rapid and general attack, and by the gallantry and steadiness of his infantry, one of the French batteries was carried. To support this vigorous operation, the Spanish cavalry regiments of Amania and Infante, and the two squadrons of the imperial chasseurs of Toledo, were ordered to advance, but instead of executing the orders of their commander, they fled before the enemy, and threw the left wing of the Spanish army into disorder. The French general, availing himself of this circum-



stance, directed his undivided efforts against the right and centre of the Spaniards, and General Cuesta, finding all his endeavours to rally his forces unavailing, was obliged to commence a disorderly retreat. In this engagement the patriots lost, according to the French accounts, fourteen thousand men in killed and wounded, with six standards, and the whole of their artillery.

The disposition of the British government towards the Spaniards still continued favourable; and disappointment and disaster had by no means damped their ardour in the patriot cause. The relations of the two countries had hitherto been destitute of the usual formalities; but, early in the present year, a solemn treaty of peace and alliance was entered into between Great Britain and the authorities administering the Spanish government in the name of Ferdinand VII. By this treaty, which was negociated on the part of the Spaniards by Don Pedro Cevallos, his Britannic Majesty pledged himself to assist the Spanish nation in their struggle against the tyranny and usurpation of France, and not to acknowledge any other King of Spain and the Indies than his Majesty Ferdinand VII. his heirs, and lawful successors.

In order to carry into effect the promised assistance which the British government had determined to afford to the patriots, and at the same time to free Portugal from the presence of the French army, Sir Arthur Wellesley sailed from Portsmouth on the 15th of April, and arrived at Lisbon on the 22d of the same month, to take the command of the British army, which, by reinforcements sent principally from Ireland, had been swelled to thirty thousand men. On the arrival of Sir Arthur Wellesley at Lisbon, he determined to dispossess the French under Marshal Soult of the city of Oporto; and with this view he assembled the British army at Coimbra, on the 7th of May, and advanced towards the Douro. Marshal Soult, aware of the magnitude of the force which was advancing against him, and sensible that he was by no means equal to the combat, withdrew the main body of his army, and the second city in Portugal fell into the hands of the British almost without resistance. Sir Arthur Wellesley, having placed Oporto in a proper state of defence, returned to the south of Portugal, where his presence had become necessary in order to protect Lisbon and its vicinity from the French army, which was advancing along the Tagus, under Marshal Victor. This general, finding the capital open to his attack, commenced a rapid march from Badajoz, and was diverted from his purpose only by the return of Sir Arthur Wellesley,

accompanied by the intelligence that he had received of the flight and partial defeat of the Duke of Dalmatia.

In the mean time, the affairs of the patriots were chequered with alternate success and disaster in the greater part of the peninsula, but in Galicia their successes greatly preponderated. In the north-east prodigies of valour had been displayed; the second siege of Saragossa rivalled the first, and will for ever occupy a distinguished place in the military annals of Spain. A body of about ten thousand men, who had escaped from the battle of Tudela, had thrown themselves into Saragossa, and the citizens and peasants from the country swelled the number of its defenders to about fifty thousand men. The second siege was commenced about the middle of December, 1808, and Palafox ordained, that all the inhabitants, of whatever rank and condition, should consider themselves bound to devote their persons, their property, and their lives, to the defence of the city. To a summons from Marshal Moncey to surrender, this heroic chief replied—"Talk of capitulation when I am dead!" and the soldiers and the citizens proved themselves worthy of their illustrious leader. On the 10th of January the bombardment began; and Moncey being incapacitated by sickness, Marshal Lannes was sent by Bonaparte to take the command of the besieging army, which consisted of from fifty to sixty thousand men. The French, well aware that the only way to conquer Saragossa was to destroy it house by house, and street by street, proceeded upon this system, and three companies of miners and eight companies of sappers were continually employed in carrying on this subterraneous war. During the bombardment, which continued two and forty days, there was no respite either by day or by night for this devoted city; even the natural order of light and darkness was destroyed—by day the place was involved in a red sulphureous atmosphere of smoke, which hid the face of heaven; and by night, the fire of the cannons and the mortars, with the flames of burning houses, kept the hemisphere in a state of terrific illumination. After a glorious defence, the garrison began to experience a want of ammunition, which was succeeded by the horrors of famine; and a pestilential disease appearing at this moment in the city, served to fill up the dreadful climax. On the 1st of February, the situation of the place appeared hopeless; but the governor-general still refused to capitulate, and for seventeen days more the defence was continued; when Palafox himself, being seized with the contagion, was obliged to transfer his authority to a Junta, of which Don Pedro Maria Ric was appointed president. On the 19th the enemy obtained possession of the Puerto del



Angel, and to such a deplorable situation was the garrison reduced by its accumulated miseries, that all the efforts of Don Ric proved fruitless. Disease had subdued the inhabitants; two-thirds of the city had been destroyed; thirty thousand of the people had perished, and from three to four hundred were dying daily of the pestilence. Reduced to this situation, the city capitulated, and the French, after a siege of two months, obtained possession of a mass of ruins.

The supreme junta of Spain pronounced the funeral oration of Saragossa in an address to the nation—"Spaniards!" said they, "the only boon which Saragossa begged of our unfortunate monarch at Vittoria, was, that she might be the first city to sacrifice herself in his defence. That sacrifice has been consummated. But, Spaniards, Saragossa still survives for imitation and example; still survives in the public spirit, which, from her heroic exertions, is for ever imbibing lessons of spirit and constancy. Forty thousand Frenchmen, who have perished before the mud walls of Saragossa, cause France to mourn the barren and ephemeral triumph which she has obtained, and evince to Spain, that three cities of equal resolution will save their country and baffle the tyrant. Time passes away, and days will come when these dreadful convulsions, with which the genius of iniquity is now afflicting the earth, will have subsided. The friends of virtue and of patriotism will then come to the banks of the Ebro to visit the majestic ruins of Saragossa, and beholding them with admiration and with envy, will exclaim—'Here stood that city, which, in modern ages, realized those ancient prodigies of heroism and constancy, which are scarcely credited in history. The subjection of this open town cost France more blood, more tears, more slaughter, than the conquest of whole kingdoms; nor was it French valour that subdued it; a deadly and general pestilence prostrated the strength of its defenders, and the enemy, when they entered, triumphed over a few sick and dying men, but they did not subdue citizens, nor conquer soldiers!'"

After the fall of Saragossa, an attempt was made by General Blake to regain possession of that city, but in this he entirely failed, and the Spanish army under his command became exposed to a fatal and inglorious defeat at Belchite. According to the account of this battle published by the Spanish general, one of his regiments was thrown into confusion by the discharge of the enemy's grenades; the panic spread rapidly; regiment after regiment fled without discharging a gun; and in a short time, the general and his officers were left alone to oppose the enemy. The fruits of this vic-

tory, disgraceful to the Spaniards, rather than honourable to the French, were nine pieces of cannon, immense quantities of stores and provisions, and upwards of three thousand prisoners.

The inactivity to which the army of Sir Arthur Wellesley had been doomed after their return from Oporto, was relieved by a plan concerted between the British general and General Cuesta, by which it was proposed to attack the central French armies, and to obtain possession of the Spanish capital. With this view, a junction of the British and Spanish forces took place in the neighbourhood of Plasencia, on the 20th of July. Sir Robert Wilson, who commanded a Portuguese corps, which he had brought into a state of excellent discipline, was ordered to advance to Ascolona, on the river Alberche. The division of the Spanish general, Venegas, at the same time broke up from Madriles, and advanced to Arganda. After these preparatory movements had been made, the combined British and Spanish army, amounting to about sixty thousand men, of which twenty-four thousand were British, proceeded to Talavera, where the French army, under Marshal Victor, thirty-five thousand strong, had been for some time stationed. On the 22d the allied forces moved upon Oropesa, and drove in Victor's rear-guard, which was drawn up in order of battle upon a plain about a league from Talavera. The hostile armies were now in sight of each other, and Sir Arthur Wellesley determined to attack the French general the following day, and to bring him to action before he was joined by Joseph Bonaparte and General Sebastiani, who were both marching to his relief. For this purpose the British columns were formed at five o'clock in the morning; but, at the moment when the troops were ready to advance, they learned, to their extreme disappointment and mortification, that General Cuesta, not wishing to profane the sanctity of the sabbath day by secular employments, had determined to delay the attack till the following day. On the morning of the 24th, the British and Spanish armies were again drawn out; but Victor, less scrupulous than Cuesta, had, during the evening of the sabbath, retreated from his position in order to effect a junction with other divisions of the French army of the centre; and so deficient was the combined army in the means of transport, that it was found impossible to pursue the enemy. This inconvenience had long been felt, and Sir Arthur Wellesley, before he left Plasencia, was under the necessity of informing General Cuesta, that it would be impossible to continue to co-operate with the Spanish armies, unless the means of transport were supplied. To aggravate this evil, both the British and



Spanish commissariats were in the most deplorable state, and the combined armies became, in a certain degree, competitors for subsistence. Thus circumstanced, the British troops halted from absolute necessity, and Sir Arthur Wellesley came to the determination to return to Portugal, if more vigorous exertions were not made by the supreme junta to supply the wants of his army. Cuesta appeared fully sensible of the propriety of this resolution, and, trusting that the possession of Madrid, which seemed now almost within his reach, would relieve all the wants by which the combined army was surrounded, he determined to advance in the pursuit of Victor.

On the 25th, the French force, under Joseph Bonaparte and General Sebastiani, formed a junction with Marshal Victor at Toledo. By this accession of strength, the force of the enemy was swelled to forty-five thousand men; and General Cuesta, finding himself unable to withstand so formidable an army, fell back, in great disorder, and with considerable loss, upon the British position at Talavera.

It was now obvious that the enemy intended to try the result of a general action, and Sir Arthur Wellesley selected the neighbourhood of Talavera as the scene of operations. The position taken up by the troops extended more than two miles; the ground was open upon the left, where the British army was stationed, and it was commanded by a height, on which was, in echelon, and in second line, a division of infantry, under the orders of Major-general Hill. Between this height and a range of mountains still further upon the left, was a valley, which it was not at first judged necessary to occupy.—The right, consisting of Spanish troops, extended, immediately in front of the town of Talavera, down to the Tagus, where the ground was covered with olive trees, and much intersected by banks and ditches. The road leading from the bridge over the Alberche, and the avenues to the town, as well as the town itself, were occupied by the Spanish infantry. In the centre, between the armies, there was a commanding spot of ground, with an unfinished redoubt, and which post was occupied by Brigadier-general Alexander Campbell, with a division of infantry, supported in their rear by General Cotton's brigade of dragoons, and some cavalry.

At about two o'clock in the afternoon of the 27th, the enemy appeared in strength upon the left bank of the Alberche, and manifested an intention to attack General Mackenzie, who had been placed, with a division of infantry, and a brigade of cavalry, as an advanced post, in the wood which covered the left flank of the British army. These troops suffer-

ed considerably, but they were withdrawn in perfect order, and took their place in the line. The enemy now cannonaded the left of the British position, and attacked the Spanish infantry with his horse, hoping to break the ranks, and carry the town ; but he was bravely withstood, and finally repulsed.— Early in the evening, Marshal Victor pushed a division along the valley, on the left of the height occupied by General Hill ; this he considered the key of the British position, and the efforts of the French to obtain this eminence corresponded with the estimation in which it was held. For a moment the attack was successful ; but General Hill instantly charged the assailants with the bayonet, and regained the post. Undismayed by this repulse, the French repeated their attack about midnight ; but they were again repulsed with great slaughter. Both armies passed the night on the field, and several partial engagements were fought before the dawn of the following day. These nightly combats were conducted with the most determined fury ; the men, after they had discharged their fire-arms, frequently closed, and beat out each other's brains with their muskets.

In the course of the evening, the French had ascertained that any attack upon the town, posted as the Spaniards were, was hopeless ; they had also discovered that no impression could be made upon the centre, and consequently that the left, where they had already suffered so much, was the only practicable point of attack. Accordingly, at day-break on the 28th, General Ruffin advanced with three regiments in close columns against the eminence occupied by General Hill ; but here again they were resisted by the bayonet, and driven back, leaving the field covered with their slain. About eleven o'clock, the enemy, finding himself baffled in all his efforts, suspended the attack, and dined upon the field of battle. Wine and bread were at the same time served out to the British troops, and during this pause in the work of destruction, the men in both armies repaired to a brook to quench their thirst, and stooped to the stream in the presence of each other without molestation ; at this moment the heat and exasperation of battle was suspended ; the troops felt that respect which proofs of mutual courage had inspired, and numbers of them shook hands across the brook before the battle recommenced.

About noon, Marshal Victor ordered a general attack with his whole force upon that part of the position of the allies which was occupied by the British army. In consequence of the repeated attacks made upon the left, Sir Arthur Wellesley had now placed two brigades of British cavalry in the valley, supported in the rear by the Duc d'Albuquerque's division of



Spanish cavalry. The general attack began by the march of several columns of infantry into the valley, with a view to make another attack on the height occupied by General Hill. From the moment this operation commenced, the firing of the musketry was heard on all sides like the roll of a drum, with scarcely a moment's interruption, during the remainder of the day ; and the deeper sound of the heavy cannonade resembled continual peals of thunder. The operations of the French were deranged by Leval's division, which, instead of forming in echelon in the rear, advanced to the front. Sebastiani, perceiving the blunder committed by this division, sent a brigade to extricate Leval from his perilous situation, which, after considerable loss, was effected. This attack upon the hill was formidable in the extreme, but, like all the former, it failed. The French General, La Pisse, who was the first to cross the ravine, was mortally wounded, and his men were driven back with severe loss. About three o'clock in the afternoon the enemy again advanced to the attack, with his whole force. Marshal Victor had resolved to storm and carry the heights that had so repeatedly and so successfully defied his former attempts ; and placing himself at the head of his troops, he led them to the foot of the hill, while general Vilatte advanced to his support from the valley. At this moment General Anson's brigade, consisting of the 1st German light dragoons, and the 23d dragoons, with General Fane's brigade of heavy cavalry, were ordered to attack the French, who had formed in two solid squares, protected by a deep ditch, and supported by a tremendous fire of musketry and artillery. Here the brunt of the action lay ; numbers of men and horses fell into the ditch, which, till now, had been undiscovered, and numbers were mown down by the artillery ; but still the columns advanced, and made a desperate charge upon the solid and impenetrable squares of the enemy. The British suffered dreadfully ; and the 23d regiment in particular was almost annihilated. This gallant attempt, although it was not attended with success, had the effect of preventing the execution of the enemy's plan, and no further attempt was made upon the hill, which was now covered with the dead and the dying.

The attack upon the centre was repulsed by Brigadier-general Alexander Campbell, supported by the king's regiment of Spanish cavalry, and two regiments of Spanish infantry ; and while the Spaniards turned the enemy's flank, the English took their cannon. At the same time an attack was made upon Lieutenant-general Sherbrook's division, which was on the left and centre of the first line of the British army. This attack was gallantly repulsed by a charge with the bayonet by

the whole division ; but the brigade of guards, impelled by their military ardour, advanced too far, and laid themselves open, on the left flank, both to the fire of the enemy's batteries and to their retiring columns. The enemy lost not a moment in seizing the advantage that now presented itself, and for some time the fate of the day appeared worse than doubtful. At this crisis, the skill and foresight of Sir Arthur Wellesley turned the current of success which had set in so strongly against him, and secured a victory which had so long hung in suspense. Seeing the guards advance, and aware of the danger to which they would be exposed, Sir Arthur Wellesley moved a battalion of the 48th from the heights to their support ; and this timely succour, with the assistance of the second line of General Cotton's brigade of cavalry, enabled the guards to extricate themselves from the impending danger, and decided the fate of the battle.

Shortly after the repulse of the general attack, the enemy commenced his retreat in the most regular order across the Alberche, leaving twenty pieces of cannon in the hands of the combined army. The loss on both sides was severe ; the enemy had entire brigades of infantry destroyed ; and his loss in the engagements of the 27th and 28th was estimated by the English commander at ten thousand men. On the same authority it is stated, that the British had eight hundred killed, three thousand nine hundred wounded, and six hundred and fifty missing, exclusive of the loss of the Spaniards, which amounted to twelve hundred and fifty in killed and wounded. In the official account of this memorable engagement, Sir Arthur Wellesley particularly laments the loss of Major-general Mackenzie ; of Brigadier-general Langworth, of the king's German legion ; and of Brigade-major Beckett, of the Coldstream regiment of guards.\*

On this occasion the British army sustained nearly the whole weight of the contest, and acquired the glory of having vanquished a French army, double their numbers ; not in a short and partial struggle, but in a battle obstinately contested on two successive days, and fought under circumstances which brought both armies into close and repeated combat. The

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\* Captain Samuel Walker, of the 3d regiment of guards, like his gallant companion in arms, Captain Richard Beckett, fell on the 28th of July, in the prime of life, and in the moment of victory, on the plains of Talavera. These officers had fought the battles of their country in Egypt, in Germany, in Denmark, and in Portugal ; and their fellow townsmen, the inhabitants of Leeds, erected a monument in the parish church of that place, to commemorate their public services, and to hand down their memory to future ages.



king, in contemplating so glorious a display of the valour and prowess of his troops, was graciously pleased to command that his royal approbation of the conduct of the army serving under the command of Lieutenant-general Sir Arthur Wellesley, should be publicly declared in general orders. And the commander-in-chief received his majesty's commands to signify, in the most marked and special manner, the sense he entertained of Sir Arthur Wellesley's personal services, not less displayed in the result of the battle itself, than in the consummate ability, valour, and military resources, with which the many difficulties of this arduous and protracted contest were met and provided for, by his experience and judgment. The conduct of Lieutenant-general Sherbrook, the second in command, obtained for that officer expressions of the king's marked approbation. His majesty observed, with satisfaction, the manner in which he led on the troops to the charge with the bayonet—a species of combat which on all occasions so well accords with the dauntless character of the British soldiers. His majesty was pleased also to notice, with the same gracious approbation, the conduct of the several general and other officers, and to declare, that most of them had eminently distinguished themselves, and that "*all had done their duty.*" The royal approbation and thanks were at the same time expressed in the most distinct and most particular manner to the non-commissioned officers and private men. In no instance had they displayed with greater lustre their native valour and characteristic energy, nor had they on any former occasion more decidedly proved their superiority to the enemies of their country. These sentiments, which were expressed in general orders, were acquiesced in by both branches of the legislature, who voted the thanks of parliament to Sir Arthur Wellesley, and to the officers and men under his command; and as a special mark of his majesty's favour and approbation, the commander-in-chief at the battle of Talavera, was, on the 26th of August, elevated to the peerage, by the title of Viscount Wellington of Talavera and of Wellington, and Baron Douro of Wellesley, in the county of Somerset.

Scarcely had the British troops time to congratulate themselves on the achievement of this brilliant victory, when the unexpected intelligence was received, that Marshals Soult, Ney, and Mortier, had advanced through Estramadura, and were already in the rear of the combined British and Spanish army. There was now no time for hesitation or delay; a retreat had become indispensable, and promptitude alone could save the army. The bridge of Almaraz, by which one of the divisions of the English was to have crossed the Tagus, was

destroyed, and the bridge of Arzobispo alone remained for the passage of the whole army. As no doubt could be entertained that the army of Victor would again advance as soon as he heard of the approach of the French forces through Estramadura, it became necessary that part of the combined troops should remain at Talavera, as well for the purpose of checking the advance of the French, as for taking care of the sick and wounded of the combined army. General Cuesta was accordingly left at Talavera, where it was hoped he might be able to maintain his position; but in any event it was understood that he should by no means abandon the wounded. On the 3d of August the British force left Talavera, and marched to Oropesa, on the way to Plasencia, with an intention to attack the force under Marshal Soult. On the evening of that day Sir Arthur Wellesley received information that Cuesta meant to quit Talavera immediately; and that, for want of conveyance, he should be obliged to abandon his hospitals. The Spanish general was not deficient in personal gallantry, but he was obstinate, intractable, and unfit for command; and his reason for leaving the sick and wounded, by quitting his station even before the French approached, seemed to partake of the imbecility of old age: it was not that he had any apprehension for the safety of his own army, but he was afraid that Sir Arthur Wellesley would not be able to contend with the French force that was coming against him; and he had in consequence left Talavera that he might be enabled to support his British ally. Surrounded by difficulties, with an army of thirty thousand men under Soult pressing upon him from the north, and with an army equally strong under Victor advancing from the east, the British general determined to retreat and to take up a position at Deleytosa on the way to Truxillo. Here he remained unmolested by the French, and was enabled to recruit his army; but finding that the junta were by no means disposed to supply the wants which had prevented his pursuit of the French before the battle of Talavera, he determined to retreat to Badajoz, where, during the remainder of the year, his army continued inactive, and exposed, from the unhealthiness of the situation, to the ravages of a fatal disorder.

The victory gained at Talavera may undoubtedly be ranked among the most splendid efforts of British courage in the military annals of our country. But it may be questioned whether a consummate general—a commander, whose object is not merely to gain battles, but to reap and secure all the advantages of victory, would have advanced so far into Spain, doubtful as Sir Arthur Wellesley was of the hearty and cor-



dial co-operation of the Spaniards ; destitute of the means of following up a victory or of securing a retreat, and ignorant of the strength or movements of the enemy in his rear. Possessing, as the British general did, skill, courage, and enterprise, he still wanted one trait in his character to constitute him a finished soldier ; this indispensable requisite was acquired in the Spanish campaign of 1809, and the *circumspection* given to the mind of Sir Arthur Wellesley by the battle of Talavera shewed itself in all his future operations, and tended in an eminent degree to acquire for him, at no distant period, the proud designation of the first captain of the age.

When the combined armies, under Sir Arthur Wellesley and General Cuesta, were reduced to the necessity of retreating from Talavera, Sir Robert Wilson, who had pushed almost to the gates of Madrid, was suddenly recalled. This partizan corps, owing to some impediments that had not been anticipated, did not arrive at Valada till the night of the 4th of August, when the commander, conceiving it too late to retire by the bridge of Arzobispo, was obliged to take the route of Banos, where he was attacked by Marshal Ney and defeated. Sir Robert Wilson, on his defeat, retired along the mountains, and after a harrassing march, succeeded at length in forming a junction with the British army.

The appointment of the Marquis of Wellesley as ambassador extraordinary to Spain, was announced in the London Gazette of the 1st of May ; but it happened, unfortunately, that the intrigues in the British cabinet did not permit his departure from England for Cadiz till the latter end of the month of July. The Marquis of Wellesley was received with the greatest attention and respect in Spain, and in conducting the delicate mission with which he was intrusted, he abstained, as much as possible, from every thing that could be considered as an interference with the domestic relations of that country. In his communications with the junta, he pointed out the only course that could be pursued with any rational prospect of success, and, in particular, he pressed upon their attention the propriety of calling forth and concentrating the military resources of the kingdom. Another point at which he aimed was, to give a tone to public opinion, to excite and direct the national spirit, and to apply its energy to national objects. With these views, the British ambassador recommended the appointment of a council of regency, and the speedy convocation of the Spanish Cortes\*—the former to

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\* The supreme assembly or parliament. By the original prerogatives of the cortes—a body, partly hereditary and partly elective, no

discharge the sovereign functions, and the latter to support the government in the great work of delivering the Spanish nation from French usurpation. He suggested, that "the same act of the junta by which the regency should be appointed, and the cortes called, should contain the principal articles of redress of grievances, correction of abuses, and relief of the exactions in Spain and the Indies, and also the heads of such concessions to the colonies as should secure to them a full share in the representative body of the Spanish empire."\* What effects might have resulted from the further exertion of the influence of the Marquis of Wellesley over the Spanish government, can only be conjectured, for, in the Autumn of the present year, he was called from the councils of that nation, to assume a distinguished place in the British cabinet.

In directing our attention from the civil concerns to the military transactions of this period, too many proofs are exhibited of the necessity of those maxims inculcated by the Marquis of Wellesley on the junta of Spain. In the early part of the month of August, soon after the battle of Talavera, General Venegas, with an army computed at thirty thousand men, descended from the mountains of the Sierra Morena, and on the 10th of that month took up a strong position about three leagues from Toledo. On the advance of General Venegas into the plain, he found himself opposed to a French corps under the command of General Sebastiani. On the commencement of the engagement, which took place on a rising ground beyond the village of Almonacid, near Toledo, his line was penetrated in every direction by squadrons of French cavalry; and the Spaniards, incapable of sustaining the charge, threw down their arms and dispersed, leaving their baggage, artillery, and ammunition, in the hands of the enemy.

The disaster of Toledo was followed by a change in the command of the army of La Mancha, which was now taken

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tax could be imposed, no war could be declared, nor any peace concluded without the permission of its members. The power of rescinding the proceedings of all inferior courts, the privilege of inspecting every department of administration, and the right of redressing all grievances, belonged to the cortes; and those who were aggrieved addressed this body, not in the humble tone of supplicants, but with the boldness of persons who demanded the birth-right of freemen. This sovereign court was held annually in Arragon for several centuries; but subsequently it was convoked only once in two years; and ultimately it sunk into a mere assembly for registering the edicts of the court.

\* Despatch from the Marquis of Wellesley to Don Martin de Garay, dated Seville, September 8th, 1809.



from General Venegas and confided to the Marquis of Areizaga. This army, by extraordinary exertions, was soon re-assembled, and swelled by the addition of new levies to the number of fifty thousand men. With this force, the new commander formed a bold, but hazardous determination, to advance direct to Madrid. To oppose this enterprise, the French forces under Joseph Bonaparte took up a strong position near Toledo. The numbers of the Spanish army failed to inspire them with sufficient confidence to pursue their march, and instead of advancing, as was at first proposed, they retreated along the banks of the Tajo, followed by the enemy, who came up with them near Ocana. On the vast plain by which this place is surrounded, a general battle was fought on the 19th of November. The action commenced at eleven o'clock, and in less than two hours the fate of the day was completely decided. The Spaniards, animated by the superiority of their numbers, made a vigorous resistance, and for some time victory seemed to incline to the side of the patriots. The acclamations of triumph had already burst forth from their ranks; but at that moment, a regiment of cavalry appointed to cover a large body of Spanish infantry, gave way. The panic instantly became general, and the French, too well skilled in the art of war to let a circumstance so favourable to their success pass unimproved, pressed upon the deranged battalions and completed their overthrow. This signal victory was on the following day announced to the inhabitants of Madrid, in the most glowing language—"Yesterday," said the official bulletin, "the king gained a splendid and decisive victory at Ocana. Two hours were sufficient to disperse the army of the insurgents, who expected within two days to make their triumphal entry into Madrid. Four thousand men were left dead on the field of battle; twenty thousand were made prisoners; and, in a word, the whole army was dispersed or destroyed. From thirty to forty thousand muskets, twenty standards, thirty pieces of artillery, and an incredible quantity of baggage, were the fruits of this memorable victory."

The battle of Ocana was speedily followed by the reduction of Cordova and Seville, and a road was thus opened to Cadiz. The threatening aspect of public affairs awakened the fears of the junta; apprehending that the popular indignation might burst forth in some fatal explosion, and anxious, perhaps, at the same time, to remove a responsibility that became every day more solemn and insupportable, they issued a manifesto, dated at Seville, on the 28th of October, convoking the cortes on the first day of the ensuing year, and appointing the 1st of March as the period at which they were to enter upon their

functions. The idea of appointing a regency was rejected by the junta, from an apprehension, that, by vesting the supreme power in the hands of a few persons, pretensions might be raised incompatible with the public tranquillity, and to the prejudice of the rights of their "adored king," Ferdinand.\*

The Spanish armies, in the early part of the month of November, consisted of three divisions; the army of the right under the command of General Blake; the army of the centre under Don Juan Carlos de Areizaga and the Duc d'Albuquerque; and the army of the left under the command of the Duc del Parque. The forces under this general, amounting to about thirty thousand men, were posted on the heights of Zamames, about six leagues to the south of Salamanca. The French army, under General Marchand, had for some time evinced by their movements an intention to lay siege to Ciudad Rodrigo, but their design could not be carried into effect till the Spaniards were dislodged from the neighbouring heights. In order to effect this purpose, General Marchand left Salamanca, and attacked the Duc del Parque in his strong position, but after an obstinate and long continued contest, the assailants were compelled to retire with the loss of a thousand men, and the Spaniards, following up their success, obtained possession of the city of Salamanca.

The French, after their defeat at Zamames, gradually accumulated a force amounting to twenty thousand men, with an intention of making a second attack upon the army under the Spanish general, who had now occupied a position on the heights of Pena de Francia, in the vicinity of Salamanca. The Duc del Parque, seduced by the advantages he had already gained, and anxious to co-operate with the army of the centre in the proposed advance to Madrid, quitted his strong position, and crossed over the Tormes to the right bank of that river. Here Marshal Kellerman was posted, with an army with which he would not have ventured to attack the patriots, but which, when acting on the defensive, proved itself their superior. The battle was fought at Alba, on the 28th of November, and terminated in the total defeat of the Spaniards. The victory was not long doubtful; either from some accidental disorder or sudden alarm, the Spanish cavalry, that constant depository of panic, took to flight without firing a shot, and all the efforts of their officers to rally the troops, and to retrieve the fortune of the day, proved ineffectual. The Spaniards, in their precipitate retreat, abandoned their baggage, and left in the hands of the enemy fifteen pieces of can-

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\* Manifesto of the Supreme Junta, dated Seville, October 28th, 1809.



non, six standards, ten thousand muskets, and about two thousand prisoners. In this fatal engagement, according to the French accounts, thirty thousand Spaniards were vanquished by twelve thousand French troops, and the loss of the retreating army amounted in slain to three thousand.

In the mean while, the fortress of Gerona was compelled to surrender to Marshal Augereau on the 10th of December, after having sustained a siege of nearly six months, and endured all the horrors of famine. The garrison and inhabitants emulated the exploits of their countrymen at Saragossa, and the patriotic devotion of these fortresses was required to prevent the friends of national independence from despairing of the Spanish cause.

The close of the year 1809 witnessed the successive defeat and dispersion of the principal armies of Spain, as well as the fall of several of the fortresses of that country. Of the causes which led to these disasters, some are obvious and indisputable. None of the patriot generals had displayed any extraordinary military talents, their measures were taken without concert, and they by no means adhered to that mode of warfare which was best suited to the situation of their country. The zeal of the people, at first so animated, seemed to have suffered considerable diminution. And the supreme junta—that body, whose duty it was to keep the public enthusiasm in active exercise, and to give to the national exertions a direction the most conducive to the success of the patriot cause, were miserably deficient in those statesman-like talents, by which alone the liberty and independence of their country could be secured and rendered permanent.

After the battle of Ocana, the French advanced into the south of Spain: knowing how easily the barrier of the Sierra Morena would be forced, they looked upon the possession of Cadiz as secure. The command of the army destined to this enterprise was vested in Marshal Soult, assisted by Marshals Victor and Mortier, and accompanied by King Joseph in person, who attended to take possession of the kingdom of Andalusia. The Spanish General, Areizaga, had lost his presumption at Ocana, and was prepared for defeat before he was attacked. On the advance of the enemy, the Spaniards gave way at every point; and on the 20th of January, 1810, the head-quarters of the French army were established at Baylen, the place where, at a former and not very distant period, they had suffered so signal a disaster. Five days before the French army entered Andalusia, the supreme central junta at Seville had announced their intention of transferring the seat of government to Cadiz; and the island of Leon, which is

separated from that city by the river of Santi Petri, was fixed upon as the place where the cortes should hold their sittings. The junta had now entirely lost the public confidence, and the termination of their power was at hand. Every hour brought fresh tidings of the progress of the enemy, and the murmurs of the people of Seville became louder as their agitation increased. The members of the government were hastening their departure for Cadiz; their equipages were conveyed to the quays, and the papers and archives from the public offices were embarked on the Guadalquivir. A conspiracy had been forming for some days, at the head of which stood Count de Montijo and Don Francisco Palafox, one of the members of the junta, and the brother of the hero of Saragossa. On the morning of the 24th, the populace assembled in the Square of St. Francisco, and in front of the Alcazar; some demanded the deposition of the junta; others, more violent, insisted that they had betrayed their country, and that they should be put to death; but the universal cry was, that the city should be defended, and that no person, whatever his rank or authority, should be suffered to quit the place. In this emergency, Don Francisco de Saavedra, the minister of finance, was called upon to take the direction of public affairs. Montijo and Palafox, who had some days before been placed in duress by the junta, on a charge of conspiring against the government, were liberated; and the Marquis Romana was nominated to the command of the army of the left, from which he had been lately removed by that body. The people, however, called upon Romana to take upon himself the defence of the city; but the marquis, brave and patriotic as he was, evaded their importunities, and hastened to Badajoz to protect that important fortress; while Seville, incapable of withstanding the force by which it was soon after assailed, shared the fate of Cordova, and passed under the French yoke.

But the possession of the country and all the inland towns of Andalusia, was of little importance, compared with the occupation of Cadiz. Were it possible that the fate of Spain could have depended upon any single event, it would have been the capture of Cadiz at this crisis; and the French, well aware of its importance, advanced to the coast with all their usual rapidity. The city was utterly unprepared for an attack; there were not one thousand troops in the island of Leon, and not as many volunteers as would man the works. The batteries of St. Fernando, one of its main bulwarks, were unfinished; the people of Cadiz, indeed, had considered the danger as remote, and had it not been for the genius, energy,



and decision of a single individual, Bonaparte might have executed his threat of taking vengeance on Cadiz for the loss of his squadron. At the time that the French advanced across the Sierra Morena, the Duc d'Albuquerque was on the banks of the Guadiana; but by a rapid march of two hundred and sixty miles, performed in eight days, he placed himself on the 30th of January between Cadiz and the French army, and, on the 2d of February, entered the island of Leon at the head of his small army, which consisted only of eight thousand troops. Having saved this place by his prudence, the duke lost no time in securing his possession; and the people, who, as he observes, when they are guided by their first feelings, usually see things as they are, hailed him as their deliverer, and conferred on him the office of governor by general acclamation.

It was essential to the salvation of the country that a government should be established at Cadiz, which should be recognized by the whole of Spain, and the members of the supreme central junta, who had arrived in the island of Leon, feeling that they had lost the public confidence, yielded reluctantly to the necessity of appointing a council of regency. The persons elected to the discharge of the duties of this high office were, Don Pedro de Quevedo Quintana, the Bishop of Orense; Don Francisco de Saavedra, late President of the Junta of Seville; General Castanos; Don Antonio de Escano, Minister of Marine; and Don Esteban Fernandez de Leon, a Member of the Council of the Indies, as the representative of the colonies. To these persons the junta transferred their authority, providing, however, that they should only continue to exercise the sovereign power till the cortes assembled, who were then to determine upon the form of government under which the authority of Ferdinand VII. should be administered. On these appointments being announced to the members of the council of regency, Don E. F. de Leon declined to accept the office on the plea of ill health, and Don Miguel de Lardizabal y Ariba, another Member of the Council of the Indies, was appointed in his stead. The junta accompanied the decree for the appointment of the regency with a farewell address to the people, condemning the tumultuous proceedings at Seville, and justifying themselves like men who felt that they had been unjustly censured because they had been unfortunate; and it must be confessed, that though in their administration there was something to condemn, and much to regret, yet there was assuredly much to applaud. Called to their new and elevated situation in the crisis of their country's fate, they maintained the intimate relations of Spain with fo-

reign powers ; they drew closer the bonds of their colonial connections ; and they resisted with dignity and effect the perfidious overtures of the enemy. The world will, one day, excuse their errors, do justice to their intentions, and remember with admiration, that, of all the modern governments of Spain, this was the first which addressed the Spaniards as a free people, and the first that sanctioned the constitutional principles of liberty, which had for generations been suppressed.

Marshal Victor, on his arrival before Cadiz, sent a summons to the junta of that city, requiring them to surrender, and informing them that he was ready to receive their submission to King Joseph. In answer to this imperious mandate the junta replied, that they acknowledged no other King of Spain than Ferdinand VII. and the Duc d'Albuquerque declared, in reply to a similar summons from Marshal Soult, that so far from surrendering to the usurper, his troops would never lay down their arms till the independence of their country was secured.

In the month of April, about the time when the French armies opened their batteries before Cadiz, the British cabinet made an attempt to rescue the person of Ferdinand out of the hands of Napoleon. The person employed in this mission was an Irish adventurer of the name of Kelly ; the plan, it appears, was concerted with the Marquis of Wellesley, the British secretary of state for foreign affairs, who had placed at Kelly's disposal a squadron off Quiberon, from whence the prince was to embark. Kelly, under pretence of having some valuable articles for sale, made his way to Valençay, the residence, or rather the place of imprisonment of Ferdinand, and endeavoured to speak with the prince. To effect this purpose, he disclosed his intentions to the Infante, Don Antonio, and to Amazaga, the intendant of the royal prisoner's household. Ferdinand was no sooner made acquainted with Kelly's visit than he sent for Berthemey, the governor of the castle, and with the greatest emotion informed him, that an English emissary had found his way into the castle, and that he was furnished with ample credentials to show that he came from the British government.\* It is scarcely necessary to add, that Kelly was immediately placed under arrest, and the

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\* The credentials here alluded to, consisted of a letter from Ferdinand himself, signed in his own hand, and countersigned "Marquis Wellesley ;" and a letter addressed by Charles IV. to his Britannic Majesty, on occasion of Ferdinand's intended marriage, the authenticity of which was attested by the noble marquis.



vigilance of the French governor over the person and suit of the unfortunate monarch, was, if possible, increased by this abortive attempt. (66.)

The military affairs of Portugal, in 1810, were much more important than those in Spain. Lord Wellington, when he was under the necessity of retreating, after the battle of Talavera, seemed, for the present, to have abandoned all idea of advancing into Spain, and to have determined to direct and confine his operations to the defence of Portugal, till a more auspicious state of affairs should arise. To attain and secure this great object, his lordship formed a plan, which, though it was not completely developed, nor productive of the beneficial consequences expected to result from it, till the beginning of the following year, it is necessary here to explain, in order that the movements of the allied armies may be perfectly understood, and justly appreciated. As the force which this country could send into the peninsula was necessarily small in comparison with the immense armies of France, and as the Portuguese troops could not at first be expected to equal the British, it was expedient to defend Portugal in that particular spot, where inequality of numbers would be compensated by local and artificial strength, and where the means of supplying and increasing his force would be easy to the British general and proportionately difficult to the enemy. Lord Wellington soon perceived that no place in Portugal presented so favourable a situation for this purpose as the lines of Torres Vedras, and he determined to make this his stand. This position was capable of being rendered absolutely impregnable: lying near the Tagus, his army could receive reinforcements and supplies readily from England, and his vicinity to the sea would ena-

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(66.) In the letters of Mr. Warden from St. Helena, we find a narrative of this affair differing in some respects from that in the text. The person chosen by the English government for the purpose of rescuing Ferdinand, was, it seems, not an Irishman, but a Pole, of the name of the Baron de Colac. He was landed on the coast of France by Sir George, then Captain Cockburn, but instead of proceeding immediately to Valençay, he was led by an attachment to a lady residing in Paris, to pay a visit to that city. Here he soon fell under the cognizance of the police, was seized, stripped of his papers and effects, and committed to prison. The plot was thus laid open, and counteracted; but the Emperor, desirous of knowing whether Ferdinand was privy to it, selected a proper person to personate the Baron, who with the passports and clothes of the latter, was introduced to the imprisoned monarch. But although the guards were withdrawn, and every possible facility given to his escape, "the adored Ferdinand," who was probably engaged in the manly and interesting occupation of embroidering petticoats for the Virgin Mary, could not summon up sufficient courage to encounter the dangers of the attempt.

ble him, in case of exigency, to embark without delay. The French general, on the other hand, would be in the very heart of a hostile country, the inhabitants of which were neither disposed nor able to supply his wants ; and from the nature of the war in the peninsula, it would be extremely difficult to procure the supplies from any great distance. In order to render the defence of the lines of Torres Vedras more effectual and secure, and at the same time to render the situation of the French, if they should advance to Lisbon, more difficult and desperate, Lord Wellington determined to retard the progress of the enemy as long as possible, without hazarding a general engagement. In furtherance of this plan, his lordship, with his combined army of British, Spanish, and Portuguese, advanced, at the commencement of the summer, to the north-eastern frontier of Portugal ; his force consisting at that time of about thirty thousand British, and nearly double that number of the native armies.

Napoleon was, on his part, evidently preparing to make a more powerful effort to put an end to the war than had ever been made since he himself advanced into Spain ; Massena was despatched from Paris to put himself at the head of an army, composed of the divisions of Soult and Ney, and of large reinforcements brought from France, as well as from various parts of the peninsula. The numerical strength of this army has been differently estimated ; Massena himself, in a proclamation addressed to the Portuguese, soon after his arrival in the peninsula, rated his force at upwards of a hundred thousand men ; but when he advanced into Portugal, it most probably did not exceed seventy thousand. (67.)

In the beginning of the month of July the hostile armies were posted as follows : a small French corps was stationed before Badajoz, watched by the Spanish army of Romana, (consisting of nine thousand men,) and by General Hill, with a British force amounting to about five thousand. The grand French army, under Massena, was posted before Ciudad Rodrigo, which fortress he determined to take before he advanced

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(67.) The French army which marched into Portugal after the fall of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida, is said by an author to whom we have already referred,\* to have been composed of seven divisions of foot, and two of horse, which together with the artillery, formed a total of 40,000 infantry, and 6000 cavalry. The 6th corps was commanded by Marshal Ney, the 2d by General Regnier, and the 8th by the Duke of Abrantes, (Junot,) while the cavalry was under General Moubrun. The English force, according to the same author, amounted to 35,000 men, the Portuguese to 50,000, well armed and equipped, and under the direction of English officers.

\* *Campagne de l'Armée Française en Portugal*, p. 44.



further into Portugal. The head-quarters of the English army were in front of Celerico. Lord Wellington's army was formed into five divisions, of which the first, under General Spencer, was at Celerico; the second, under General Hill, at Portalegra; the third, commanded by General Cole, was cantoned at Garda; the fourth, under General Picton, was at Pinhel; and the light division, under General Crawford, including two regiments of Portuguese caçadores or marksmen, was advanced close to the French army at Ciudad Rodrigo. Each division had attached to it some Portuguese regiments, with one or more English officers in them, and by whose efforts they had been brought into such excellent order and discipline, that it was reasonably expected they would, in the hour of trial, not disgrace their companions in arms.

After the fall of Ciudad Rodrigo, which was defended with great bravery, and did not surrender till the fortress was no longer defensible, the French general advanced to the siege of Almeida. Massena opened his trenches before this fortress on the 15th of August. While a false attack was made against the north of the town, two thousand men dug the first parallel to a depth of three feet: and on Sunday, the 26th, at five o'clock in the morning, eleven batteries, mounted with sixty-five pieces of cannon, opened their fire. The garrison consisted of five thousand men, of whose spirit no doubt was entertained; the city was well provided, and its works had been placed in so respectable a state, that Lord Wellington felt assured the enemy would be detained till late in the season. These well-founded expectations were frustrated by one of those casualties, which sometimes disconcert the wisest plans, and disappoint the surest hopes of man. On the night after the batteries opened, the large powder magazine in the citadel blew up with a tremendous explosion. More than half the artillery men, a great number of the garrison, and many of the inhabitants perished; the guns were dismounted, and the works were rendered no longer defensible. The necessary and almost immediate consequence was the surrender of the place, and all the troops in the garrison were made prisoners of war.

On the fall of Almeida, Massena advanced further into Portugal, and Lord Wellington retreated slowly before him, taking the road by Coimbra. His lordship, who had well considered every part of the country, came to the resolution to take up a position on the Sierra de Busaco, and there to resist the advance of the French army. The British and Portuguese troops were posted along the ridge of the mountain or Sierra, extending nearly eight miles, and forming the segment

of a circle, whose extreme points embraced every part of the enemy's position, and from whence every movement below could be distinctly observed. On the 26th of September, the light troops on both sides were engaged throughout the line. At six o'clock on the following morning, the French, under Ney and Reynier, made two desperate attacks upon Lord Wellington's position; one on the right, the other on the left, of the highest point of the Sierra. The division under Ney gained the top of the ridge, but was driven back with the bayonet; and another division, further to the right, was repulsed before it could reach the top of the mountain. On the left, the attack was made by three divisions, only one of which made any progress towards the summit, and this force, being charged with the bayonet, was driven down with immense loss. The Portuguese soldiers, upon whom the success of the war was ultimately to depend, established this day their character for courage and discipline, and proved that, however the government had degenerated, the people, when properly directed, were the same as in the days of Nuno Alvares. Lord Wellington bore testimony to the merit of his allies; he declared that he had never seen a more gallant attack than that made by the Portuguese troops upon the enemy, who had reached the ridge of the Sierra; they were worthy, his lordship said, to contend in the same ranks with British troops, in that good cause which they afforded the best hopes of saving. General Junot made also a curious, but unintentional acknowledgment of the gallant conduct of the Portuguese: Lord Wellington, he said, had practised a *ruse de guerre*, and deceived his enemy by dressing Englishmen in Portuguese uniforms. On this memorable day, the operations of the French army were directed by Marshal Massena in person, whose troops, actually engaged, amounted to twenty-five thousand men; of this force, two hundred and eighty-six were taken prisoners, including General Simon, three colonels, and thirty-three officers; two thousand French troops were left dead on the field, and the number of wounded was in equal proportion. The loss of the English amounted to one hundred and seven killed, four hundred and ninety-three wounded, and thirty-one prisoners; and that of the Portuguese to ninety killed, five hundred and twelve wounded, and twenty prisoners.\* The enemy, thus repulsed in his attempts to open a passage for his further advance into Portugal, accomplished by a manœuvre what force had failed to effect. On the evening of the 28th, Lord Wellington observed the

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\* Lord Wellington's Despatches, dated Coimbra, September 30, 1810.



French army withdrawing from their position, and silently moving round the northern edge of the Sierra, from whence they advanced to Avelans, on the high road to Coimbra. The British general had foreseen this movement, and had given orders to Colonel Trant, who commanded the Portuguese militia, to occupy Sardao; but the general officer who commanded in the north, having sent the colonel round by Oporto, he was prevented from executing this order till the night of the 28th, when he found the French in possession of that place. In this situation, Lord Wellington, in order to prevent his army being cut off from Coimbra, or compelled to fight a general action on disadvantageous ground, was under the necessity of quitting Busaco, and retreating to the left bank of the Mondego. It is difficult to comprehend the conduct of the French general in his attack upon the English position at Busaco, he made, it appears, a desperate effort against troops, placed in a position almost impregnable, for the purpose of accomplishing that which was afterwards effected without either trouble or loss. In the afternoon of the 30th, the French advanced-guard appeared in the front of Coimbra, and the next day Lord Wellington, continuing his retreat, fell back upon Leyria, and from thence to the lines of Torres Vedras. So perfectly convinced was the French general that the retreat of Lord Wellington was for the purpose of embarking at Lisbon, and that his sole object should be immediate and close pursuit, that he abandoned his wounded at Coimbra with little or no protection, and advanced without taking the precaution to form and establish magazines. On his arrival at Torres Vedras, after reconnoitering the British line, he found their position to be impregnable, and here the error he had committed, in making so incautious an advance, became manifest. These lines, strong by nature, and greatly improved by art, extended to a distance of thirty-five miles, flanked, on one side by the sea, and on the other by the Tagus. The British army consisted of thirty thousand efficient troops; besides twenty-five thousand Portuguese regulars, forty thousand militia, and about ten thousand Spaniards. This army was divided into four divisions, and each division occupied one of the four passes of the mountains. The French force, when they reached the vicinity of Torres Vedras, could not consist of more than sixty thousand men, harassed by fatigue, straitened for provisions, and without magazines in their rear; and when the relative strength and situation of the two armies was known in England, the destruction of the enemy was regarded as inevitable.

Massena, however, contrary to the sanguine calculations of

the British nation ; and contrary also, it should appear, to the expectations and conjectures of Lord Wellington, kept his position in front of Torres Vedras till the 14th of November, when he marched for Santarem. On the morning of the following day the allied army broke up, and followed the march of the enemy, firmly hoping that the time for his destruction had now arrived. But on examining his position at Santarem, it was not judged advisable to make an attack. Lord Wellington therefore contented himself with fixing his headquarters at Cartaxo, about ten miles nearer Lisbon ; and in these positions the two armies remained at the close of the year.

One of the last papers which issued from the royal press at Seville, before the seat of government was transferred to Cadiz, was an edict prescribing the manner in which the members of the Cortes should be chosen. This plan was formed at once with a suitable reference to established usages, to the present circumstances of the country, and to the future convenience of the electors. The mode of election was so regulated as almost to preclude any undue interference or influence. A parochial junta was to be formed in every parish, and to consist of every householder above the age of twenty-five years, except such as were disqualified by crimes, or mental incapacity. The parochial or primary electors were to advance, individually, to a table, at which the parish officers and parish priests presided, and there to name a person to be the elector for that parish ; the twelve persons who obtained the majority of names were then to retire to fix upon some person to act as their parochial representative in the district assembly. The primary election being thus completed, the parochial junta was to proceed to the church in procession, the deputy walking between the alcade, or mayor, and the priest. Within eight days after the primary election, the parochial deputies were to assemble in the principal town of the district, and in the same manner to choose one or more electors for the district, according to its extent. The district delegates being chosen, they were to repair to the place appointed for the final election, and there to elect the members of the cortes.

No qualification was required for a member of the cortes other than that he should be above twenty-five years of age, of good repute, and not actually the salaried-servant of any individual or public body. All those cities which had sent deputies to the last cortes, assembled in 1789, were each to send a representative to the cortes that was now about to meet in the isle of Leon ; and each of the supreme juntas of the nation enjoyed the same privilege. The provinces were.



to send a member for every fifty thousand inhabitants, estimated according to the census of 1787, which rated the population of Spain at 10,534,985, making the number of elective deputies two hundred and eight, exclusive of sixty-eight supplementary deputies, who were to be returned to serve in the cortes in case of the death of any of its members: it was further directed, that in the choice of representatives, those should be preferred, who, *cæteris paribus*, were able to serve their country at their own charge, but a sum was fixed for the members of 120 rials a day, while they were in actual attendance. By this mode of election, founded on the principles laid down in the French constitution of 1790, it will be perceived that the parishes elected the members to represent them in the electoral district assemblies, these appointed the representatives of the provincial meetings, and they again chose the national representatives, designated by the name of the Cortes of Spain. To the number of the cortes twenty-six members were added, as representatives of Spanish possessions in America, the Columbian islands, and the Philippines.

It was originally intended that the cortes should assemble at Seville on the 1st of March; but the French having obtained possession of that city, the isle of Leon was fixed upon as the place of their meeting, and the first session opened its proceedings on the 24th of September. At nine o'clock in the morning of that day the deputies assembled in a hall which had been fitted up for their sittings in the Palace of the Regency. The military were drawn up under arms, and the members repaired in procession to the parochial church, where the mass of the Holy Ghost was performed by the Cardinal Bourbon, the Archbishop of Toledo. After a solemn discourse from the Bishop of Orense, who was president of the regency, each of the members swore to preserve the Spanish nation in its integrity, and to omit no means of delivering their country from its unjust oppressors. These ceremonies being concluded, the procession returned in the same order to the hall of the assembly, and the members seated themselves indiscriminately as they entered the hall. The first act of this national assembly was to declare the cortes legally constituted in a general and extraordinary congress, wherein the national sovereignty resided; but as it was not proper that the legislative and executive powers should be united, they delegated the executive authority, in the absence of their King, Ferdinand VII. to the members of the council of regency. After the necessary preliminary business had been despatched, a "self-denying ordinance" was passed by the cortes, on the motion of Don Antonio Capmany, the deputy for Catalonia,

whereby it was enacted, that no member of the cortes should be permitted, during the exercise of his functions, nor for one year afterwards, to solicit, or accept, for himself, or for any other person whatsoever, any pension, favour, reward, honour, or distinction, from the executive power.

The liberty of the press, without which all pretensions to national freedom are vain and illusory, was the next subject of importance which occupied the deliberations of the cortes. "Whatever light," said Arguellas, by whom this subject was introduced, "has spread itself over Europe, that light has sprung from the liberty of the press; and nations have risen in proportion as that liberty has been enjoyed by them; while others, involved in ignorance, and fettered by despotism or superstition, have sunk in the same proportion. Spain," continued he, "has, for many ages, been in chains; insulted and degraded by a succession of governments who have despised the wishes of the people. The morals of the nation partook of this perverse influence, and the glory of Spain disappeared in the same proportion as its liberty." "Look at England, on the other hand, that free and generous country, which owes its liberty and all its morality to a free press. England has been the faithful friend of Spain; and upon the colossal power of England, which the liberty of the press has raised, the independence which is yet left in Europe rests for its support."\* This discussion was resumed in several successive meetings before it was finally settled, and the opposition seemed to gain strength in the progress of the measure. "The liberty of the press, without a censor," said Llaneros, "instead of being necessary or useful, is injurious, and has never been wished for in Majorca, which island I represent. Where there are good censorial tribunals, the liberty of the press will never be wanted. The court of the holy inquisition is such a tribunal; and to that court the decision of the question should be referred!"

At length the friends of the liberty of the press triumphed over its adversaries, and a decree was passed, by a majority of sixty-eight to thirty-two voices, by which it was enacted, "that all bodies and individual persons, of whatever state or condition, are at liberty to write, print, and publish their political sentiments, without the necessity of any license, revision, or approbation, previous to publication; that authors and printers are responsible for the abuse of this liberty; that scandalous libels, and calumnious writings and works, subversive of the fundamental principles of the monarchy, or offensive to public

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\* Oliveros.



decency and good morals, shall be punished according to law; and that the respective judges and tribunals shall look to the punishment of such offences." By another article of this decree, it was enacted, "that all writings upon matters of religion shall remain subject to the previous censorship of the ecclesiastical ordinances, according to the decree of the council of Trent." Thus one essential portion of the liberty of the press, that which related to religion, was interdicted; and the law for securing the free discussion of political topics was so much circumscribed by restrictions, and so highly objectionable, as to the constitution of the tribunal before which questions of libels were to be determined, that the liberty so much dwelt upon and extolled, was, in effect, rather nominal than real.

One of the first acts of the cortes was to declare, "that the rights of liberty and citizenship belong to the Spaniards in America." This declaration was followed by enactments, conferring upon the inhabitants of the colonies the same right of electing deputies which the people of Spain possessed, and providing that one deputy should be returned to the cortes for every fifty thousand inhabitants, including in this number, not only the casts, but all such as were not actually in a state of slavery. These privileges the colonies claimed as their birth-right, and it was hoped that, by a wise, just, and lenient policy, the new government might succeed in tranquillizing the agitations that had so long prevailed in their settlements, and that those possessions might still continue to form a part of the Spanish empire.

In the interregnum, between the dissolution of the supreme central junta, and the convocation of the cortes, the council of regency had failed to afford satisfaction either to Spain or to her allies. This body had scarcely taken any measures to recruit the armies, or to repair the disasters to which they had been exposed. Their whole conduct was feeble, languid, and inefficient; while the circumstances of their country demanded men of talents, energy, and decision. A new regency was accordingly appointed on the 28th of October, consisting of General Blake, who commanded the army of the centre; Don Pedro Agar, a captain in the Spanish navy, and director-general of the academies of the royal marine guards; and Don Gabriel Ciscar, the governor of Carthagena.

Cadiz at this time presented one of the most extraordinary spectacles in history. The enemy surrounded the bay, and possessed all the adjoining country, wherever they could cover it with troops, or scour it with their cavalry. From this neck of land the cortes legislated for Spain and her dependencies;

and the first free parliament which had for centuries met in the peninsula, was regarded with the deepest anxiety in all the regions to which the Spanish name extended. In the bay, the English squadron, part of that fleet which had so long blockaded this very port, was riding at anchor, intermingled with those ships which, for so many years, had borne a hostile flag, but which were now engaged in a cause vitally dear to both countries. For three centuries Cadiz had been one of the most important ports in Europe; its harbour was now crowded with vessels more than at any other period; and its increased population had drawn thither traders from all parts of the commercial world.

In the course of the year, the enemy had obtained many and great advantages. They had occupied the kingdom of Andalusia: they had reduced all the fortresses in Catalonia, Tarragona alone excepted; and they had gained possession of Ciudad Rodrigo, and Almeida. Still the aspect of affairs was less unfavourable than it had been at the close of the preceding year. At that time Andalusia was laid open to the French; the Spaniards were under an unpopular government; and they had no cortes to which they could look up. The submission of Austria left Bonaparte at liberty to direct his whole attention, and his undivided force, to the conquest of the peninsula. The difficulty of co-operation between Spain and her allies had been grievously felt; and the British army, after one of the most brilliant achievements in modern times, seemed to be mouldering away in sickness and inaction. That army, acting in conjunction with Romana, and with the Portuguese troops, was now baffling and defeating the utmost efforts of the French, led on by Napoleon's most distinguished generals. The Spaniards, after the defeat and dispersion of their armies, were again rallying in the field; and the government of Spain seemed determined to adopt those measures, which could alone secure the country from vassalage and degradation.



## CHAPTER XII.

BRITISH HISTORY: *Meeting of Parliament—Inquiry into the Policy and Conduct of the Walcheren Expedition—Standing Order of the House of Commons for the exclusion of Strangers, enforced by Mr. Yorke—John Gale Jones committed to Newgate for a Breach of Privilege—Mr. Yorke appointed Teller of the Exchequer, and First Lord of the Admiralty—Deprived of his Seat for Cambridgeshire—Motion of Sir Francis Burdett for the Liberation of Mr. Gale Jones—Sir Francis Burdett pronounced guilty of a Breach of Privilege and committed to the Tower—His Liberator—Public Finances—Appointment of the Bullion Committee—Mr. Brand's Plan of Parliamentary Reform—Motions for Catholic Emancipation—Earl Grey's Motion on the State of the Nation—Prorogation of Parliament—Death and Character of Mr. Windham—Capture of Guadaloupe—Gallant Naval Exploit—Capture of the Dutch and French Settlements in the East—Death of the Princess Amelia—Indisposition of the King—Abrupt Meeting of Parliament—Repeated Adjournments—Appointment of a Regency in the Person of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.*

THE political horizon, at the commencement of the year 1810, presented a dark and lowering aspect. The war on the continent, which had excited such high and animated hopes, had terminated in the triumph of France, and the defeat and humiliation of the Emperor of Austria. It was not, indeed, known, that the illustrious house of Hapsburg contemplated a family union with the founder of the Napoleon dynasty, but it was apparent that Francis had sheathed the sword in dismay, and that Austria continued to exist only by the sufrance of France. In the peninsula, the campaign of 1809, which had opened under the fairest auspices, had terminated disastrously; and in all parts of the Spanish dominions, even in those which distance and oceans had conspired to secure, the standard of civil war was unfurled, and the conflicts of contending parties threatened to separate the colonies from the parent state.

In this state of affairs, parliament assembled on the 23d of January, 1810, and the opening speech, which, owing to his majesty's continued and increasing infirmities, was read by commission, turned principally upon topics calculated rather to increase than to dispel the general gloom. Among the most prominent of these was the peace recently concluded between Austria and France; the disastrous expedition to Walcheren; the precarious state of our relations with Sweden; and the necessity of affording further assistance to Spain and Portugal.

The first subject proposed to parliament was the usual address on his majesty's speech. This address was moved in

the house of lords by the Earl of Glasg ow, seconded by Lord Grimstone; and in the house of commons by Lord Bernard, seconded by Mr. Peel. In both houses amendments were moved, and the formidable numbers in the ranks of opposition served to shew that the late changes in the cabinet had tended to weaken a government already feeble in the senate, and by no means strong in public estimation.

The debates on the address, which turned principally upon the conduct of the war in Spain, were followed by votes of thanks to Lord Wellington and his army, for the skill and gallantry displayed in the battle of Talavera; and these discussions were succeeded by a motion made by Lord Porchester, for an inquiry into the policy and conduct of the late expedition to Walcheren, under the Earl of Chatham. To give efficacy to this inquiry, his lordship moved for the appointment of a committee—not a select and secret committee, he said, before whom garbled extracts might be laid by ministers themselves, in order to produce a partial decision, but a committee of the whole house, by which oral evidence might be examined at the bar. This motion was opposed by ministers, but without success, for on a division of the house, there appeared, for the motion, one hundred and ninety-eight; against it, one hundred and eighty-six voices.

On the 1st of February, the day before the investigation commenced, Mr. Yorke, the member for Cambridgeshire, gave notice that he should, during the inquiry, enforce the standing order of the house for the exclusion of strangers.—Mr. Sheridan deprecated the idea of proceeding in an investigation, in which the nation was so deeply interested, with closed doors, and asked whether it could be endured that the people should be kept in complete ignorance of what parliament was doing at one of the most awful moments of its existence? Mr. Windham inquired what was the value of their constituents knowing what was passing in that house? Suppose they should never know it, the difference would only be that which existed between a representative form of government and a democracy. It was not till between the last twenty and thirty years that the debates had been published at all, and he was one of those that liked the constitution as it was, not as it is. Persons made a trade of what they obtained from the gallery, among which persons were to be found bankrupts, lottery-office-keepers, footmen, and decayed tradesmen. He did not know any of the conductors of the press, but he understood them to be a set of men who would give into corrupt misrepresentations, and he was determined not to favour such characters by lending his hand to abrogate an order which



was made to correct an abuse. Sir Francis Burdett said, if he could see in that house a body of gentlemen, fairly and freely elected by the people as the chosen guardians of their rights—if he could see no placemen or pensioners within those walls, and if no corrupt or undue influence could be supposed to operate on the minds of any of the members of that assembly; then, indeed, he should feel no particular objection to the inquiry being conducted in secret; unfortunately, however, the case was different, and the house stood in the eyes of the public in a very opposite situation. It had been considered by some, that, in point of character, they were on their last legs; but, for his part, he feared that they had not a leg to stand upon. Mr. Sheridan said, that to some of the doctrines broached by Mr. Windham he had listened with regret, and to others with horror; and his friendship for that gentleman made him almost wish, for the first time in his life, that the public had been excluded from the debate. Then passing, by a rapid transition, to the subject of the press, he exclaimed—"Give me but the liberty of the press, and I will give to the minister a venal house of peers—I will give him a corrupt and servile house of commons—I will give him the full swing of the patronage of office—I will give him the whole host of ministerial influence—I will give him all the power that place can confer upon him, to purchase up submission, and overawe resistance; and yet, armed with the liberty of the press, I will go forth to meet him undismayed; I will attack with that mightier engine the mighty fabric he has raised; I will shake down from its height corruption, and bury it beneath the ruin of the abuses it was meant to shelter." But however eloquently Mr. Sheridan enforced his arguments, the sense of parliament was against him; and a majority of one hundred and sixty-six to eighty members, decided, that the standing order of the house for the exclusion of strangers should remain unaltered.

A parliamentary proceeding in which the public was so deeply interested, naturally became a subject of general discussion, and on the 19th of February, while the investigation into the Scheldt expedition was proceeding in the house with closed doors, Mr. Yorke complained of a breach of privilege. His conduct in that assembly, he said, had been made the subject of discussion in a speaking club, called the BRITISH FORUM, and their hand bills, which were stuck upon all the walls of the city, stated, that, "after an interesting discussion, it was unanimously decided, that the enforcement of the standing orders, by shutting out strangers from the gallery of the house of commons, ought to be considered as an insi-

duous and ill-timed attack upon the liberty of the press, as tending to aggravate the discontents of the people, and to render their representatives objects of jealous suspicion." The same hand-bill proposed a question for the next night's meeting, couched in these terms—"Which was the greatest outrage upon public feeling, Mr. Yorke's enforcement of the standing orders, or Mr. Windham's recent attack upon the liberty of the press?" This Mr. Yorke complained of as a gross violation of the privileges of that house, and John Dean, the printer of the hand-bill, was ordered to attend at the bar. On the following evening the printer appeared, and after humbly begging pardon of the honourable house for his offence, stated that John Gale Jones was the author of the obnoxious hand-bill. Mr. Jones, when summoned to the bar, acknowledged that he was the author of the paper in question, adding, that he had always considered it the privilege of every Englishman to animadvert on public measures, and the conduct of public men; but, on looking over the paper again, he found he had erred, and begged to express his contrition, and cast himself upon the mercy of the house. The speaker now put the question, that John Gale Jones has been guilty of a gross breach of the privileges of this house, which was carried unanimously; and on the motion of Mr. Yorke, he was committed to Newgate. The printer, having given up his author, was reprimanded and discharged.

The question of privilege served as a kind of episode, and withdrew public attention in some degree from the inquiry which was now resumed. Among the papers laid before parliament, was a "copy of the Earl of Chatham's statement of his proceedings;" dated the 15th of October, 1809, presented to the king on the 14th of February, 1810. The tenour of the narrative was to impute blame to the naval part of the expedition, and his lordship represented its failure to have arisen, "either from insufficient arrangements on the part of the admiral, Sir Richard Strachan, or from unavoidable difficulties, inherent in the nature of the expedition itself, which, being entirely of a naval nature, did not come within his province." The presentation of such a document to the sovereign by a military commander, without the intervention of any responsible minister, and without the knowledge of the accused party, was deprecated as a clandestine and unconstitutional attempt to poison the royal ear; and a motion made by Mr. Whitbread for an address to his majesty, praying that copies of all papers submitted to him by the Earl of Chatham, at any time, concerning the expedition to the Scheldt, might be laid before that house, was carried in opposition to ministers



by a majority of seven voices. This proceeding was followed by a vote of censure, proposed by Mr. Whitbread, and amended by Mr. Canning, in which Lord Chatham was pronounced highly reprehensible for the communication made to his majesty; and his lordship, in order to avoid an address to the king, praying for his removal from his majesty's councils, resigned his office of master-general of the ordnance.

Mr. Whitbread, while animadverting upon the surreptitious manner in which the narrative of the Earl of Chatham had been presented to the king, touched upon a topic which particularly associated itself with the name of Chatham: "It was," said Mr. Whitbread, "the first commoner in England, I mean the man who was afterwards created William, Earl of Chatham, who first discovered, that, from the beginning of the present reign, there had existed a secret and malignant influence behind the throne, greater than the throne itself. Strange fatality! that in the son of that very man, who first made the bold and awful annunciation, should be found one of the agents of that occult influence, which the father so long deprecated, and so magnanimously resisted."

In the mean time the examination of evidence upon the Walcheren expedition, which had occupied the house from the 2d of February to the 26th of March, was concluded; and Lord Porchester moved two series of resolutions, to the effect, that the expedition was undertaken under circumstances which afforded no rational hope of adequate success, and at the precise season of the year when the disease, which had proved so fatal, was known to be most prevalent; that the advisers of that ill-judged enterprise were therefore highly reprehensible for the calamities with which its failure had been attended; and that their conduct, in delaying the evacuation of Walcheren, called for the severest censure. After four nights debate the question was put to the vote, when there appeared, for Lord Porchester's resolutions, two hundred and twenty-seven, and against them, two hundred and seventy-five voices. The house next decided upon an amendment of General Crawford's, purporting, that though the house considered with regret the lives which had been lost, it was of opinion that his majesty's ministers had proceeded upon good grounds in undertaking the expedition; which amendment was carried by a majority of forty voices. The second set of resolutions, censuring ministers for delaying the evacuation of Walcheren, was negatived by a majority of two hundred and seventy-five to two hundred and twenty-four; and a resolution, approving their conduct for retaining the island till the time it was

abandoned, was carried by a majority of two hundred and fifty-five to two hundred and thirty-two voices.

This decision was considered as an escape, but by no means as a triumph, on the part of ministers. It was, however, obvious, that the question of the policy of the expedition to the Scheldt was one with regard to which impartial men might differ; and though the opinion of the country was by no means in unison with the decision of parliament, the result of the inquiry produced none of those feelings of disappointment, with which the issue of the investigation into the conduct of the Duke of York had, during the preceding session, agitated the community.

The conduct of Mr. Yorke, in enforcing the standing order of the house of commons, was duly appreciated both by ministers and by the public. The former were so sensible of the benefits they had derived from his seasonable services, that he soon obtained the sinecure office of teller of the exchequer, and the highly responsible situation of first lord of the admiralty. In consequence of these appointments, he was under the necessity of vacating his seat for the county of Cambridgeshire, which he had represented for twenty years; and in the popular indignation that he had to encounter, as well as in the defeat of his attempts to obtain his re-election, the sense of the nation was unequivocally pronounced on the merits and motives of his public conduct. Mr. Yorke was opposed in his election by Lord Francis Godolphin Osborne; and so decided and general was the sense of the freeholders of the county on the day of nomination against their late member, that Mr. Yorke thought it proper to decline the poll in favour of the new candidate, and to take refuge in the Cornish borough of St. Germain's.

Although several of the members of the house of commons had expressed their doubts of the policy of committing Mr. Gale Jones to Newgate, yet none of them had denied, or doubted the power of the house to punish a breach of privilege by imprisonment. This was reserved for Sir Francis Burdett—a man, who, as his friends insist, never suffers to pass unnoticed or unemployed an opportunity of defending the liberties, and securing the properties of the subject; or, as his enemies assert, of shaking the foundations of government, and inspiring dissatisfaction and discontent among the people. On the day when the committal took place, Sir Francis was confined to his house by indisposition; but as soon as possible after his return to his parliamentary duty, he moved for the liberation of the prisoner of privilege, grounding his motion on an assumption that the house of commons



had exerted a power which the constitution did not confer upon them, and of which no precedent could be found, except in the worst periods of our history. The motion was made by Sir Francis Burdett on the 12th of March, and in the speech delivered on that occasion, great research and knowledge of the law and practice of parliament, were displayed. The honourable baronet, at the conclusion of his speech, moved, that John Gale Jones should be discharged; which motion was resisted by both sides of the house, and negatived by a majority of one hundred and fifty-three to fourteen voices. The speech delivered on this occasion Sir Francis Burdett published in a periodical paper, of the 24th of the same month,\* with a letter prefixed, addressed to his constituents.

“The house of commons,” says Sir Francis, “having passed a vote, which amounts to a declaration, that an order of theirs is of more weight than Magna Charta and the laws of the land, I think it my duty to lay my sentiments thereon before my constituents, whose character, as free-men, and whose personal safety, depend, in so great a degree, upon the decision of this question—a question of no less importance than this: Whether our liberty be still to be secured by the laws of our forefathers, or to be laid at the absolute mercy of a part of our fellow-subjects, collected together by means which it is not necessary for me to describe? Should the principle, upon which the gentlemen of the house of commons have thought proper to act in this instance, be once admitted, it is impossible for any one to conjecture how soon he himself may be summoned from his dwelling, and be hurried, without trial, and without oath made against him, from the bosom of his family into the clutches of a gaoler. It is therefore now the time to resist the doctrine upon which Mr. Jones has been sent to Newgate; or, it is high time to cease all pretensions to those liberties which were acquired by our forefathers after so many struggles and so many sacrifices. We seek for, and we need to seek for, nothing new; we ask for only the birth-right of the people of England, namely, the laws of England. To these laws we have a right to look, with confidence, for security; to these laws the individual now imprisoned, has, through me, applied for redress in vain. Your voice may come with more force; may command greater respect; and I am not without hopes that it may prove irresistible. If any of you be liable, at any time, to be sent to gaol without a trial, and as long as it pleases the parties sending you there (perhaps to the end of your life) without any court to appeal to, without any means of redress; if this be the case, shall we still boast of the laws and liberties of England? But I would fain believe that such is not to be our fate. Our fathers made stern grim-visaged prerogative hide his head; they broke in pieces his sharp and massy sword; and shall we, their sons, be afraid to enter the lists with undefined privilege, assuming the powers of prerogative.”

The speech, or argument, as it was now entitled, contained, amidst many legal and constitutional references, several passages in the same bold and animated strain.

“I have little doubt,” says Sir Francis in this argument, “of being able to convince every impartial mind, that the house of commons, by

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\* Cobbett's Weekly Political Register.

proceeding to judgment—passing sentence of imprisonment—and issuing a warrant of commitment, has gone beyond its prescribed limits, acted in a manner inconsistent with the ends of its institution, and violated the fundamental principles of the law and constitution of the land.”.....“By proceeding thus, they have exercised a jurisdiction not vested in them; a jurisdiction beyond the limits of king, lords, and commons, while Magna Charta remains unrepealed—and repealed it never can be till England shall have found her grave in the corruption of the house of commons.”.....“As to the speaker’s warrant, let this instrument, this thing, *sui generis*, be contrasted with the description of the properties of a legal warrant. Does it not evidently appear, that this piece of unsealed paper, signed by the speaker, by which an untried subject has been outlawed, bears no feature of legality, and that, from the commencement of this proceeding, in its progress, to its conclusion, there is not one step that has not been marked in a peculiar manner with disrespect to the laws—a disrespect, in which all parts have been wonderfully consistent throughout, in constituting the most unlawful act the mind of man can possibly conceive?”.....“Upon what ground or pretence has the house assumed such a power to punish? Since they have taken upon themselves such a power, it is fair to call upon them to shew how they came by it, and when they first claimed it. The commencement of this usurpation was when they got rid of the upper house of parliament, and cut off the head of the king. (Charles I.) They still, it seems, are emboldened to maintain an illegal power, not pretended to even by the king, but which these local sovereigns over the king claim as of right. But no wonder, when they have so entirely departed from the ends of their institution—as was offered to be proved by Mr. Madocks, and acknowledged by themselves, in the never-to-be-forgotten morning of the 11th of May, 1809, when, from being the lower, or inferior, (for it is the same sense, one being an English, and another Latin, word) branch of the legislature, they became the proprietors by burgage tenure of the whole representation; and in that capacity, inflated with their high flown fanciful ideas of majesty, and tricked out in the trappings of royalty, think privilege and protection beneath their dignity, assume the sword of prerogative, and lord it equally over the king and the people.”

In consequence of this publication, it was moved, by Mr. Lethbridge, and decided by a majority of the house of commons, that Sir Francis Burdett had been guilty of publishing a scandalous and libellous paper, reflecting upon the just rights and privileges of that honourable house, for which offence he was ordered to be taken into custody by the serjeant-at-arms, and committed to the Tower. The motion for commitment, which was made by Sir Robert Salisbury, was carried, after a long and animated debate, by a majority of one hundred and ninety to one hundred and fifty-two voices. The division did not take place till seven o’clock on the morning of Friday, the 6th of April; and at half-past eight, the same morning, the speaker signed the warrant, and delivered it to Mr. Coleman, the serjeant-at-arms, with a direction to execute it before ten o’clock, that he might not have to convey his prisoner to the Tower through the streets of London in the middle of the day. Owing to the absence of Sir Francis from town, the serjeant-at-arms did not see him till the after-



noon of that day, when the baronet, who was then at his house, in Piccadilly, told him that he intended to write to the speaker, and that he should be ready to receive him the next morning, at eleven o'clock. The serjeant-at-arms then retired, and reported to the speaker the steps that had been taken; when Mr. Abbot advised him to go back, and execute the warrant without further delay. In compliance with this advice, he returned to the house of Sir Francis, and informed him, that he had been reprimanded by the speaker for the delay that had already taken place, and intimated that he must accompany him to the Tower forthwith. To this Sir Francis Burdett replied, "If you bring an overwhelming force I must submit; but I dare not, from my allegiance to the king, and my respect to the laws, yield a voluntary submission to the warrant you have just exhibited; it is illegal; and you must leave my house." Mr. Colman, feeling himself at a loss how to act, withdrew, and repaired to the office of the secretary of state. On the evening of the day on which the house of commons directed the speaker to issue his warrant for the apprehension and commitment of Sir Francis Burdett, the populace began to collect before his house, in Piccadilly. On Saturday, in the afternoon, the concourse of people was so great, and the resistance to the execution of the warrant so highly probable, that ministers thought proper to call out all the military who were in London, and sent orders to several regiments, who were within a day's march, to proceed to the metropolis with all possible despatch. The populace who were before the baronet's house, compelled all the passengers on horseback, or in carriages, to pull off their hats as they passed, and in the evening they paraded the neighbouring streets, calling for lights, and breaking the windows of such houses as did not illuminate, and more particularly venting their fury on the houses of his majesty's ministers, and of such members of the house of commons as had distinguished themselves by speaking in favour of the imprisonment of Sir Francis Burdett.

A doubt now rose in the mind of the serjeant-at-arms, whether the warrant, under which he acted, would authorise him to break open the baronet's doors, which, he had learnt, were strongly barricadoed; and the opinion of Sir Vicary Gibbs, the attorney-general, to whom the question was submitted, tended rather to confirm than to remove his apprehensions. There was no precedent to govern his decision, the attorney-general said, but reasoning from analogy, the tendency of his opinion was, that the door might be broken open for the pur-

pose of executing the warrant ; but if, in any conflict that might take place in consequence, death should ensue, the officer who executed the warrant would stand justified or not, as the breaking of the house might be deemed lawful or unlawful. On this opinion, vague and inconclusive as it was, the serjeant-at-arms was obliged to act, and a little before eleven o'clock on the morning of Monday, the 9th of April, Mr. Colman, accompanied by messengers and police officers, and supported by a large military force, broke open the baronet's house. Mr. Colman, advancing to Sir Francis Burdett, and at the same time presenting his warrant, said, " You are my prisoner." " That," rejoined Sir Francis, " is not a legal instrument ; and I tell you distinctly, that I will not voluntarily submit to an unlawful order. I demand, in the king's name, and in the name of the laws, that you forthwith retire from my house." " Then, Sir," said the serjeant, " I must call assistance, and force you to yield." The constables now laid hold on Sir Francis ; Mr. Jones Burdett, and Mr. Roger O'Connor, who were in the room, immediately took him by the arm ; but the peace officers closed on all three, and drew them down stairs. Sir Francis was then conducted to the coach, which, preceded and guarded by a large body of cavalry, conveyed him to the Tower. At the time that the serjeant-at-arms, and his attendants, broke into the house of Sir Francis Burdett, very few people were collected in Piccadilly, but the report of his seizure spread rapidly through every part of the metropolis ; and before the coach, which, to avoid going through the city, had taken a circuitous route, arrived at Tower-Hill, the multitude in that quarter was immense. As soon as they perceived the carriage in which he was conveyed, their heads were instantly uncovered, and the air rang with acclamations in favour of the man whom they regarded as suffering in the cause of the liberties of his country. No attack was made upon the military till they began to return ; but scarcely had they entered East-Cheap, when they were assailed in the rear by a shower of stones and mud. For a considerable time the soldiers endured this attack with coolness and patience ; but at length, finding the mob grow more daring, they fired several shots, by which, unfortunately, eight persons were wounded, two of them mortally.

The letter which Sir Francis Burdett had addressed to the speaker, on Friday evening, was communicated to the house of commons on Monday, and produced an unanimous resolution, " That the letter of Sir Francis Burdett to the speaker is a high and flagrant breach of privilege." In this letter the baronet declared, that his duty to his king, and to his con-



stituents, would not allow him voluntarily to obey the act of any set of men, who, contrary to the laws, assume the sovereign power; and he professed his readiness to accept the meanest office that would vacate his seat to get out of an association, which had illegally usurped the whole power of the realm.

Sir Francis Burdett was abundantly consoled under his imprisonment in the Tower by the address he received from different parts of the kingdom, and by the petitions that were sent to the house of commons for his liberation. The first place that petitioned was the city of Westminster; and the counties of Middlesex and Berkshire, as well as the livery of London, the borough of Southwark, and the towns of Rochester, Hull, Reading, Nottingham, and Sheffield, followed their example.

Although the warrant by which Sir Francis Burdett was committed to the Tower, directed that he should remain imprisoned during the pleasure of the house of commons, yet it had always been customary to liberate persons thus committed when the prorogation of parliament took place, and that period was anxiously expected by the friends of the baronet in the metropolis. Although his liberation, by the effluxion of time, could not, in any respect, be considered a triumph, it was determined to celebrate the day, and preparations were made to conduct him in great state from the Tower to his house in Piccadilly. Early in the morning of the 21st of June, all the streets through which the procession was to pass, were crowded with those who meant either to witness or to join in the splendid pageant. The hour at which it was known that parliament would be prorogued was looked for with intense anxiety, and the most effectual methods had been taken to communicate the notice from Westminster-Hall to the Tower. The expected intelligence at last arrived; parliament was prorogued, and Sir Francis Burdett was free. The immense multitudes on Tower-Hill pressed forward to catch the first glimpse of the popular favourite. Several minutes elapsed after the prorogation had been made known to the governor of the Tower, but the baronet did not appear. At length, after long and anxious expectation, it was announced by a speaking-trumpet, from the battlements of the fortress, that "Sir Francis Burdett left the Tower by water at half-past three o'clock." His friends were, for some time, incredulous, and it was suspected that it was meant to detain him; but they soon became convinced that he had crossed the river, and was probably at that time far advanced on his road to his country-house at Wimbledon. Discontent and

chagrin began to appear among the multitude : they had been led to understand that the procession was planned and arranged with the knowledge and approbation of Sir Francis Burdett, and no intimation had been given that he had changed his mind. That this disappointment did not lead to acts of violence and fury, says much for the moderation of the people ; that it did not make an impression permanently disadvantageous to the baronet, proves the strong hold he had obtained on public opinion. The explanation given by Sir Francis of this part of his conduct was by no means satisfactory ; if, as he stated to the committee that waited upon him, he apprehended mischief, he ought not to have countenanced the procession in the first instance ; and as to the necessity of an expression of the public sentiment, no such necessity existed, the public having already sufficiently expressed their feelings and views of his imprisonment.\*

The representative for Westminster, conceiving that the law of the land had been outraged in his person, commenced actions, against the speaker of the house of commons, for issuing the warrant for his arrest and imprisonment ; against the serjeant-at-arms, for executing the warrant generally, and for breaking open the outer-door of his house in its execution ; and against Earl Moira, the governor of the Tower, for illegal imprisonment. These actions the house of commons ordered the attorney-general to defend. The plea was, that the warrant, being issued by the authority of the house of commons, was a legal instrument, and that therefore the arrest and imprisonment were legal. This plea, as might have been foreseen, was admitted ; and the privileges of parliament were allowed by the judges of the court of king's bench, not to be cognizable in a court of law, but to be part of the laws of the land. Thus, the attempt of Sir Francis Burdett to overthrow this branch of the privileges of parliament, like all unsuccessful attempts to call in question ancient rights, served to confirm those privileges, and gave to the claims of the house of commons a solemn judicial recognition.

The early part of the session of parliament of 1810 was almost exclusively occupied by the inquiry into the Walcheren expedition, and the proceedings in support of the privileges of parliament. On the 16th of May the budget was brought forward, and the supplies voted for the year amounted to

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\* The liberation of Mr. John Gale Jones from Newgate took place at the same time that Sir Francis Burdett was discharged from the Tower ; and Mr Jones arrived in sufficient time at Tower-Hill to occupy the principal place in the procession, on its return into Westminster.



52,185,000*l.*, of which the proportion for Ireland was 6,106,000*l.* The ways and means, without the imposition of any new taxes, were estimated at a surplus of 141,202*l.* over the demand, including, however, a loan of eight millions, which was borrowed at 4*l.* 4*s.* 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* per cent.; nearly fifteen shillings per cent. below the rate of legal interest.\* There

## \* FINANCE.

PUBLIC INCOME of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1810.

<i>Branches of Revenue.</i>	<i>Gross Receipts.</i>			<i>Paid into the Excheq.</i>		
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Customs, - - -	10,532,989	8	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	8,568,032	10	0
Excise, - - -	19,385,496	19	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	17,184,931	3	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Stamps, - - -	5,463,425	8	1	5,309,843	1	11
Land & Assessed Taxes, 8,482,574	1	7 $\frac{1}{2}$		8,742,483	6	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Post-Office, - - -	1,610,585	3	0	1,370,069	1	11 $\frac{3}{4}$
Miscel. Permanent Tax, 127,730	9	7		123,664	6	7 $\frac{3}{4}$
Hered. Revenue, - -	87,148	16	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	118,750	3	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Extraord. Resources,						
War Taxes { Customs, - - -	3,397,201	15	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	3,072,761	19	10 $\frac{3}{4}$
{ Excise, - - -	5,778,396	12	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	5,638,216	11	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
{ Property Tax, 12,413,803	14	0 $\frac{1}{2}$		12,160,162	8	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Miscel. Income, - - -	2,960,874	4	4	2,938,359	13	5
Loans, including } 13,000,000 for the } Service of Ireland, }	14,675,668	18	6	14,675,668	18	6
Grand Total	184,915,895	13	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	179,902,943	6	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, }				(Signed)		
24th March, 1810. }				RICH. WHARTON.		

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1810.

<i>Heads of Expenditure.</i>	<i>Sums.</i>		
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Interest, - - - - -	20,996,052	11	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Charge of Management, - - - - -	222,775	2	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Reduction of National Debt, - - - - -	10,904,450	13	0
Interest on Exchequer Bills, - - - - -	1,862,943	15	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Civil List, - - - - -	1,606,038	19	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Civil Government of Scotland, - - - - -	90,954	15	9
Payments in anticipation, &c. - - - - -	789,754	12	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Navy, - - - - -	19,236,036	18	6
Ordinance, - - - - -	4,374,184	8	10
Army, - - - - -	12,591,040	19	11
Extraordinary Services, - - - - -	5,872,054	0	0
Loans to Sweden, Sicily, Portugal, and Austria, }	4,971,527	15	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
including 2,921,527 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i> 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>d.</i> to Ireland, }			
Miscellaneous Services, - - - - -	1,459,434	4	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Deductions for Sums forming no part of the Ex- }	84,977,248	17	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
penditure of Great Britain, }	2,949,960	12	3
Grand Total	182,027,288	5	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, }			
24th March, 1810. }	(Signed)		
	RICH. WHARTON.		

was no reason, Mr. Perceval said, to apprehend any thing like decay in our finances, for, the more they were examined, the better satisfied we should be of their prosperity. This very year, when men of great authority anticipated a failure, there had actually been a very considerable increase. The official value of the imports was 36,255,209*l.*, nearly five millions more than in the most prosperous year of peace. The exports of our manufactures amounted to 35,107,000*l.*, between eight and nine millions more than they were in 1802. The exports of our foreign goods were, however, nearly four millions less than at that time. "Thus," said Mr. Perceval, "while this country is greatly progressive in prosperity, the orders in council have reduced the receipts of the customs in France from two millions and a half, to half a million, being a diminution of four-fifths of the whole amount."

Mr. Huskisson said, that in the midst of all this vaunted prosperity, the national debt continued to increase; and he inquired if it was possible to go on much longer, adding from a million to twelve hundred thousand every year to the public burdens?

One of the first measures adopted by the friends of economical reform was contained in a motion made by Mr. Bankes, to the effect, that the act for suspending the granting of offices in reversion should be made perpetual; and a bill for this purpose passed the house of commons almost without opposition. When this bill reached the upper house it was thrown out at its second reading by a large majority. Mr. Bankes finding, as he said, that there was a determined principle to oppose the bill in its present shape, introduced a second bill for a limited period; but this attempted compromise proved ineffectual, and the second bill was, in like manner, rejected by the peers, with a pertinacity not less injurious in itself than offensive to the public feeling.

A subject of vital importance to the interests of the community, and to the commercial credit of the country, was brought under the consideration of parliament, by Mr. Horner, who, on the 1st of February, moved for a variety of accounts and returns respecting the present state of the circulating medium, and the trade in bullion. On the production of these papers, a committee was appointed for the purpose of inquiry into the present high price of bullion, and the consequent effect on the value of the paper currency; but this inquiry opened so wide a field of investigation, that it was not till the eve of the prorogation of parliament that the report of the committee could be submitted to the house. The bullion committee, after a patient and laborious investigation, were deci-



dedly of opinion, that the evils, into the causes of which they were commissioned to inquire, were to be attributed to an excessive issue of Bank of England paper ; and it was stated in their report, that “ a general rise of all prices, a rise in the market price of gold, and a fall in the foreign exchanges, will be the effect of an undue quantity of circulating medium in a country which has adopted a currency not exportable to other countries, or convertible at will into a coin that is convertible.” But though the Bank of England notes were in reality at a discount, that discount, in the judgment of the committee, did not arise from want of credit, or confidence in the funds, and stability in the bank, but merely from over issue. And it was stated, that “ no sufficient remedy for the present evil, or security for the future, could be pointed out, except the repeal of the law which suspends the cash payments of the Bank of England.” To effect so important a change, the committee was aware that some difficulties must be encountered ; but all hazards to the stability of the bank, and all injury to public credit, might be obviated, by restricting cash payments for two years from the present time, and by intrusting to the bank itself the charge of conducting and completing the operation.\*

The question of parliamentary reform was brought under consideration in the house of commons, by Mr. Brand, on the 21st of May. Having stated the evils resulting from the pre-

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\* From the appendix to the report of the bullion committee it appeared, that, in the years 1791 and 1792, before the breaking out of the revolutionary war, the amount of bank notes in circulation was eleven millions and a half. In 1797, the bank was relieved by act of parliament from the necessity of paying in cash payments, when two additional millions in small notes were issued. For two years after the passing of the bank restriction bill, gold never exceeded its legitimate price of 3*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* per ounce ; and, consequently, the foreign exchanges remained at par, and the circulating medium suffered no depression. In 1799, an increase of four millions took place in the paper currency of the bank, which circumstance, co-operating with the subsidies paid to foreign powers, and the increased importations, in consequence of the failure of the harvest, advanced the bullion price of gold to 4*l.* per ounce. At the end of the year 1808, the issues of the bank were still further increased ; and all those alarming symptoms, the existence of which gave rise to the bullion committee, appeared, and continued to gain strength ; specie became every day more and more scarce, and at last nearly disappeared altogether ; and the exchanges with the continent, and the price of bullion, rose excessively. The bank still enlarged their issues ; and on the 12th of May, 1810, the amount of the Bank of England paper in circulation was swelled to twenty-one millions, of which fifteen millions were in large, and six millions in small notes. It was further stated, that the issue of paper money had been greatly increased by the transactions of the country banks, which now amounted to upwards of seven hundred, and by far the greater part of whom were issuers of notes.

sent defective state of the representation, he proceeded to suggest a remedy. He did not mean to touch the right of voting for county members, except by letting in copy-holders, and assimilating the mode of voting in Scotland to the practice in England. The honourable member, in the plan now submitted to the consideration of the house, proposed to disfranchise the boroughs in which the members were returned on the nomination of individuals; and as the number of members would be diminished in that proportion, it would be proper to transfer the right of returning such members to populous towns, and apply any surplus to the larger counties. The duration of parliament should, he conceived, be triennial, with a concurrent arrangement for collecting the votes by districts and parishes. It was not his intention to propose that all persons holding offices should be excluded from the house of commons; but in order to secure the independence of parliament, persons holding offices without responsibility—mere sinecures, should not be suffered to have seats in that assembly. On these grounds he brought forward his present motion, and he trusted the house would give it all the consideration to which the subject was entitled. Of one thing he was certain, that the country must either have a temperate reform, or a military government. In conclusion, he moved the appointment of a committee to inquire into the state of the representation of the people in parliament; which motion was rejected by a large majority.

The frequently agitated question of catholic emancipation was this session brought forward in both houses; and motions for the removal of the disabilities under which his majesty's Roman catholic subjects labour, made by the Earl of Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan, were rejected both in the lords and commons by considerable majorities. In the discussion on the catholic question in 1808, it had been stated by Lord Grenville in the house of lords, and Mr. Grattan in the house of commons, that the catholics were willing to allow to the crown a *veto*, or negative, in the appointment of their bishops; but the catholics of Ireland, after deep deliberation, came to the conclusion, that it would be derogatory to their character as a religious community, and would involve a compromise of the constitution of their church, to purchase an extension of their civil privileges, by conceding to a protestant sovereign the right of interference in the appointment of the catholic prelacy. This decision, though it diminished the number of the friends of catholic emancipation in the British parliament, sufficiently proved that the members of the church of Rome in these realms felt no inordinate anxiety for the attainment of



political power, and that, when their civil rights interfered with their religious obligations, they were prepared to sacrifice the former at the shrine of the latter.

On the 13th of June, when the present session of parliament was drawing to a close, Earl Grey submitted to the consideration of the house of peers a motion on the state of the nation ; this motion he introduced by an elaborate and eloquent speech, which he concluded with a series of resolutions, embracing the principal points brought under discussion, and of which the following is the substance :

That an humble address be presented to his majesty, assuring him that the house is convinced, that peace, so anxiously desired by his majesty's loyal people, will be best promoted by proving to the world that we possess the means of permanently supporting the honour and independence of our country against every species of attack by which the enemy might hope to assail us ; that for this purpose it is necessary that his majesty's government should henceforth adopt a wise and systematic policy, regulated, not only by a just estimate of our present difficulties, but by a prudent foresight of the probable exigencies of a protracted warfare. That we have to lament that the conduct of his majesty's ministers has been, in this respect, directly the reverse of what the interest and safety of his majesty's dominions required ; that they have rashly engaged in expeditions, so defective in their plan, so impolitic in their object, and so ill combined as to the time at which they were undertaken, that they could terminate only in an unprofitable waste of the resources and the blood of his majesty's faithful subjects. That, while the war has been thus unfortunately conducted, the conduct of his majesty's government, with respect to neutral powers, has retarded an amicable arrangement with those whom it was most our interest to conciliate, and unite with us in opposition to the measures of France. That in what more immediately concerns our domestic policy, we have equally to complain of want of wisdom and of foresight in his majesty's councils ; that instead of a permanent system of finance, temporary and impolitic expedients have for the last three years been resorted to ; that the paper circulation has been extended to a degree highly dangerous to the pecuniary interests of the country ; that no attempts have been made to allay the discontents arising from religious differences ; and that no measures have been taken to remove the cause of just complaint on the part of a burthened people, by an effective economy in the great branches of the public service. That owing to these and other causes, discontent and distrust are beginning to diffuse themselves among his majesty's faithful people, and that the increase and extension of these feelings can only be prevented by the adoption of a more wise, liberal, and enlightened policy ; that in recommending such a system of policy to his majesty, we can never lose sight of our obligations to support the just prerogatives and useful splendour of the crown, the venerable establishments of our holy religion, and the ancient and essential rights and privileges of parliament.

The Earl of Liverpool, in opposing the address, contended, that a favourable change had already taken place in the state of public affairs. Our commerce and revenue had increased in a manner hitherto unexampled ; the number of vessels taken from the enemy, and those of our allies rescued from his grasp, was immense ; the French had been, for the first time

in the history of modern Europe, driven entirely out of the West Indies ; Portugal, which had been over-run by the enemy, had seen the armies of France expelled by British valour. Spain had been encouraged to struggle with her oppressors by our example ; the port of Lisbon was now free ; and Cadiz and Ceuta were at present occupied by the British in conjunction with Spanish troops. Such was the real state of things, at a period when the noble lord had thought proper to draw so gloomy a picture of the situation of the country, and to move for so severe a censure on his majesty's government. After a very animated debate, the house divided, when Earl Grey's motion was rejected by a majority of a hundred and thirty-four to seventy-two voices.

The motion for an inquiry into the state of the nation, was the last subject of importance that engaged the attention of parliament ; and on the 21st of June the two houses were prorogued, by a speech delivered in his majesty's name by the lord chancellor.\*

After the fall of Martinique, the only settlement of importance possessed by the enemy in the West Indies was the island of Guadaloupe ; and early in the present year, an expedition, under the command of Lieutenant-general Sir George Beckwith, sailed from Martinique against that colony. The preparations for the attack were completed about the middle of January, and consisted of an army of about six thousand men, which was divided into five brigades, and accompanied with a suitable naval force, under the command of Sir Alex-

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\* During the present session of parliament, died the Right Hon. WILLIAM WINDHAM, a man whose name, in the history of literature and of politics, will be joined with those of Johnson, Burke, Fox, and Pitt. His death, which was occasioned by an operation for the removal of an indolent, encysted tumour, took place on Monday, the 4th of June, in the 61st year of his age. No man occupied a more elevated situation in the estimation of all parties, for honour, integrity, and patriotism, than Mr. Windham ; but there was a certain tortuousness in his political course, which gave to his conduct an air of eccentricity ; and his great talents were, on some occasions, applied to the purpose of advocating established abuses, even at the expense of humanity. As an official and party man, from a chivalry of sentiment inseparable from his nature, he occasionally displayed a dissonance of opinion from those with whom he acted, but his intentions were always pure ; he was not made to belong to any set or party of men ; he moved in an orbit of his own, and was never to be diverted from his purpose by any considerations either of fear or favour. As an orator, he was simple, eloquent, prompt, and graceful. As a statesman, he entertained a most profound veneration for the constitution of his country ; and even his faults were not of an ordinary or grovelling kind. He aimed not at the attainment of transient popularity, but aspired to a lasting and imperishable reputation ; and his sovereign embalmed his memory with this high eulogium—"Windham was a genuine patriot, and a truly honest man."



ander Cochrane. On the 27th the expedition arrived at St. Marie, and by the prompt and judicious operations of the troops, the enemy was driven from the positions he had occupied in advance, and obliged to compress his force beyond the bridge of Nozeire, having the river Noire in his front, and extending his left in such a manner into the mountains as to make it difficult to dislodge him. The great obstacle in the way of the advance of the British army was the passage of the Noire, to the defence of which the enemy had paid the utmost attention. Sir George Beckwith, aware of the difficulty of carrying this position, determined not to hazard an attack in front, but to turn the enemy's left by the mountains, and fall upon his flank. This difficult enterprise was confided to the reserve of the British army, under Brigadier-general Wale, who was ordered to carry through the operation on the night of the 3d of February. General Wale, having obtained important intelligence, which led him to think that the route marked out in his orders might be considerably shortened, and that the manœuvre might succeed with less difficulty and loss if it were executed during the preceding day, advanced on his own responsibility, and after a short, but severe conflict, forced the pass of the river, and completely succeeded in his undertaking. This exploit decided the campaign; no sooner had the Captain-general, Ernouf, perceived that his flank was turned, and that the heights were in possession of the British, than he hoisted the white flag at his head-quarters, and all the other places in the island surrendered without resistance. At the same time the French part of the island of St. Martin's was surrendered by capitulation; and on the 14th, Commodore Fahie took possession of the whole island. After the surrender of St. Martin's, the British commodore sailed for Eustatius, which capitulated without resistance; and thus the enemy was deprived of his last colonial possession in the American islands.

A few weeks before the fall of Guadaloupe, two French frigates, of forty-eight guns each, along with two vessels of the same nation armed *en flute*, carrying troops and stores for the succour of that island, were met at sea by the Junon frigate, Captain Shortland, about one hundred and fifty miles from their destination. The British captain, having been decoyed into a situation which left him no alternative but either to fight or to surrender, determined to encounter the enemy, while a brig that was in company effected her escape. The two frigates lay, one on each side of the Junon, while one of the smaller vessels passed her bowsprit on the larboard, and the other on her starboard quarters. In this situation, they

opened a most destructive fire upon their victim from all sides, the muskets of the enemy's troops being particularly galling. Captain Shortland soon perceived that his only hope of success depended upon an effort to board one of the frigates; but the party ordered upon this service were almost all cut off, by a general volley directed against them by the troops. After the battle had raged for some time, the enemy, in their turn, attempted to board, but they were three times repulsed; and it was not till after an action of an hour and a quarter that the *Junon* struck her colours. In this unequal conflict ninety of the British seamen were killed and wounded, and the vessel was reduced to so complete a wreck that the next day she was set on fire and destroyed. The gallantry displayed in this action, in which Captain Shortland was mortally wounded, has never been surpassed in the annals of the British navy. Every man did his duty, and the gallant captain, with a pike in his hand, headed his men till the last moment, when a langridge shot laid him senseless on the deck, and terminated his heroic career.

In the month of January, the Dutch settlement of Amboyna, with the neighbouring dependent islands, were carried by a *coup de main*, by an expedition under Captain Tucker, when seven armed ships and forty-seven merchant vessels, many of them richly laden, rewarded the gallant enterprise of the victors.

The islands of Bourbon and the Mauritius, or the Isle of France, had long served to afford shelter and protection to a very large number of French privateers, which scoured the seas in the track of the East India shipping, and had captured vessels of that description to an enormous amount. Their captures they took either to the Isle of Bourbon, or the Isle of France, but principally to the latter;\* as being a place not only naturally of greater strength, but garrisoned and protected by a much larger force. In the hopes of regaining this booty, and for the purpose of rooting out the nest of privateers which infested these seas, expeditions were planned, first against the Isle of Bourbon, and afterwards against the Isle of France. A force was collected, consisting of two thousand five hundred Europeans, and two thousand native troops, who were afterwards joined by a thousand men from the Island of Rodriguez,

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\* In the ten months preceding the fall of this island, it has been calculated that the insurance offices of Bengal alone, were losers three millions sterling by captures—(*Account of the capture of Mauritius.*) This is probably an exaggeration, but the real loss must have been immense to afford countenance to such a statement.



under Lieutenant-colonel Keating, to whom the command of the expedition against the Isle of Bourbon was confided. By the co-operation of the naval part of the expedition, under Commodore Rowley, the destruction of the French batteries and guns at St. Paul's took place in the month of September, 1809; and dispositions having been made for an attack on St. Dennis, a herald presented himself with an offer from the governor, Colonel St. Susanne, to capitulate, which proposal was readily acquiesced in, and the whole island passed under the sway of the British sceptre.

A body of troops from the British settlements in India and the Cape of Good Hope, amounting to about ten thousand, destined for the reduction of the Isle of France, arrived at the place of rendezvous on the 21st of November, 1810.—This army was commanded by Major-general John Abercrombie, second son of General Sir Ralph Abercrombie, and the whole fleet under Admiral Bertie, including transports and ships of war, amounted to seventy sail. On the 29th of November, the troops effected a landing under cover of the fire-ships, and on the 2d of December, prepared for attacking the forts; but on the day following, General de Caen, the French governor, rendered all further operations unnecessary by proposing to capitulate on the condition that the troops should return to France without being considered as prisoners of war. These terms, under all the circumstances, it was thought advisable to allow, and on the same day the capitulation was signed, by which the Isle of France, an immense quantity of stores and valuable merchandize, five large frigates, some smaller ships of war, and twenty-eight merchantmen, with two captured British East Indiamen, were surrendered to his majesty's arms. By the conquest of these islands, the French were deprived of their last establishments beyond the Cape of Good Hope, and Great Britain now reigned without a rival in the east, with the exception of the Dutch settlements in the Island of Java.

Towards the close of the present year, an event occurred which suspended the royal functions, and plunged the country into great distress and embarrassment. The Princess Amelia, the youngest and favourite daughter of the king, after a painful and protracted illness, died on the 2d of November. The circumstance of an amiable and beloved child, in the prime of life, passing rapidly to her dissolution, in the midst of the most acute sufferings, naturally preyed on the paternal feelings of his majesty: his whole mind became absorbed in the fate of his daughter; he dwelt upon her deplorable situation with harrassing and weakening grief and despair; till at length the powers of his understanding sunk under the pressure,

and he fell a prey to that mental disorder, under which he had suffered so much two and twenty years before, and to which he had been occasionally subject in the interval.\*

Some days before the indisposition of the king, a proclamation had been issued, stating it to be the royal pleasure that parliament should not assemble till the month of December? but the usual commission not being prepared, the meeting of parliament took place on the 1st of November, the period to which, by a former commission, it had been prorogued. The only case in history exactly similar to that which now presented itself was the precedent of 1788-9; parliament had that year been prorogued to the 20th of November, and as the regular commission for its further intended prorogation had not been signed by the king, it necessarily met on that day. The peers and the commons each remained in their separate chambers, and after the state of his majesty's mental health had been explained, an adjournment for fifteen days was unanimously resolved upon. This precedent, so analogous in its circumstances, was strictly followed upon the present melancholy occasion; and the lord chancellor and the speaker of the house of commons were directed to transmit letters to the members of their respective houses, requiring their attendance on Thursday the 15th of November.

From the peculiarly mild symptoms assumed by his majesty's complaint at the commencement of his present illness, it was hoped that the malady would not be of long continuance, but would soon yield to medical care and skill. Sir Henry Hallford, and Drs. Heberden and Bailie, were the physicians first called in. By them the bulletins were signed, which were regularly issued, at first once, and afterwards twice a day, from the 29th of October to the 4th of November, when the signature of Dr. Reynolds, for the first time appeared. On the 9th day of that month, Dr. Willis was called in; and from this circumstance it was inferred that his majesty's disorder had assumed a more decided and obstinate character than was originally contemplated.

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\* When the Princess Amelia felt that her end was fast approaching, she ordered a ring to be made, inclosing a lock of her hair, and inscribed with the words---"*Remember me.*" This token of her dying affection she silently placed upon the finger of her royal father at his next visit to her chamber. Her own departure was so near that she never knew the fatal consequences. The king, who felt all that this charge imported, retired from her apartment extremely agitated, and when the dissolution of his beloved child actually took place, his mind was no longer in a state to derive consolation from the reflection that death had terminated her sufferings.



When parliament again assembled on the 15th of November, ministers informed the two houses that the medical attendants of his majesty were unanimously of opinion that his majesty's health was in a state of progressive improvement, and that they continued to express the most flattering and confident hopes that he would, in a very short space of time, be enabled to resume the personal exercise of the royal functions. On the faith of these representations, the two houses, after some debate, consented to a second adjournment till the 29th of November.

In the interval, all the members of the privy council were summoned by the president to assemble for the purpose of examining the physicians, touching the state of his majesty's health, and the probability of his speedy resumption of the royal authority. Earl Camden, as president of the council, alone interrogated the physicians, and the answers, which were very short and general, conveyed an opinion that his majesty's complaint was of such a nature that his recovery could not be long delayed.

Taking their stand upon the result of this examination, ministers, when parliament met on the 29th of November, again moved and carried a further adjournment till the 13th of December. During this period, the disease of his majesty by no means abated, and it was generally understood that the malady threatened a long and tedious endurance, and even cast doubts upon the ultimate and perfect recovery of the royal patient. When, therefore, parliament met for the fourth time, ministers were under the necessity of proposing that the physicians should be examined by a committee, appointed by each house; and of explicitly stating, that if the report should not hold out a prospect of speedy recovery, they would then propose measures to supply the defect in the royal authority. The physicians, in the examination that took place, described his majesty's disorder to be a derangement of mind, closely allied to delirium, and occasionally falling into it; and the result of the inquiry established the fact, that his majesty was not only at this time totally incapable of performing the high functions of his royal office, but that his recovery would be slow and remote. Under these circumstances, all idea of further adjournment was at an end, and ministers found it absolutely necessary to proceed towards the appointment of a regency. The session not having been opened by the royal authority, could not be constitutionally regarded as the parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, but merely as a convention of the two estates; it was necessary, therefore, to have regard to this character in the mode

of their proceedings ; and in opening the business in the house of commons, on the 20th of December, Mr. Perceval moved three distinct propositions, declaratory of the present incapacity of the king ; of the competency of the two houses of parliament to supply the defect ; and of the necessity of passing a bill for maintaining entire the constitutional authority of the king.\* The first of these resolutions passed unanimously ; the second, with the single negative of Sir Francis Burdett, who denied that all the estates of this realm were "lawfully, fully, and freely represented in parliament." On the third resolution, Mr. Ponsonby moved an amendment, to the effect that an address should be presented to the Prince of Wales, praying him to take upon himself the office of regent. On this amendment, long and animated debates took place, but as Lord Grenville and his friends adhered to the doctrines which they had maintained and acted upon with Mr. Pitt on a former occasion, the opposition were out-voted in the commons by a majority of a hundred and twelve, and in the lords by twenty-six voices.

It is evident that very serious objections existed to both modes of proceeding, whether by bill or by address ; the mere reading over the resolutions suggest them : a regent was to be appointed by a bill, that is, in other words, the king, whose incapacity was the sole cause of the measure, was, by a fiction of law, to be declared to have given his assent to an act (for without the royal assent an act of parliament is of no validity) which constituted another person regent ; because, as that bill expressed it, his majesty was incapable of exercising his royal functions. The objections to proceeding by address were not so glaring, but they were not less real : the Prince of Wales was to be requested to take upon himself the

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\* RESOLUTIONS MOVED BY MR. PERCEVAL ON THE 20TH OF DECEMBER, 1810.

I. That his majesty is prevented by indisposition from coming to parliament, and from attending to public business, and that the personal exercise of the royal authority is thereby, for the present, interrupted.

II. That it is the right and duty of the lords, spiritual and temporal, and commons of Great Britain, now assembled, and lawfully, fully, and freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm, to provide the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority, arising from his majesty's said indisposition, in such a manner as the exigency of the case may appear to require.

III. That for this purpose, and for maintaining entire the constitutional authority of the king, it is necessary that the lords, spiritual and temporal, and commons of Great Britain, should determine on the means whereby the royal assent may be given in parliament to such bill as may be passed by the two houses of parliament, respecting the exercise of the powers and authorities of the crown, in the name and on the behalf of the king, during the continuance of his majesty's present indisposition.



office of regent, and when he had assumed that office, and opened parliament in that capacity, an act of parliament was then to be passed constituting him regent.

It is well known, that during the king's indisposition, in 1788, Mr. Fox, in a moment of ungarded warmth, denied the right and power of parliament to confer the royal authority ; and asserted, in too strong and unqualified terms, the undoubted right of the Prince of Wales, as heir apparent, to succeed to the regency as a matter of course. This doctrine was now abandoned, and it was, on the contrary, distinctly declared by the members of opposition, that the prince had no right to exercise the royal functions except such as he derived from the decision of the two estates of parliament.\*

After the resolutions proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer regarding the mode of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority, had received the sanction of the two estates of the realm, another series of resolutions was brought forward by Mr. Perceval, expressive of the expediency of vesting the royal authority in the Prince of Wales, as "Regent of the Kingdom," subject to certain restrictions and limitations enumerated in those resolutions.†

\* Mr. Ponsonby's Speech in the House of Commons, Dec. 20th, 1810.

† RESOLUTIONS MOVED BY MR. PERCEVAL, ON THE 31ST OF DECEMBER, 1810.

I. That for the purpose of providing for the exercise of the royal authority, during the continuance of his majesty's illness, in such manner, and to such extent, as the present circumstances, and the urgent concerns of the nation appear to require, it is expedient that his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, being resident within the realm, shall be empowered to exercise and to administer the royal authority, according to the laws and constitution of Great Britain, in the name and on behalf of his majesty, and under the style and title of regent of the kingdom ; and to use, execute, and perform, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, all authorities, prerogatives, acts of government, and administration of the same, that belong to the king of this realm, to use, execute and perform, according to the law thereof, subject to such limitations and exceptions as shall be provided.

II. That the powers to be given to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, shall not extend to the granting of any rank or dignity of the peerage of the realm to any person whatever, except to—(persons who have rendered eminent services to the country by sea or land.)

III. That the said power shall not extend to the granting of any office whatever in reversion, or to the granting of any office, salary, or pension, for other terms than during his majesty's pleasure, except such offices as are by law required to be granted for life, or during good behaviour.

IV. That the said power shall not extend to the granting of any part of his majesty's real and personal estate, except as far as relates to the renewal of leases.

V. That the care of his majesty's royal person, during the continuance of his majesty's illness, shall be committed to the queen's most excellent majesty ; and that her majesty shall have the power to remove from, and to nominate and appoint such persons as she shall think pro-

The members of opposition made a vigorous and formidable stand against the general principle of restrictions, as well as against the particular limitations of the royal power, which ministers proposed to impose upon the regent ; in many of the divisions they were joined by Mr. Canning and Lord Castlereagh, and their respective friends, as well as by other members, who usually voted with ministers, and the existing government carried some of their motions by very small majorities. The proposed exception to the grant of peerages in favour of military officers, was opposed by Lord Grenville, and in this, as in the other restrictions, the precedent of 1788-9 was ultimately adhered to.

As soon as parliament had come to the determination to proceed by bill and not by address, and Mr. Perceval had sketched the plan of his proposed restrictions, he addressed a letter to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, communicating to him his intentions. The prince, in reply, simply and briefly referred Mr. Perceval to the celebrated letter, which, on a similar occasion, he had sent to Mr. Pitt, and in which he had, in a most dignified and powerful strain of argument, protested against the proposed plan of restricted regency, not because it conveyed a reflection on his personal character, but because, in his opinion, it broke through the very essence of the British constitution. His royal highness, however, agreed to accept the high and important trust, even though fettered and limited in such a manner as, in his apprehension, might prevent him from fulfilling its duties so completely and beneficially to the nation as he could wish. In these views the royal brothers of the prince fully concurred, and in a species of extra-official note to the chancellor of the exchequer, entered their protest against a proceeding, which they considered " perfectly unconstitutional, and as contrary to and subversive of the principles which seated their family upon the throne of this realm."

Parliament was opened in the usual form by commission

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per, to the several offices in his majesty's household ; and to dispose, order, and manage, all other matters and things relating to the care of his majesty's royal person, during the time aforesaid ; and that, for the better enabling her majesty to discharge this important task, it is also expedient that a council shall be appointed, to advise and assist her majesty in the several matters aforesaid ; and with power, from time to time, as they may see cause, to examine, upon oath, the physicians and others attending his majesty's person, touching the state of his majesty's health, and all other matters relating thereto.

The regency bill, of which the above resolutions may be considered as an official abstract, enacted, that the restriction imposed on the executive power as exercised by the Prince Regent, should cease on the 1st of February, 1812.



under the great seal, on the 15th of January, 1811. The regency bill, which had passed through the two houses as estates of the realm, was again brought before parliament in its regular and constitutional character ; every part of it was again canvassed ; and, on every debate and division, the strength and numbers of ministers increased, while the opposition became feeble and languid in their resistance.

It was well known that the political attachments and principles of the Prince Regent lay all on the side of Earl Grey and Lord Grenville ; and it was naturally expected that the existing administration would be dissolved, and the members who now occupied the opposition benches, taken into power ; but the period for the installation was fast approaching, and no arrangements for a new ministry had taken place. In the mean time, the malady of the king, after undergoing frequent and great variations, assumed a much more mild and favourable form, and the physicians again pronounced his majesty's complete recovery as not far distant. This circumstance, combined with the difficulty of administering the affairs of government by any other hands than those which would continue to possess, through the medium of the queen's council,\* so large a share of the power and patronage of the executive, determined the prince to retain the present ministers. This determination he communicated to Mr. Perceval, in a note, dated the 4th of February ; at the same time explicitly and candidly stating to him, that the irresistible impulse of filial duty and affection to his beloved and afflicted father, made him unwilling to do a single act which might retard his recovery ; and that this consideration alone had dictated the decision now communicated to Mr. Perceval. He added, that it would not be one of the least blessings that would result from the restoration of his majesty to health and to the personal exercise of his royal functions, that it would rescue the regency from a situation of unexampled embarrassment, and put an end to a state of affairs, ill calculated, he feared, to sustain the interests of the united kingdom in this awful and perilous crisis, and most difficult to be reconciled to the genuine principles of the British constitution. Mr. Perceval, in reply, after stating the readiness of himself and his colleagues to remain in office, lamented that the prince should still regard the restrictions as unconstitutional ; but assured him that,

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\* The queen's council consisted of eight members, namely : the Archbishops of Canterbury and York ; the Duke of Montrose ; the Earls of Winchester and Aylesford ; Lords Eldon and Ellenborough ; and Sir William Grant.







*Gravé par Pinx*

*Edwin Sc.*

MARIA LOUISA

*Empress of the French*

*Born 12<sup>th</sup> Dec. 1791.*

*Married to Napoleon*

*April 1<sup>st</sup> 1810.*

even under these restrictions, any ministry, which should possess the confidence and support of his royal highness, would find no difficulty in conducting the affairs of the nation with satisfaction, credit, and success.

By the continuance of the existing administration in office, the sub-division of the sovereign functions, occasioned by the regency-bill, became again united in the executive government; and the prince and his ministers, by contributing their respective portions, preserved, in a considerable degree, the integrity of the sovereign power and influence.

## CHAPTER XIII.

FOREIGN HISTORY: *Sudden Death of the Crown Prince of Sweden—Marshal Bernadotte elected Crown Prince—Marriage of the Emperor Napoleon to the Archduchess Maria Louisa—Rapid Advances made by the Emperor Napoleon towards the Establishment of an absolute Despotism—Decree for the Establishment of State Prisons—for the Registration of Domestic Servants—for restricting the Operations of the Press—Abdication of Louis Bonaparte in favour of his Son—Annexation of Holland and the Hanse Towns to France—Death of the Queen of Prussia—Annexation of Hanover to the Kingdom of Westphalia.*

BONAPARTE, by subdividing the states of Europe, gratified the two most prevailing passions of his mind—his ambition and his hatred to England. In this way, he extended his power with his means of annoyance, and he hoped ultimately to obtain a maritime peace, by cutting off the commerce of Great Britain from the continent. The annexation of Holland to the French empire, the intermarriage of Napoleon with the princess of the house of Austria, and the extension of his influence in Sweden and along the shores of the German Ocean, emanated from these feelings, and tended to the accomplishment of these purposes.

The possession of Sweden could not be so openly and directly acquired, as the possession of other continental states; but a fortunate conjecture in public affairs, soon afforded the opportunity of gaining such an influence in that country, as seemed to advance Napoleon's grand scheme of foreign policy. Charles Augustus, Prince of Augustenburg, who had, on the 24th of January, 1810, been elected to the dignity of Crown Prince of Sweden, died suddenly, on the 29th of May, in the same year, while he was reviewing some regiments of cavalry on the Bonorp Heath; and his death was preceded and accompanied by circumstances, which excited in the minds of the populace, a strong and general suspicion, that he had been poison-



ed. In other times, his death might have appeared perfectly natural, as it probably was ; but suspicion fixed upon the two families of Fersen and Piper, who were thought to be jealous of his popularity, and apprehensive that his elevation to the throne would destroy that influence which they had long enjoyed in the government. The interval which elapsed between the death of the prince and his interment, gave time for suspicion to spread ; and when the funeral procession arrived at Stockholm, on the 20th of June, the agitation had increased to so alarming a degree, that the populacc fell upon Count Axel Fersen, who led the procession in his carriage and six, and actually tore him to pieces. In order to calm this dreadful ferment, a proclamation was issued by the king, and measures were adopted by the government to remove the suspicions of the people, by an open judicial inquiry into the cause of the death of their favourite. A reward of twenty thousand rix dollars, was also offered to any person who would give such evidence, touching the supposed murder, as would convict the offender, whatever might be his rank or description. The result of the examination was, that the crown prince had died a natural death, by a fit of apoplexy ; and public tranquillity being in a few days restored, the attention of the inhabitants of Sweden, as well as of a great part of Europe, was fixed on the choice that was about to be made of his successor.

On the 15th of August, the four estates of Sweden were assembled at Orebro, for the purpose of electing a crown prince, or heir apparent to the Swedish throne. The four candidates who aspired to this honour, were, Frederick VI. King of Denmark ; the Prince of Oldenburg, son of Gustavus Adolphus, the late king ; the Prince of Augustenburg, brother to the deceased crown prince ; and the French Marshal Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo. Bonaparte, in a letter addressed to the diet, declared his determination not to interfere in the election ; the pleasure of the French emperor was sufficiently understood, and Charles XIII. in an address to that assembly, delivered on the 18th, stated "that the duty he owed to his country, induced him to propose to the assembled states of the empire, his serene highness Jean Baptiste Julian Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo, as Crown Prince of Sweden, and his royal majesty's successor to the Swedish throne." After a short deliberation, the diet unanimously acceded to the recommendation of their sovereign ; and thus, Marshal Bernadotte, a man who had entered the ranks of the French army at the age of fifteen, became in the 48th year of his age, the presumptive heir to the crown of Sweden. The Swedish

nation, exhausted by war, and oppressed with the expense and misery it had occasioned, either took no lively interest in passing events, or felt no indisposition to the election of a general, who, from his connection with Bonaparte, would probably preserve them in future peace with the powers of the continent.

Early in the month of October, Bernadotte proceeded to Sweden; and on the 1st of November, he addressed the king, and the estates of the realm, in a complimentary speech, unfolding views of government, and maxims of policy, worthy of a statesman and a sage: "Gentlemen, deputies of the nobility, the clergy, the burghers, and the peasants," said he, "sound policy, that which alone the laws of God authorize, must be founded upon justice and truth; such are the principles of the king; they shall also be mine. I have beheld war close at hand, I know its desolating properties; there is nothing which can console a country for the blood of its children shed in a foreign land. Peace is the first object of a wise and enlightened government. It is not the extent of a state which constitutes its force and independence, it is its laws, its industry, its commerce, and above all, its natural spirit. Sweden, it is true, has sustained great losses, but the honour of the Swedish nation has not suffered the least attain. Let us submit, gentlemen, to the decrees of Providence, and let us recollect, that they have left us a soil sufficient to support our wants, and iron to defend it."

From this moment, Charles John, the official name given to the Crown Prince, may be considered as the efficient ruler of Sweden. Adverse to open and actual hostility with Great Britain, he continued for some time to permit the commercial intercourse to be carried on between the two countries; and when, in the month of December, war was declared against England, the Swedish declaration of war contained a frank, and almost explicit avowal that this resolution was taken at the instigation of Bonaparte.

The Emperor Napoleon, taking council of his vanity, sought a family alliance with the royal house of Austria; and Marshal Berthier, the Prince of Neufchatel, was despatched on a special mission to Vienna, to demand the Archduchess Maria Louisa in marriage. The princess, exulting in the conquest of the conqueror of the world, was easily won;\* and her royal fa-

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\* It was at first generally, indeed almost universally imagined, that the Arch-duchess was an unwilling, though resigned victim to the preservation of her family---another virgin of Gilead, obedient to the calls of filial reverence and duty; but no supposition could be more erroneous. It soon appeared how much of the blood of the Lorraines flow-



ther had penetration enough to perceive, that, by this union, he should be enabled either to participate in the glory and prosperity of Napoleon, or to recover his lost dominions by precipitating his fall, if adversity should overtake him. The council of Vienna, influenced by the interests of state, removed the scruples of the father, by dwelling upon the duties of the sovereign; and moderated the emperor's feelings of humility, by unveiling to him the future, and expatiating upon the advantages of the proposed alliance. On Bonaparte himself, this alliance operated as a sort of a talisman, it obscured all objects, unsettled his judgment, and introduced contrarieties into his whole system of government. Many of his own court, and those near his person, partook of the infatuation of their sovereign, and those who perceived the snare into which he was advancing, wanted courage to exhibit to him the consequences of his new engagements with Austria.

The marriage ceremony, in which the Archduke Charles, as the proxy of Napoleon, received the hand of his august relative, was performed on the 11th of March, at Vienna, in the church of the Augustines, and in the presence of the Emperor and Empress of Austria. On the 13th the Empress and Queen, Maria Louisa, left Vienna, and arrived at Compeigne on the 27th, where she was met by the emperor. From Vienna to Paris, the road by which the princess advanced, seemed strewn with flowers; and this alliance afforded an inexhaustible source of amusement and gaiety to the volatile French and the stately German nations. On the 1st of April, the civil ceremony of the celebration and ratification of the marriage of the Emperor with the Princess Maria Louisa, took place in the hall of Mars, in the imperial chateau of St. Cloud; and on the following day, the religious ceremony was performed by the grand almoner and two assistant bishops, in the chapel of the Louvre. To mark the epoch of this marriage by acts of indulgence and benevolence, Bonaparte presented a free pardon to all deserters from the French armies, previous to the year 1806, and to all others on immediately joining their corps; all unpaid fines imposed by the judgment of the police were remitted; six thousand girls, each portioned by the state with from six to twelve thousand francs, were to be married

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ed in her veins; she was gay, lively, and almost playful; and so early did she begin to identify herself with the French nation, and to exult in the glory of her future lord, that, according to the foreign journals, she one day, before she left Vienna, hastened eagerly into her father's apartment, and announced to him a French victory in the peninsula, by exclaiming in a tone of triumph. "*We have obtained great advantages in Spain.*"

to as many retired soldiers of their communes ; and twelve thousand dishes of meat, twelve thousand loaves of bread, and a hundred and forty-four pipes of wine, were ordered to be distributed by lottery among the poor.

The day after their marriage, Napoleon and Maria Louisa received the felicitations of the senate, and the great public officers of the state : “ Sire,” said the president to the emperor, “ Europe contemplates with rapture the august daughter of the sovereign of Austria on the glorious throne of Napoleon. Providence, in reserving for you this illustrious spouse, has been pleased to manifest more and more that you have been born for the happiness of nations, and to secure the repose of the world.” The orator next addressing the empress, said : “ Madame, the shouts of joy which have every where accompanied your majesty’s steps ; that concert of benedictions, which still echoes from Vienna to Paris, are the faithful expressions of the sentiments of the people. The senate comes to offer to your majesty testimonies of homage not less ardent—not less sincere. The imperial crown, which sparkles on your brow, and that other crown of graces and virtues which tempers and softens the lustre of its rays, attract towards you the hearts of thirty million of Frenchmen, who make it their joy and pride to salute you by the name of their sovereign. The French, whom you have adopted, and to whom, by the most sacred of promises, you have vowed the sentiments of a tender mother, you will find worthy of your kind regard. You will more and more cherish this good and tender-hearted people, who always feel an anxious wish to love those who govern them, and to place affection and honour by the side of zeal and obedience. The sentiments which we have the happiness to express to your majesties are, under the guarantee of heaven, like that sacred oath which has for ever united the great and splendid destinies of Napoleon and Maria Louisa.”

From the moment that Bonaparte contemplated this new family alliance, additional encroachments upon the liberties of his country seem also to have been contemplated ; and no year in the whole course of his memorable reign presents such flagrant instances of a rapid advance towards absolute despotism, as the year of his marriage. Besides the various decrees issued with the hope of preventing the introduction of British merchandise into France, and which from the very nature of commerce, must have operated as much to the prejudice of the French merchant as to the injury of the British exporter, he struck more directly and fatally at the liberty of the subject by his decrees for regulating state prisons, regis-



tering domestic servants, and restricting the operations of the press.

The decree regarding state prisons, which assumed the specious title of a law for the relief of certain state prisoners in France, established eight state prisons in different parts of the empire; and it was explicitly declared that there were many persons in France accused of various crimes against the state, whom it was neither safe to liberate nor to bring to trial. But the emperor, in order to assure himself that none of his subjects were immured in these prisons, except for lawful causes, directed "that the state prisons should be subject to a monthly inspection by commissioners, and that all such persons should be discharged as were not detained strictly according to law." This mode of relieving state prisoners was, in effect, a permanent suspension, or a total abrogation, of the principle of the law of *Habeas Corpus*; and under this system, every man who had the misfortune to incur the suspicion of government, might be shut up in prison and kept in that situation without ever being brought to trial, or even put upon his justification before a legitimate tribunal.

The decree for the registration of servants advanced another step towards the establishment of despotic power. By this imperial edict, issued on the 3d of October, all domestic servants in Paris, of both sexes, under whatever denomination they served, and whether their engagements were by the year, month, or even day, were to have their name, place of birth, employment and description, inserted in a register, kept by the prefect of police, together with the name of the person whom they served. The servants were to be furnished each with a counter-ticket, corresponding to the register; and all, who, within a month, failed thus to inscribe their names, subjected themselves to imprisonment for a period, not less than eight days, or more than three months. No person was permitted to take into his employment any domestic without a card of inscription, and this card was to be delivered into the hands of the master, who was bound to notify upon it the day of the departure of his servant, and to transmit the card to the prefecture of police. The discarded servant was also bound to repair to the prefecture within forty-eight hours, to declare what course he meant to pursue, and to receive the card again. Servants were forbidden to hire any apartment without the knowledge of their master or the prefect; and every servant out of place for more than a month, who could not give a satisfactory account of his means of subsistence, was obliged to depart from Paris under pain of punishment as a vagrant. This decree, although professedly applicable only

to servants, extended in its operations to masters, and the intercourse it opened between domestics and the police afforded an admirable opportunity for placing all the families in Paris under a species of *espionage*, or menial inspection.

Several imperial decrees were issued in the course of the present year for the purpose of reducing the number of printers and booksellers in France, and for subjecting the press to a rigid system of censorship. By these decrees a director-general was appointed, under the order of the minister of the interior, charged with the superintendence of every thing relating to the printing and publication of books. The number of printers in each department was limited, and the printers in Paris reduced to sixty. The printing of any thing contrary to the duty which the subject owes to the sovereign or to the state, was prohibited, and offenders against this law exposed themselves to the punishments of the penal code. All manuscripts intended for publication were made subject to a previous inspection, when the censor was to point out to the author such alterations or erasures as he should think proper; if the author refused to agree to these alterations, the sale of his work was to be inhibited, the forms broken, and possession taken of the sheets or copies printed. All booksellers were directed to take out a license, and no license was to be granted to any person wishing to begin the business of a bookseller, but such as should have recommended themselves by their good character, and an attachment to their sovereign and to their country. Only one newspaper was to be published in any of the departments, except the Seine; and all the newspapers in France were placed under the authority of the prefects, and were never to be published without their approbation.

These measures, no doubt, diminished the attachment of the people of France to the emperor, and would probably in their ultimate consequence have undermined his throne; for, enigmatical as it may appear, it is an unquestionable fact, resting upon the authority of all history, that every blow directed against the liberties of a nation has a tendency to recoil upon the hand that inflicts it; and those measures, which at first seem to strengthen the government of a tyrant, seldom fail to overthrow the fabric of despotism, which, by a short-sighted policy, they are intended to uphold.

From the period when the house of Orange were deprived of their hereditary power, the Dutch people had maintained a strict alliance with France; their government had been changed in obsequious imitation of every change in that country; they had lost their colonies and their commerce by their fide-



ty to their new allies, and they had at last accepted as a sovereign the brother of the French emperor. They had been fortunate in the king which it had pleased Napoleon to place over them; Louis Bonaparte took a deep interest in their sufferings, and the manner in which he attempted to soften those measures which oppressed the Dutch nation, and paralyzed the public exertions, won the affections of his subjects. In the war waged by France against the commercial prosperity, and the maritime greatness, of England, it became peculiarly necessary that Holland should lend her cordial co-operation. The coast of that country, indented by rivers and inlets, and placed at a distance of only a few hours sail from England, presented innumerable opportunities for the infraction of the continental system. The character and necessities of the Dutch—a nation indebted to commerce for the very land they inhabit, who had been nurtured in trade till it had become their second nature, and who foresaw in the accomplishment of Bonaparte's schemes, the overthrow of their ancient habits and pursuits, operated powerfully against the project for the total exclusion of British commerce, and induced Napoleon to issue the most strict and peremptory orders to Louis to enforce his decrees with rigour. For a short time these orders were obeyed, but the wretchedness which every where presented itself, and the numerous and urgent petitions of the sufferers, so far prevailed in the mind of Louis over every consideration of state policy, that he threw open the Dutch ports, and repealed his decrees against commerce. This conduct of the tributary sovereign of Holland was highly resented by the French Emperor; and Louis at length, finding that all his endeavours and sacrifices on behalf of the Dutch nation were unavailing, abdicated his throne in favour of his eldest son, Louis Napoleon. This act of abdication, which bore date the 1st of July, not having been previously concerted with Bonaparte, was declared invalid; and on the 9th day of the same month an imperial decree was issued from Paris, by which the kingdom of Holland was united to the French empire. The annexation of Holland to France was stated to be the necessary consequence of the union of Belgium to that empire,—“It completes,” says the Duke of Cadore, the French minister, in a report made to Napoleon, “your majesty's empire, as well as the execution of your system of war, policy, and trade. It is the first but a necessary step to the restoration of your navy; in fact it is the heaviest blow which your majesty could inflict upon the navy and commerce of England.” The next act of usurpation consisted in the annexation of the Hanse Towns to France. “The orders pub-

lished by the British consul in 1806 and 1807 had," it was said, "rent in pieces the public law of Europe, and created the necessity for the junction of the mouths of the Scheldt, the Meuse, the Rhine, the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe, to the French empire."\* Thus, after having extorted immense contributions from the imperial cities of Hamburg, Lubeck, and Bremen, for the support of the French armies, the guilt of these acts of rapacity was consummated by a decree depriving them of their independence.

In the course of the present year, Frederick William of Prussia returned to his capital after a long and afflictive absence. The queen, whose high spirit had been broken by the disasters of her country, languished till the 19th of July, when she expired in the prime of life. The loss of a beloved consort, not less distinguished for her domestic virtues than for her personal charms, almost overpowered the disconsolate monarch, and he was with difficulty prevailed upon to abandon a resolution which he had taken to quit the affairs of state, and to seek in retirement and seclusion a solace for his accumulated distresses. Absorbed in these feelings, he saw, without emotion, the electorate of Hanover, once so highly valued by him as to be placed in competition with the safety of Europe, pass into the hands of Jerome Bonaparte, and become an integral part of the kingdom of Westphalia.

## CHAPTER XIV.

NAVAL AND COLONIAL CAMPAIGN: *Gallant Exploit performed by a small British Squadron under Captain Hoste—Destruction of the Enemy's Ships in the Bay of Sagone—Descent on the Coast of Naples—Capture and Destruction of the Enemy's Convoys on the Coasts of Calabria, Normandy, and the Adriatic Sea—Capture of a French Convoy within the mouth of the Gironde—Desperate Action in the Indian Seas—Dreadful Shipwrecks—Surrender of the Island of Java, the last of the Enemy's Colonies in the East Indies—The actuating Motives of the Policy of the French Government—Energy in the Naval Department—Substitutes for Colonial Produce—State of the Gallican Church—System of National Education—Birth of the King of Rome.*

THE year 1811, though not characterized by the fall of empires, was by no means destitute of events calculated to render this portion of history interesting to the present, and memorable in future ages. On the continent of Europe the germ of a tremendous contest had already begun to take root; and the

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\* Message of Napoleon to the Senate, dated Dec. 10, 1810.



long-pending differences between the European powers and the United States of America assumed an aspect that portended an approaching storm. In the peninsula of Spain and Portugal, the war still continued to rage with undiminished fury and with various and dubious success ; while the navy of England, finding no adequate antagonist on the ocean, was obliged to satisfy itself with those minor exploits which occasionally presented themselves, but in which the skill and superiority of the lords of the ocean were always sufficiently conspicuous.

Early in the month of March a small English squadron, under the command of Captain Hoste, consisting of the *Amphion* and *Cerberus*, each of thirty-two guns, and of the *Active* and *Volage*, the former of thirty-eight, and the latter of twenty-two guns, discovered off the island of Lissa, in the Italian seas, a French squadron of five frigates, one corvette, four brigs, two schooners, and two smaller vessels, commanded by Captain Dubordieu. On the approach of the English fleet, the enemy formed themselves into two divisions, and bore down under a press of sail, in order to carry into effect the British system of tactics, by breaking their adversary's line. This attempt having failed of success, the French commodore, who led the van in the *Favourite*, of forty-four guns, attempted to place the English squadron between two fires, but while he was manœuvring for this purpose, his ship approached too near the shore, and was driven on the rocks of Lissa. The enemy, undismayed by the fate of their commodore, persisted in the attempt to place the British between two fires, and the starboard division having passed under the stern of the British ships, engaged them to leeward, while the larboard division tacked and remained to windward. Though the enemy displayed more than their accustomed skill on this occasion, and followed up that skill with a considerable share of activity and bravery, yet they made no impression on the British squadron ; but on the contrary, after the battle had raged about two hours, the two French frigates to the leeward struck their colours. Those who had attacked to the windward, seeing the fate of their companions, endeavoured to escape, but they were closely pursued, and one of them was compelled to surrender, leaving Captain Hoste in possession of the *Corona*, of forty-four guns, and the *Bellona*, of thirty-two guns. Besides these vessels, the *Favourite*, which had driven on the rocks, shortly after blew up, while the corvette and two frigates took shelter in the port of Lessina. At the time that the *Flora*, Captain Peridier, which was one of the frigates to leeward, struck her colours, the *Amphion*, to whom

she surrendered, was so closely engaged with the *Bellona*, that Captain Hoste could not spare a boat to take possession of his prize, and the *Flora*, availing herself of this circumstance, took an opportunity to rehoist her colours, and dishonourably to sheer off. After this most gallant action, Captain Hoste had the gratification to find that the vanquished fleet had on board five hundred troops for the purpose of garrisoning the island of Lissa, together with every thing necessary for its fortification ; and an additional share of splendour was shed round the glory of this enterprise by the entire defeat of the enemy's intention to possess himself of that island. The loss of the English on this occasion amounted to fifty killed, and one hundred and fifty wounded, but when the superiority of the enemy's strength is considered, that loss will not be thought disproportioned to the nature of the contest in which the squadron was engaged.

Another gallant service was performed in the Mediterranean sea by the *Pomone*, and *Unite* frigates, and the *Scout* sloop of war, under the command of Captain Barrie. This officer had received information that the enemy had three large vessels lying in Sagone bay, in the island of Corsica, and though the position they occupied was rendered strong both by nature and art, he determined to lose no time in making the attack. This resolution he was led to adopt from a knowledge that the enemy's vessels were taking in timber for the use of the ship-yards at Toulon, and from being well aware that if these vessels could be taken or destroyed, the progress of the ships of war now building in that port would be arrested. On the 30th of April Captain Barrie, with his small squadron, arrived in the bay, and on approaching the coast, he observed that the enemy, who had posted himself on the heights, was prepared to receive and repel his attack. On these heights were stationed two hundred regular troops, with field pieces, and a great number of armed inhabitants ; while the battery that commanded the entrance to the port was provided with four guns, and an adjoining martello tower, with a large piece of ordnance. Under this protection the enemy's ships were moored within cable's length of the battery, and their broad-side towards the sea. At six o'clock in the evening the action commenced, and about half past seven one of the enemy's vessels was observed to be on fire ; shortly afterwards the other two were in the same situation, and by the determined and persevering efforts of the assailants, the battery and tower were completely silenced. Thus, in the short space of two hours, this gallant enterprise was achieved, with the very trifling loss of two men killed, and nineteen wounded.



Several other exploits, equally indicative of the superiority of the British navy, were performed during the present year : on the coast of Calabria a convoy of two and twenty sail were attacked and captured by his majesty's ships, the *Thames*, Captain Napier, and the *Cephalus*, Captain Clifford, along with eleven French gun-boats, and one armed felucca, without the loss of a single man. At Palinura, on the coast of Naples, a detachment of two hundred men, under the command of Captain Darley, disembarked from on board the *Thames* and *Imperieuse* frigates, with fifty marines, commanded by Lieutenant Pipon, landed in the face of nine hundred of the enemy, and after destroying the batteries and cannon of the fort, captured and brought off six gun-boats, and twenty merchant vessels. The capture and destruction of an entire convoy in the Adriatic sea was effected by Captain Gordon, of the *Active*. And about the same time Captain Bourshier, of his majesty's ship, the *Hawke*, succeeded, after a desperate engagement, in driving two of the enemy's brigs, and two luggers, with fifteen of their convoy on shore, on the coast of Normandy.

In the month of August, an enterprise, in which both courage and stratagem were successfully employed, was undertaken at the mouth of the Gironde, by Captain Ferris, of the *Diana*, and Captain Richardson, of the *Semiramis*. Perceiving four sail of merchant vessels, under convoy of a national brig of war, within the shoals of the mouth of that river, and aware that no forcible attempt could be made to pass the river and carry the vessels with any prospect of success, the British Captains hoisted French colours, and so completely did they deceive the enemy, that a pilot was sent out to conduct them into port. With this assistance, the *Diana* and the *Semiramis* anchored, after dark, near the batteries at the mouth of the Gironde, when Captain Ferris despatched three boats from his vessel, which being seconded by four others from the *Semiramis*, proceeded up the river about the middle of the night of the 24th, and captured the convoy. In the morning the enemy's gun-boats were attacked and destroyed ; and Captain Richardson, as if in contempt of their batteries, drove the armed brig on shore, and burnt her under the fire of their cannon.

Soon after the capture of the Isle of France, three French frigates,\* full of troops, intended for the succour of that colony, were known to be in the Indian seas ; and the *Astræa*, *Phœbe*, and *Galatea* frigates, with the *Race-Horse* brig, were

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\* The *Renommée*, the *Nereide*, and the *Clorinde*.

despatched in quest of them. On the 19th of May, the enemy, who had put into Madagascar to water, was discovered off the coast of that island. After a chase continued for ten hours, the French frigates were brought to action, and for some time the battle raged with so much fury that one of the frigates on each side was completely disabled, and obliged to withdraw from the contest. The battle re-commenced by the *Astrea* pouring a destructive broadside into the French commodore's ship, *La Renommée* : instead of returning this fire, the commodore ordered his men to board the *Astrea*, but owing to the skilful manœuvres of the British captain, and the gallant conduct of his crew, this attempt was completely frustrated. Night had now closed upon the conflicting squadrons, and the dismal gloom was only interrupted by the vivid flashes of the cannon, which served to impart a degree of awful sublimity to the surrounding scene. At length, after a most gallant resistance, the French commodore's ship struck her colours, and the *Clorinde*, finding herself completely overpowered, followed her example. In this action, which from its commencement to its close continued seven hours, and was four times renewed, the enemy lost upwards of two hundred men killed and wounded, amongst the former of whom were the captains of the *Nereide* and the *Renommée*. The loss of the British was also severe, and amounted to upwards of one hundred killed and wounded, sixty of whom were on board the *Galatea*.

The state of the maritime warfare between Great Britain and France had, as has been already observed, now become of such a nature that no actions on a grand and imposing scale, where fleets are engaged, and where nations hang in anxious suspense on the result, were any longer to be expected. The time for these stupendous conflicts had gone past ; but the minor sea-fights of the period now under review are by no means beneath the notice of the historian, and the opportunities they afforded for the display of nautical skill, courage, and enterprise, are perhaps no way inferior to those presented by the glorious battles of Camperdown and Trafalgar.

The elements, more destructive than the enemy, inflicted a severe loss upon the British navy during the winter of the present year. On the night of the 4th of December, the *Saldanha* frigate, of 32 guns, commanded by the Honourable Captain Pakenham, was lost off Lough Swilly, on the coast of Ireland, and every soul on board perished. On the 23d of the same month, his Majesty's ship the *Hero*, Captain Newman, of 74 guns, with a convoy of a hundred and twenty sail of merchantmen under his protection, was overtaken by a



dreadful gale in the German ocean, and driven on the Haak Sand, off the Texel, where both ship and crew were engulfed in the watery abyss. Many of the convoy rode out the storm, but upwards of twenty of the number shared the deplorable fate of the *Hero* and her crew. On the fatal night of the 24th of December, the *St. George*, of 98 guns, commanded by Admiral Reynolds, and the *Defence*, of 74 guns, under the command of Captain Atkins, after encountering severe storms in the Baltic, were both stranded on the western coast of North Jutland. The *Defence* first took the ground, and in less than half an hour became a complete wreck, when the captain and all her crew, six only excepted, perished. For some hours the *St. George* continued to brave the storm, and the most persevering exertions were made to afford her succour from the shore, but all these humane efforts proved unavailing. Of the whole crew, which amounted to nearly eight hundred men, eleven only succeeded in gaining the land; and when the last of them left the *St. George*, in the afternoon of the 25th, Admiral Reynolds and Captain Guion were stretched dead upon the quarter-deck, along with at least five hundred of the crew. At that time about fifty of the ship's company remained alive, and their piteous cries were heard for several hours, but during the night of the 26th the ship went to pieces, and at once extinguished their hopes and terminated their sufferings.

Lord Minto, the governor-general of India, under whose auspices and direction the conquests of the Isle of Bourbon and the Isle of France were achieved, had formed a plan for adding Java,—“the most precious gem in the diadem of the Dutch East India company,” to the British colonial empire. Batavia, the capital of this settlement, had long been the principal seat of the Dutch government of the east; and from this station the mother-country had, in the days of her independence and prosperity, derived great wealth and many commercial advantages. The paralyzing influence of French alliance had latterly diminished the importance of this colony, but it still served as a shelter and protection to the cruisers of the enemy, and interposed as a barrier in the way of the trade of the British East India Company between Hindostan and China. The enemy, fully aware of the intended attack on this island, was indefatigable in his endeavours to protect and defend his only remaining colony in the east; and with this view, a force of ten thousand men was collected, and placed under the command of General Jansens, an officer of tried courage, and well acquainted with the tactics of India.

In the month of March, a body of troops, destined for this

expedition, were encamped at Madras, consisting of his majesty's 14th, 59th, and 69th regiments of foot, four squadrons of the 22d dragoons, two squadrons of horse, and a party of foot artillery, along with a considerable portion of native troops. This force was to be joined on its passage by the 78th regiment from Bengal, and the chief command of the expedition was vested in Sir Samuel Auchmuty—a general who had rendered himself honourably conspicuous in an opposite hemisphere. The magnitude of the preparations delayed the departure of the expedition till the approach of the monsoons ; but Lord Minto, who accompanied the fleet, avoided the apprehended danger by judiciously profiting by the land winds, and striking from the south-west point of Sambhar to the coast of Java. After maturely weighing the different plans for debarking the army, Sir Samuel Auchmuty resolved to effect a landing in the immediate vicinity of Batavia, and accordingly, on the 4th of August, the troops were debarked about 12 miles to the east of that city. The force of the enemy had taken up a strongly fortified position at Cornelis, and thither the British general determined to proceed without loss of time, having previously taken possession of Batavia, which surrendered to Colonel Gillespie without resistance.

Thus far the object of the expedition had been attained, and the capture of the capital promised to forward and assist the ulterior operations. The enemy, before he evacuated the city, had set fire to several large store-houses of public property, and had attempted to destroy the remainder ; but many of the valuable granaries and store-houses of sugar, which had been laid open to the weather, in hopes that the rain might so far injure the stocks as to render them unfit for use, were happily preserved. Early in the morning of the 13th, Colonel Gillespie moved towards the enemy's cantonment at Weltevrede, which they abandoned on his approach, and took up a strong position about two miles in advance of their works at Cornelis. This fort, which was protected by an *abatis*, and defended by three thousand of the enemy's best troops, Colonel Gillespie carried at the point of the bayonet, and from thence advanced to the front of the lines at Cornelis.

Hitherto a degree of success, exceeding the most sanguine expectations, had attended the expedition, but the further progress of the army now became extremely difficult, and the obstacles that presented themselves shook the confidence of the British general. The enemy, greatly superior in numbers, was strongly intrenched between the river Jacatra and the Sloken canal, neither of which were fordable, and the position was shut up by a deep trench, strongly palisadoed : seven re-



doubts and numerous batteries, mounted with heavy cannon, occupied the most commanding ground within the lines ; and the fort of Cornelis, and the whole of the works, were defended by a numerous and well organized artillery. By these works, it was thought, that the British army would be delayed, and their destruction might then be safely left to the operation of a climate the most pestilential in the world. Sir Samuel Auchmuty well understood the danger of delay, and the consequent necessity of promptitude of action. The season was too far advanced, the heat too intense, and his numbers insufficient, to admit of regular approaches ; he therefore determined upon an assault, and for the purpose of disabling the principal redoubts of the enemy, batteries were erected, which continued to play upon their works till this object was fully accomplished.

The moment had now arrived for the general assault, and accordingly, at the dawn of day on the morning of the 26th, this hazardous, but indispensably necessary operation was undertaken. In this attack, as in the preliminary enterprises, the principal duty was assigned to Colonel Gillespie. General Jansens was in the redoubt when the assault commenced. Colonel Gillespie having possessed himself almost instantaneously of the bridge over the Sloken, attacked and carried one of the redoubts within the lines. Part of the colonel's corps being now joined by a portion of the army which had attacked the enemy in front, the united force assailed and carried another of the redoubts. Similar success attended the corps under Colonel M'Leod, of the 69th regiment, who fell in the moment of victory, and four redoubts within the lines were now in the possession of the British. The front of the enemy was also routed, and their position at that point laid open. The only redoubts now possessed by the enemy, lay in his rear, and to those Colonel Gillespie, being joined by Colonel M'Leod, of the 59th regiment, directed his attention. Here the greater part of the enemy's artillery, surrounded and protected by their cavalry, was posted ; the redoubts, however, were carried in the same heroic style as those in advance, —their artillery was captured, and their cavalry compelled to fly. Soon after Cornelis surrendered ; and in this engagement the whole of the hostile army was killed, taken, or dispersed.

General Jansens, who had thrice rallied his retreating troops, escaped with difficulty from the field, followed only by a few cavalry. The loss of the enemy in these different actions was immense—about a thousand men were buried in the works ; vast numbers were cut down in the retreat ; the rivers

were literally choaked with the bodies of the slain, and the adjacent huts and woods were filled with the wounded, most of whom afterwards died. Nearly five thousand prisoners were taken, among whom were three general-officers and thirty-six field officers; and the number of artillery and field-pieces, taken in this memorable campaign, amounted to upwards of seven hundred. No day was ever more bravely won, nor was there ever a victory more complete. Such a conquest could not be achieved without considerable loss on the part of the victors, and twenty-seven native troops, and one hundred and fourteen British, killed, and one hundred and twenty-three natives, and six hundred and ten British, wounded, was the price paid for the island of Java.

As soon as these conquests were secured, and the British army had recovered from their fatigue, a body of troops was embarked on board the ships of the fleet, under Rear-admiral Stopford, and ordered to proceed to Samerang, where they were joined by Sir Samuel Auchmuty. General Jansens, who had retired to that town, answered a summons sent to him to surrender the island, by expressing a determination to persevere in his resistance; but, on the 12th of September, it was discovered that he had evacuated the place, and taken up a position on the road to Solo, the capital of the Soesoehoenam, or Autocrat. This position Colonel Gibbs was directed to attack on the 16th; but the allies and native troops of the enemy had no zeal in the service, and dreading the attack of men who had displayed such prodigies of valour at Cornelis, they fled at their approach, leaving the road covered with the equipments which they had thrown away in their retreat.—Early in the night, a flag of truce arrived from General Jansens, with an offer to surrender, and a negociation was immediately entered into, which terminated in a capitulation, by which the Dutch general and all his remaining troops surrendered prisoners of war. The overthrow of the Dutch empire in the east was thus completed, and, “by the successive reduction of the French islands and of Java, the British nation was left without either an enemy or a rival from the Cape of Hope to Cape Horn.”\*

It had now become the leading feature of the policy of the Emperor Napoleon, to make himself master of all the sea-ports in the countries accessible to his power, for the double purpose of excluding English commerce from the continent, and of creating a navy capable of contending with the maritime power of Great Britain. Ancient maxims of govern-

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\* Lord Minto.



ment, when standing in the way of this policy, he considered as antiquated illusions ; and, in calling upon the conservative senate to ratify the decree for the annexation of Holland and the Hanse towns to the French territory, the government-orator informed them, "that those times were passed when the conception of some statesmen gave authority in the public opinion, to the system of balances, of guarantees, of counterpoises, and of political equilibrium. Pompous illusions," exclaimed he, "of cabinets of the second order, visions of imbecility, which all disappear before necessity,—that power which regulates the duration and the mutual relation of empires. Holland, like the Hanse towns, would remain the prey of uncertainty, of dangers, of revolutions, of oppression of every kind, if the genius who decides the destinies of Europe, did not cover her with his invincible *agis*." Adverting next to the contest between France and England, the reporter says,—“it is no longer two armies who combat on the plains of Fontenoy ; it is the empire of the seas which still resists that of the continent—a memorable, a terrible struggle, the catastrophe of which, now perhaps not far distant, will long occupy the attention of future generations. If England had not rejected the counsels and offers of moderation, what dreadful consequences might she have avoided ? She would not have forced France to enrich herself by the ports and arsenals of Holland ; the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe, would not have flowed under our dominion ; and we should not have been the first country of the Gauls washed by rivers, united by an internal navigation to seas which were unknown to them. Where still are the boundaries of possibility ? Let England answer this question. Let her meditate on the past : let her learn the future. France and Napoleon will never change !”

The annexation of Holland and the Hanse towns to France was accompanied by a law of marine conscription, by which it was enacted, that in the thirty maritime districts of the empire the conscription should be devoted to the recruiting of the navy, and that ten thousand conscripts of each of the classes of the years of 1813, 1814, 1815, and 1816, should be immediately placed at the disposal of the minister of marine. In every branch of the naval department the most strenuous exertions were made to secure the “liberty of the seas,” and in the port of Antwerp alone twenty ships of the line were upon the stocks at one time, eight of which number were three-deckers.

In the mean time the want of colonial produce was felt as a severe inconvenience in every part of the widely extended

dominion of France ; peas, beans, and lupens were dried for coffee, the *astragœlus baticus* was cultivated in great quantities in Moravia, for the same purpose ; and the leaves of the horn-bean were dried for tea, and scented with the roots of the Florence Iris. One experimentalist transmitted to the ministers of the interior samples of sugar extracted from raisins, and another obtained a similar substance from chestnuts ; and at Brest it was discovered that “ palm sea-weed, when dried, contained sugar as well as salt, which did not indeed chrysalise like that of the cane, but which had nearly as pleasant a flavour, and had moreover the advantage of being perfectly white.” No sooner did any experiment promise success, than the law was called in to its aid, and in pursuance of this policy, an edict was issued directing that a certain quantity of ground should be appropriated in each department to the culture of the beet root for sugar, and of woad for indigo. “ The discovery of the needle,” it was said, “ produced a revolution in commerce ; the use of honey gave way to that of sugar ; the use of woad to that of indigo ; but the progress of chymistry operating a revolution in an inverse direction, had arrived at the extraction of sugar from the grape, the maple, and the beet root ; and by extracting a residuum from the woad of Languedoc and Italy, has given it the advantage over indigo in price and in quality.”

Two subjects of essential importance to the interests of every community, occupied this year a prominent situation in the annual exposition of the French empire—the state of the national religion, and a system of public education. On the first of these subjects Bonaparte touched in his speech to the legislative body.\* “ The affairs of religion,” said he, “ have been too often mixed in, and sacrificed to, the interests of a state of the third order. If half of Europe have separated from the church of Rome, we may attribute it specially to the contradiction which has never ceased to exist between the truths and the principles of religion which belong to the whole universe, and the pretensions and interests which regarded only a very small corner of Italy. I have put an end to this scandal for ever. I have united Rome to the empire. I have given palaces to the popes at Rome and at Paris ; if they have at heart the interest of religion, they will often sojourn in the centre of the affairs of christianity. It was thus that St. Peter preferred Rome to an abode even in the Holy Land.” Of the disorganized situation of the Gallican church, owing to the existing differences between Pope Pius VII.

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\* June 16, 1811.



and the Emperor Napoleon, the following picture was exhibited by the organ of government :\* “ Twenty-seven bishoprics have been for a long time vacant, and the pope, having refused at two different periods, from 1805 to 1807, and from 1808 to the present moment, to execute the clauses of the concordat, which bind him to institute the bishops nominated by the emperor ; this refusal has nullified the concordat—it no longer exists. The emperor has been therefore obliged to convoke all the bishops of the empire, in order that they may deliberate about the means of supplying the vacant sees, and of nominating to those that may become vacant in future.” Upon these grounds, Bonaparte summoned all the bishops of France, and Italy to hold a national council in the church of Notre Dame, at Paris. From this ecclesiastical council, which assembled, on the 17th of June, and of which Cardinal Fesch, the uncle of the emperor, was president, it was intended to procure decrees, which should satisfy scrupulous consciences, fill up vacant sees, and give to the primate of the Gauls a species of vice-papal authority during the life of the pope. But the bishops, though by no means indisposed to offer the incense of courtly adulation at the shrine of imperial power, could not be prevailed upon to support the pretensions of Napoleon in opposition to the claims of the pope ; and when they were called upon by Cardinal Maury to act in defiance of the catholic church, their suppleness made a pause, and the members of the convocation in the interest of the emperor, could, it is said, only obtain fourteen votes against one hundred and six. The proceedings of this council have never been suffered to transpire, but it is well understood that the result neither satisfied the expectations of the emperor, nor healed the schisms in the Gallican church.

Education in France, upon the university system,† had now become a national concern. The number of Lycæums, and of commercial colleges, continued to be augmented, and

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\* Exposition of the State of the French Empire in 1811.

† By a decree, promulgated at the beginning of the year 1808, the imperial university of Paris was exclusively charged with the public instruction, and had the control over every school and seminary of education throughout the empire. Without the permission of the grand master of the university, no individual was allowed to conduct an establishment of any kind for tuition, and every school-master was required to be a member of the university. This institution was composed of as many academies as there were tribunals or courts of appeal in France, and there were schools attached to each academy in the following order:—1. Universities, called *Les Facultes* ; 2. Lycæums ; 3. Colleges, or Grammar Schools ; 4. Institutions, or Seminaries ; 5. Boarding Schools, called *Pensionats* ; and 6. The Lesser, or Primary Schools.

the number of private seminaries were to be gradually diminished till the moment when they were all to be shut up. This system of national education, which had for its object the formation of soldiers as well as of scholars, was regulated on the principles of military discipline, rather than upon those of civil or ecclesiastical policy,\* and served as a powerful engine to recruit the armies, by giving to the youth of France a military character. Nor was it to France alone that this system was confined; it extended to the inhabitants of all the territories annexed to the French empire, and aimed at giving to the youth of these countries the manners and the character which were to identify them with the French nation.

The Empress Maria Louisa, to whose illustrious progeny the people of France looked for a successor to the Napoleon throne, this year presented the emperor with a son. The birth of this "august infant," upon whom so many destinies reposed, took place on the 2d of April, and the joyous event, which was communicated by telegraphic messages to every part of France, was celebrated in Paris by rejoicings, illuminations, and public thanksgivings. The second city in the empire afforded a title to the heir-apparent, who, from the day of his birth, took the title of the King of Rome. On the 15th of June the baptismal ceremony was celebrated in the French metropolis with a degree of pomp suitable to the rank of the infant sovereign, and Napoleon, the name of the sire, was conferred upon the son.

The birth of the King of Rome had fulfilled the wishes of the French Emperor, and within the short period of a few months, an addition of sixteen departments, five millions of people, and one hundred leagues of coast, had been made to his territorial possessions;\* but this continual flow of prosperity and success was found insufficient to allay the feelings of hostility, or to satisfy the cravings of ambition. England remained unsubdued, and Russia, in contravention of the stipulations of the treaty of Tilsit, continued to hold commercial intercourse with the enemy of the continental system. In the peninsula of Spain and Portugal the progress of the

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The universities were composed of five faculties, viz. theology, jurisprudence, physic, mathematical and physical science, and literature. The Lycæums however formed the most important part of the system; there were originally thirty-two of these institutions, but they were afterwards increased to forty-five, in order to bear a relative proportion to the increased extension of the French territory. Of the pupils, six thousand four hundred were educated at the public expense, and of this number two thousand four hundred were to be selected during the space of ten years from the foreign territories annexed to France.

\* Exposition of the State of the French Empire in 1811.



the sovereign had laboured in the years 1801 and 1804, and some very curious and important particulars were elicited by this examination. It appeared from the evidence of Dr. Heberden, that in 1804 his majesty continued indisposed, and actually under the care of Dr. Simmons and his men, long after the bulletins were discontinued. At this period Lord Eldon was chancellor, and in that capacity was regularly and officially responsible for having procured the royal signature to public documents, and the royal assent to parliamentary acts, when, in the words of one of the physicians, "his majesty's judgment was in eclipse." On these grounds it was moved by Mr. Whitbread, that the examination of the physicians should be laid before the house; and the honourable gentleman pledged himself to prove, if the opportunity was afforded him, that the period of the royal incapacity lasted from the 12th of February, 1804, to the 10th of June in the same year; and that, during that period, Dr. Simmons and his subordinate agents, exercised a control over his majesty, such as is known to be exercised towards persons afflicted with the deprivation of reason: notwithstanding which, Lord Eldon was found, on the 5th and 6th of March, taking his majesty's commands on a proposed measure for the alienation of certain crown lands in favour of the Duke of York; and on the 9th, venturing to come down to parliament with a commission, purporting to be signed by the king, at a time when, by the acknowledgment of his physicians, his majesty was labouring under mental infirmity. During the period between the 12th of February and the 23d of April, when such unconstitutional proceedings were occurring, the Lord Chancellor Eldon was the only minister who had access to his sovereign, being at that moment in the exercise of the same judicial superintendence over the king, as that which he is in the habit of holding over unhappy private persons, against whom a commission of lunacy has been issued. Similar transactions had, Mr. Whitbread said, taken place in the year 1801, at which time also Lord Eldon was chancellor; but as two of the persons then high in his majesty's councils were now lost to the country, it was not his intention to extend the inquiry to the events of that period. Mr. Whitbread concluded, by moving for a committee "to examine the journals of the house of lords, for the evidence of the physicians respecting his majesty's health in 1804."

Lord Castlereagh, as a member of administration in 1804, took upon himself a full share in the responsibility of the transactions now under discussion; he denied that Lord Eldon was the only minister who had visited the king between the

12th of February and the 23d of April, or even the 22d of March, 1804. Lord Sidmouth had attended his majesty on the 19th of March, with official papers, requiring his signature, and considered his majesty fully competent to transact the business. His lordship in conclusion observed, that the principle of incapacitation, to the extent contended for by the honourable gentleman, was monstrous on the face of it, and his argument was in a great measure overturned by the consideration, that his majesty's was a case not of insanity but of derangement. It was in fact impossible that the hurries of which the physicians spoke, should not at times take place under such circumstances. Mr. Yorke, another of the members of his majesty's council in the year 1804, had himself held a long conference with the king, on or about the 23d of April; and he could affirm, that in that audience, his majesty appeared to him to be in full as good health of mind and body, to be as fully competent to the discharge of the duties of his station, and to be as good a judge of those duties, and of the interests of the government of the country, as any of those political sages, who, setting themselves up as paragons of statesmen, claimed an exclusive patent for all the talents and all the honesty of the country.

Sir Francis Burdett maintained that ministers had usurped the sovereign power; that the king was acting under restraint at the time that he was acting as king; and that the fact was not, and could not be contradicted. If ministerial responsibility was any thing but a name, and if the king was not a mere puppet, for the purpose of coming down to parliament in a gilt coach occasionally, this act of the ministers amounted to a high crime and misdemeanour. If ministers could go on without the kingly office, they were innocent; but as he thought that, while the constitution existed, they could not, the motion should have his cordial support. After a forcible reply from Mr. Whitbread, the house divided, when the motion for inquiry was negatived by a majority of one hundred and seventeen voices.

The increasing commercial distresses of the nation were now so seriously felt that the attention of government was necessarily fixed upon them; and on the 1st of March, a committee of twenty-one members, distinguished for their knowledge of commercial concerns, and nominated without any regard to political party, was appointed, on the motion of Mr. Perceval, to take into consideration the present state of the commercial credit of the country, and to make their report thereon. The report so prepared was presented to the house of commons on the 7th of March, and after stating the nature



and cause of the existing embarrassments, proposed that a loan of six millions should be made by government for the relief of the merchants.\* On the 11th of March, the report was taken into consideration, and on the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, a bill was introduced into parliament and passed into a law, whereby the sum of six millions sterling was to be advanced to certain commissioners, for the assistance of such merchants as should apply for the same, on giving sufficient security for the re-payment of the money so advanced. It might naturally have been supposed that, in the midst of so much embarrassment and distress, the money voted by parliament at the recommendation of the committee, would have been eagerly sought after and soon exhausted; such was the case in 1793; the reverse however happened now, and the sums applied for were to a less amount than the provision made. In fact, a wide difference existed between the two periods; in 1793 the paper credit gave way, but now the commercial credit had failed; then the banks stopped, now the mercantile houses became insolvent; then there was a want of money, now there was a want of markets; this

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\* The attention of the committee had been directed to three points: 1st, The extent and embarrassment that the trading part of the community at present experience; 2d, The causes to which they may be ascribed; and 3d, The expediency of affording parliamentary assistance. The committee refer to the evidence laid before them, from whence they conclude, that the manufacturers in the cotton trade of Glasgow and Paisley are at present suffering more severely and extensively than any other set of men. The sufferings the committee ascribe to the enormous speculations made to South America, in which the merchants of London, Liverpool and Glasgow, had engaged. They also found that great distress had occurred in a quarter much connected with this trade, viz. among the importers of produce from the West India Islands, and from South America; a great proportion of the returns for the manufactures exported to those parts of the world coming home in sugar and coffee, for which they could not find a market. Another cause which might be considered as connected with and aggravating the existing distress, was the extent to which the system of warehousing the goods of foreign, as well as of native merchants, for exportation, had been carried. And the committee state, that, upon the whole, the embarrassments at present experienced, are of an extensive nature, and are felt in a considerable degree in other branches of business, as well as in those already specified; but it does not appear that they exist in the woollen trade, to a degree that would justify parliamentary relief. They further state, that having considered the happy effect of the relief afforded by parliament in the year 1793, they recommend similar accommodations to be afforded on the present occasion, and propose that exchequer bills should be issued to the amount of six millions sterling for that purpose; the amount to be repaid in four equal instalments, the first quarter on the 15th of January next, and the remainder in three quarterly instalments, so that the whole should be discharged in nine months from the time of the first payment.

last indeed was the radical cause of the evil, and the proposed relief could not effect its removal ; on the contrary, the commercial distresses continued to increase during the whole year, and displayed themselves by frightful lists of bankrupts in every gazette, amounting to an aggregate of which no former year, in the annals of the country, afforded a parallel.

There were, moreover, other symptoms of the unprecedented state into which the commerce and the credit of the kingdom had fallen, which could not be mistaken, especially when viewed in connection with the distresses of the merchant and manufacturer. It has already been seen, that early in the last session of parliament, a committee was appointed by the house of commons for the purpose of inquiring into the high price of bullion, and that the committee so appointed, in the report on the subject of their inquiry, gave it as their decided opinion, that the evils into which they were commissioned to inquire, were to be attributed to an excessive issue of bank notes, and that the only effectual remedy was to be found in the bank resuming its cash payments within a time to be limited.\* This report, which had excited much public discussion, was brought under the consideration of the house of commons on the 6th of May, by Mr. Horner, who introduced the subject in an elaborate and luminous speech, and concluded by moving a series of resolutions, grounded upon the report of the bullion committee, and maintaining the same doctrines. It was hence contended, that the standard value of gold, as a measure of exchange, could not possibly fluctuate under any change of circumstances, though its real price was unquestionably subject to all the variations arising from the increase or diminution of the supply ; that bank paper, measured by this standard, was depreciated ; and that the consequence of this depreciation was, to render our exchanges with the continent unfavourable, to advance prices, to occasion immense losses to creditors, and materially to injure all monied incomes. But here two questions arose : what is meant by depreciation ? and what is the real standard of value ? In the attempt to solve these inquiries it was found, that this subject, which at first had seemed sufficiently simple, was in reality extremely complicated ; and that, after being pursued into the regions of metaphysics, it was ultimately lost in obscurity. Mr. Vansittart, who took the lead on the part of the practical statesmen, as they were designated, in opposition to the bullionists, moved, by way of amendment, a number of counter resolutions to those proposed by Mr. Horner, in which it was declared, that bank notes were

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\* See Vol. III. Chap. XII. p. 259.



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not depreciated; that the political and commercial relations of this country with foreign states were sufficient to account for the unfavourable state of the foreign exchange, and the high price of bullion; that it was highly important that the restriction on cash payments at the bank should be removed whenever it was compatible with the public interest; but that, to fix a definite period earlier than that of six months after the conclusion of peace, which was already fixed, would be highly inexpedient and dangerous. These discussions occupied the house of commons no less than seven nights, and issued in the rejection of the resolutions moved by Mr. Horner, and the adoption, by a large majority, of those presented by Mr. Vansittart.

The majority with which the opinion and resolutions of Mr. Vansittart were carried through the house of commons, was considered by ministers as a complete triumph; but before the session closed, a practical illustration was adduced by Lord King that the question was not set at rest by this decision. His lordship, in a notice sent to his tenants, reminded them, that by their leases, bearing date in the year 1802, they had agreed to pay their rents in good and lawful money of Great Britain, and informed them, that in consequence of the late depreciation of paper money, he could no longer accept of bank notes at their nominal value in payment for satisfaction of those contracts. He therefore called upon them to pay their rents either in guineas, or in equivalent weight in Portuguese gold coin, or in bank notes, sufficient to purchase, at the existing market price, the weight of as much stand ard gold as would discharge the rents.\*

This notice had not attracted any degree of public attention till Lord Stanhope brought the matter under consideration in the house of lords. His lordship thought this preceeding so unjust in itself, so much calculated to shake the credit of

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\* The following curious facts resulting from the state of the British currency at the period now under consideration, claim to be recorded :

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
A Guinea made of standard gold, weight 5 dwts. 8 grains, passes by law for only	-	-	-
The same two grains lighter may be sold as bullion for	1	1	0
A crown piece, made of sterling silver, weight 19dwts. passes by law for only	-	-	-
A Bank Dollar, weight 2 dwts. less, and the silver $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ an ounce inferior, at first issued at 5s. is now current for	0	5	6
A Half-Crown piece of sterling silver, weight 9dwts. passes by law for only	-	-	-
A Bank Token, weighing 10 dwts. and the silver $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ an ounce inferor, is current for	0	2	6
	0	3	0

the currency of the country, and the example so infectious, and likely to be followed by the landlords throughout the kingdom, that in pursuance of what he considered a public duty, his lordship introduced a bill into the house of lords on the 27th of June, for preventing the current gold coin of the realm from being paid for more than its mint value, and for preventing bank notes from being received for any smaller sum than that for which they were issued.

The fate of this bill was very extraordinary; on its first reading ministers opposed it on the ground that such a measure was unnecessary, and might be mischievous; but on the second reading they had discovered their error, and the prorogation of parliament was actually delayed beyond the appointed time to pass Lord Stanhope's bill into an act. Wafted by the propitious gale of ministerial influence, this bill, with certain amendments, rather verbal than essential, passed through both branches of the legislature by large majorities, and at the close of the session of parliament, became the law of the land.

The number of prosecutions for libellous publications against the state had, within the last three years, attained a magnitude that seemed to call for legislative interference, and on the 4th of March, Lord Holland moved for a list of all the informations, *ex officio*, filed by the attorneys-general from the 1st of January, 1801, to the 31st of January, 1811. This motion, which was opposed by Lord Ellenborough, in a speech more remarkable for its vehemence than its candour, was lost by a large majority. A similar motion, made in the house of commons by Lord Folkestone, being opposed by ministers, and resisted by Sir Vacary Gibbs, the attorney-general, was also lost by a majority of a hundred and nineteen to thirty-six voices. There were, however, some facts brought to light during the discussion of this question, which served to mark the character of the times, and deserve to be recorded. It was asserted by Lord Holland, and admitted by ministers, that in a time of profound internal peace and tranquillity, the present attorney-general had filed no less than forty-two official informations against seventeen persons, within the last three years, though in the thirty years preceding the year 1791, only seventy persons had been prosecuted altogether; and that on a general average, Sir Vicary Gibbs had filed in the proportion of seven to one more informations for state libels within the same period than his immediate predecessors. It further appeared that he had prosecuted to judgment, either of acquittal or conviction, not more than seventeen of the forty-two official informations



which he had filed, so that the accused parties were, in many of the other cases, fined in the amount of the expenses without having been proved guilty of any offence. Lord Holland, undismayed by the rejection of his motion, introduced, towards the close of the following session of parliament, two bills relating to *ex officio* informations. The former of which had for its object to prevent delay between the publication of an imputed libel, and the trial of the accused party; and the latter to obtain a repeal of so much of the forty-eighth of the king, as relates to holding persons to bail upon official informations. These bills were strenuously opposed by the chief justices, who characterised the proposed alteration in the law, and in the mode of its administration, as a measure at once light and frivolous, and both the bills, were, at their second reading, rejected.

The delays in the court of chancery had long been felt and acknowledged as a deficiency in the judicature of this country, and on the 7th of March, Mr. M. A. Taylor moved in the house of commons for the appointment of a committee to ascertain the number of appeals before the lords, and to report thereon. At the suggestion of Mr. Perceval, the house determined to await the result of an inquiry connected with this subject, which had been previously instituted by a committee in the house of lords; and on the 30th of May that committee made its report. This document, which was presented by the Earl of Liverpool, stated generally, that a great increase had taken place in the appeals and writs of error, and that there were at the present moment no fewer than three hundred and thirty-eight of these cases before the house, of which forty-two were writs of error. The vast increase of business in the court of chancery was also adverted to, from which cause it was stated to be impossible that the chancellor could despatch the existing arrears, without some assistance being provided for him by parliament.\* To obviate these evils it was recommended that another judge should be appointed to assist his lordship in the court of chancery, with a rank equal to that of the master of the rolls; that a limited period should be fixed in each session of parliament for receiving appeals, and three days allotted in each week for their decision, till the number should be considerably reduced. Upon these suggestions a number of resolutions were formed; and a

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\* The number of original causes for hearing before the chancellor at this time amounted to one hundred and fourteen, besides ninety-nine appeals; exclusive of two hundred and seventy-one original causes and appeals before the master of the rolls; and the balance of money and securities in the hands of the chancellor amounted to no less a sum than 25,162,430*l.* 13*s.* 2*d.*

new office was consequently created in the court of chancery, to which Sir Thomas Plumer was appointed under the designation of vice-chancellor.

An amelioration in the discipline of the army, calculated to soothe the feelings of the soldier, and to gratify the friends of humanity took place during the present session of parliament. The practice of flogging in the British army had frequently been a subject of animadversion both in and out of parliament ; but, though government had shewn a peculiar degree of susceptibility on this point, and had strenuously opposed the motions made by Sir Francis Burdett and others to abolish this kind of punishment, yet when the mutiny bill came to be submitted to the house of commons on the 14th of March, Mr. Manners Sutton proposed to introduce a clause by which a power should be given to courts-martial to substitute at their option the punishment of imprisonment for corporeal punishments. To the admission of this humane provision no objection was made, and the mutiny bill, so amended, passed into a law.

A measure, closely allied in its principle to the new clause in the mutiny act, was brought into parliament by Mr. Brougham, by whom leave was obtained to introduce a bill for the prevention of the enormities which still continued to be practised by captains of vessels and others, who, notwithstanding the legislative enactments to the contrary, persisted in carrying on the African Slave Trade. The object of the bill, which was supported by Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Perceval, was to render any British subject who might engage in this traffic liable to transportation for any period not exceeding fourteen years ; and this measure, after passing through its respective stages in both houses of parliament, obtained the royal assent.

In no portion of British history has the spirit of religious liberty shone with greater splendour than during the present reign. This spirit has manifested itself both actively and passively—actively, by the repeal of some of the most obnoxious laws for the restraint of liberty of conscience ; and passively, by suffering obsolete statutes to remain as a dead letter upon the books. Such being the general temper of the times, and such the basis of the national lawgivers, it was with no small share of surprise and consternation that the country heard the intention announced by Lord Sidmouth of introducing a bill into parliament, to amend and explain the act of William and Mary, usually called the toleration act. The motion preparatory to the introduction of the proposed bill was made in the house of lords on the 9th of May ; when his



lordship observed, that according to the act of William and Mary, all ministers in holy orders, or pretending to holy orders, provided they subscribed twenty-six of the thirty-nine articles, and took the requisite oaths, might preach in any place of religious worship.\* This act was amended by the 19th of George III. which dispensed with the signing of any of the thirty-nine articles, and required persons applying for licenses only to express their belief in the holy scriptures. Till within the last thirty or forty years, he said, the toleration act had been construed in such a manner as to exclude all persons unqualified from want of the requisite talents and learning, and unfit, from the meanness of their situation, or the

\* His lordship had, previously to the introduction of this bill, moved for, and obtained, the following "Returns of the arch-bishops, and bishops, of the number of churches and chapels of the church of England in every parish of 1,000 persons and upwards; and of the number of other places of worship, NOT of the establishment," which returns were ordered to be printed by the house of lords on the 5th of April, 1811:

<i>Diocese.</i>	<i>Of the Establishment.</i>			<i>Not of the Establishment.</i>	
1 Bath and Wells	-	-	78	-	103
2 Bangor	-	-	52	-	99
3 Bristol	-	-	59	-	71
4 Canterbury	-	-	84	-	113
5 Carlisle	-	-	49	-	39
6 Chester	-	-	352	-	439
7 Chichester	-	-	47	-	58
8 Durham	-	-	116	-	175
9 Ely	-	-	22	-	32
10 Exeter	-	-	180	-	245
11 Gloucester	-	-	46	-	76
12 Hereford	-	-	51	-	42
13 Landaff	-	-	21	-	45
14 Lincoln	-	-	165	-	269
15 Lichfield and Coventry	-	-	190	-	288
16 London	-	-	187	-	265
17 Norwich	-	-	78	-	114
18 Oxford	-	-	50	-	39
19 Peterborough	-	-	20	-	36
20 Rochester	-	-	36	-	44
21 Salisbury	-	-	135	-	142
22 St. Asaph	-	-	49	-	95
23 Winchester	-	-	193	-	164
24 Worcester	-	-	66	-	60
25 York	-	-	221	-	404
Total			2,547	-	3,457

From which it appears, that the number of churches and chapels of the establishment amount to 2,547; and that the chapels and meeting-houses NOT of the establishment, besides many private houses used for religious worship, and not introduced in the above enumeration, amount to 3,457. N. B. The smaller parishes not amounting to 1,000 inhabitants were not returned.

profligacy of their character, from exercising the functions of ministers of religion. But subsequent to that period, all who offered themselves at the quarter sessions, provided they took the oaths, and made the declaration required by law, obtained the requisite certificates, not only as a matter of course, but as a matter of right. In order to remedy this evil, it was his intention to bring in a bill, in which he proposed, that to entitle any man to obtain a license as a preacher, he should have the recommendation of at least six respectable householders of the congregation to which he belonged; and that he should actually have a congregation which was willing to listen to his instructions. With regard to preachers who were not stationary but intinerant, he proposed that they should be required to bring a testimonial from six respectable householders, stating them to be of sober life and character, together with their belief that they were qualified to perform the functions of preachers. The effects which he expected to be produced by this bill were, that improper and unaccredited men would be prevented from assuming the most important of all duties—that of instructing their fellow creatures in the principles of religion and virtue. Lords Holland and Stanhope, at the very threshold of this business, declared their decided hostility to the proposed measure; but leave was given to bring in the bill, which was read a first time, and ordered to be printed.

It is scarcely possible to describe the sensation and cordial co-operation produced by Lord Sidmouth's bill among all classes of dissenters. The effect was instantaneous, and in the short space of forty-eight hours, three hundred and thirty-six petitions against the bill, from various congregations within a hundred miles of London, signed only by males above sixteen years of age, were poured into the house of lords. It is well known that the grand and fundamental point of difference in church government between the established church and the dissenters is this: the former hold the opinion that religion and the temporal concerns of mankind should be united, and that to effect this union the government ought to patronise and support a particular form of belief; whereas, the latter contend that religion ought to be an affair entirely between man and his Maker; that it stands not in need of the aid of the civil power for its support; and that, whenever that aid has been held out to religion, and accepted by it, the effect has been to diminish the force of religious principle, and to corrupt its purity and simplicity. Proceeding therefore upon this leading principle of difference and separation from the established church, the dissenters objected to the bill introduced



by Lord Sidmouth, as having a manifest and undoubted tendency to countenance the interference of the secular power, and to encroach upon religious rights. They considered the bill also, not only as objectionable and prejudicial in itself, but as paving the way for further encroachment upon the act of toleration; and as the commencement of a regular system of persecution and intolerance, which had already shown itself among the magistracy in some parts of the country, and which it was incumbent upon the dissenters to arrest in its progress, before it had attained a maturity and strength which might baffle all their efforts.\* On these grounds they called upon their brethren to co-operate with them; and when the bill came to be read a second time, on the 21st of May, it was encountered by five hundred additional petitions from the country, and Lord Erskine observed, that if the second reading had been delayed only a few weeks longer, that number would have been swelled to five thousand. Such an expression of the public feeling was not to be resisted: ministers themselves, and even the dignitaries of the church, now resisted the further progress of the measure, which was characterised by Lord Liverpool as more likely to do harm than good; and not a single voice in the house of lords, that of Lord Sidmouth alone excepted, was raised in favour of this attempt "to explain and amend the act of toleration." Under such circumstances, it is almost unnecessary to add, that the bill was rejected without a division, and the efforts of the friends of religious liberty were crowned with complete and triumphant success.

On the 20th of May the chancellor of the exchequer opened the budget for the year. The supply voted for the public service he stated at 54,308,453*l.* including a sum of two millions granted to the government of Portugal, and one hundred thousand pounds granted as an eleemosynary aid to the distressed Portuguese. The loan for the present year Mr. Perceval stated to amount to twelve millions, the interest on which sum he proposed to discharge by an additional duty on British and foreign spirits. He further stated it to be his intention to impose an additional duty on timber, pearl and potashes, and foreign linens, which with a tax of one penny per pound on cotton wool imported from the United States of America, he estimated at 866,600*l.* Owing, however, to the opposition made to the principle of taxing a raw material, the proposed duty on cotton wool was abandoned; and a tax upon hats, which had long operated as a burdensome and vexatious

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\* Resolutions of a Meeting of Protestant Dissenters, held in London, pending the discussions on Lord Sidmouth's Bill.

impost on the fair trader, while it sunk into insignificance as a subject of revenue, shared the same fate. \* †

## \* FINANCES.

PUBLIC INCOME of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1811.

<i>Branches of Revenue.</i>	<i>Gross Receipts.</i>			<i>Paid into the Excheq.</i>		
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Customs, - - -	10,773,869	19	4½	9,009,735	18	7½
Excise, - - -	20,464,518	19	9½	18,495,178	3	2
Stamps, - - -	5,666,453	18	8½	5,546,082	17	2½
Land & Assessed Taxes,	7,600,027	6	8½	8,011,205	0	11½
Post-Office, - -	1,732,278	1	6	1,471,746	19	2½
Miscel. Permanent Tax,	128,386	8	3½	123,146	15	6½
Hered. Revenue, -	128,123	9	3½	137,753	2	2½
Extraord. Resources,						
War Taxes { Customs, -	3,906,483	13	7½	3,100,594	16	10
{ Excise, - - -	6,810,860	11	5½	6,759,165	13	4½
{ Property Tax,	13,504,004	4	7½	13,228,530	2	7
Miscel. Income, -	3,325,537	3	2½	3,304,902	4	8½
Loans, including } £1,400,000 for the } Service of Ireland, }	13,242,356	17	0	13,242,356	17	0

Grand Total £87,282,900 13 6  
*Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, }*  
*24th March, 1811.*

£82,430,398 11 4½  
 (Signed)  
 RICH. WHARTON.

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1811.

<i>Heads of Expenditure.</i>	<i>Sums.</i>		
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Interest, - - - - -	21,555,401	4	0½
Charge of Management, - - - -	217,825	13	5½
Reduction of National Debt, - - -	11,660,601	5	4½
Interest on Exchequer Bills, - - -	1,815,105	4	1½
Civil List, - - - - -	1,533,110	2	7½
Civil Government of Scotland, - - -	118,186	13	3
Payments in anticipation, &c. - - -	775,399	6	11
Navy, - - - - -	20,058,412	3	5½
Ordnance, - - - - -	4,652,331	14	8
Army, - - - - -	11,357,622	14	10
Extraordinary Services, - - - - -	7,178,677	9	2
Loans to Sicily, Portugal, and Spain, including } 5,294,416 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i> to Ireland, }	7,354,609	14	7
Miscellaneous Services, - - - - -	2,270,867	13	11½

Deductions for Sums forming no part of the Ex- } 90,548,151 0 5½  
 penditure of Great Britain, - - - } 5,351,586 16 3

Grand Total £85,196,564 4 2½  
*Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, }* (Signed)  
*24th March, 1811.* RICH. WHARTON.

† When the stamp duty upon hats was first imposed, its annual product was 60,000*l.* In 1809, the amount was reduced to 38,000*l.* In 1810, to 31,000*l.* and in the year ending the 5th of January, 1811, to 29,332*l.* This gradual reduction, Mr. Perceval remarked, did not arise from fewer hats being worn now than formerly, but from the evasions of the tax, which every year increased.



One of the first spontaneous acts on the part of the prince regent, after his assumption of the royal functions, was the restoration of his brother, the Duke of York, to the post of commander-in-chief of the army. This event produced a considerable share of surprise in the country, and was viewed by some of the members of the house of commons, who had taken the lead in urging the charges against his royal highness, as an imputation upon their conduct on that occasion, and as an unmerited stigma cast upon the house. Under these impressions, Lord Milton, unintimidated by the frowns of power, and actuated solely by a sense of public duty, proposed a vote of censure upon the advisers of his royal highness the prince regent, for recommending the re-appointment of the Duke of York to the office of commander-in-chief. The resignation of the Duke of York in the year 1809, his lordship contended, flowed naturally from the course of proceeding adopted by that assembly, and from the conviction so generally felt that the criminal negligence of his royal highness rendered it improper that he should continue to hold the elevated office he at that time occupied. In fact, that the resignation of the duke alone prevented the adoption of ulterior proceedings, which must in their tendency have excluded his royal highness from office. His lordship was aware that it might be objected, that though the house did, at that period, wish for his resignation, it was by no means intended to exclude him from all chance of reinstatement; and that the punishment he had already undergone was fully commensurate to his offence. But deprivation of office was not in itself to be considered as punishment; and if the duke was unfit for the post of commander-in-chief in the year 1809, he did not see how he had attained the requisite fitness in 1811. They who would defend the re-appointment upon the ground that certain transactions had come to light since the inquiry, which had materially altered the public opinion, would find their task difficult; for though his royal highness might have been the victim of a foul conspiracy, yet the reality of the existence of that conspiracy rested solely upon the testimony of the very person who had been the chief and most material witness against the duke, and whose evidence was by his advocates then considered as totally undeserving of credit.\* His lordship intreated

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\* His lordship here alluded to the facts adduced in the course of certain proceedings in the court of king's bench, in the year 1809. In the month of July, in that year, a trial took place on an action brought by Mr. Wright, an upholsterer, against Colonel Wardle, for goods furnished by order of the defendant to Mrs. Clarke, and which order, as Mrs. Clarke deposed, was given by the colonel, on condition that she should put him in possession of all the evidence she possessed against the

the house to consider well the responsibility they were about to incur, and to pause before they sanctioned a proceeding that would stultify their own acts.

The chancellor of the exchequer acknowledged in the fullest manner the responsibility of his majesty's servants in recommending the measure in question. The gallant officer (Sir David Dundas) who had lately filled the office of commander-in-chief, after spending nearly half a century in the service of his country, had contracted an illness, which obliged him to apply for liberty to retire from the arduous duties of his station; and there was not the slightest hesitation in the mind of Mr. Perceval and his colleagues, whom they should recommend to supply the vacancy thus created. The eminent services rendered to the army by the Duke of York, which were universally acknowledged, left them no choice. As to the proceedings on a former occasion, alluded to by the noble lord, they pledged the house to nothing; and there was not the most distant idea of lowering the dignity of parliament by the advice given to the prince regent to re-appoint the Duke of York to the post of commander-in-chief.

Among the speakers who addressed the house on this occasion, several gentlemen presented themselves who had, during the proceedings in the year 1809, taken part against the Duke of York, and who did not hesitate to avow, either that they had been formerly carried away by the current of public opinion, or that they considered the case as it now presented itself in a different point of view. It is unnecessary here to inquire into the different processes of conviction that might have operated on different minds; that a great change had been wrought in the sentiments of this assembly was manifest on the division, from which it appeared that the votes for the motion were forty-seven, against it two hundred and ninety-six, constituting a majority of two hundred and forty-nine in favour of the re-appointment. The nation at large seemed to have been affected with a similar change of opinion, and the duke resumed his post with all the facility of a public functionary who had quitted his office without imputation.

The state of the king's health in the early part of the present year underwent several variations, but in the report of the

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Duke of York, and appear at the bar of the house of commons as a witness, in support of the charges preferred against his royal highness. The jury, after a patient investigation of the case, returned a verdict in favour of the plaintiff: on which Colonel Wardle indicted Mrs. Clarke and Mr. Wright for a conspiracy, but the evidence adduced failed to establish the charge; and on this second trial the colonel himself distinctly admitted that he had advanced money to Mrs. Clarke.



queen's council, made on the 6th of July, a few days before the prorogation of parliament, it was stated, "that his majesty's health was not such as to enable his majesty to resume the personal exercise of the royal functions." Indeed the hopes of his majesty's recovery were now considerably diminished, though some of the physicians still adhered to the persuasion, that the energy of his constitution would overcome the disorder, and that the complete re-establishment of his health was an event not far distant. This state of uncertainty, co-operating with other causes, served to keep the ministers of the prince regent in their offices, and afforded them an opportunity of overcoming the repugnance of the prince, and seating themselves firmly in the cabinet.

To the catholics of Ireland, the determination of the prince regent to retain the ministers of his royal father, was a circumstance of extreme mortification. The conscientious scruples of the king, who conceived that his coronation oath stood in the way of catholic emancipation, it was impossible not to respect; but an impression had obtained universally, that the Prince of Wales was a decided friend to their claims; and on his investment with power, a brighter and more cheering ray of hope than had ever before presented itself, burst upon the catholic subject. But again, at least for a season, disappointment clouded their expectations; the prince regent had not merely determined to retain ministers inimical to catholic concessions, but he had intimated his intention also to adhere, during the period of the limited regency, to the policy of his father's government. Still some degree of doubt continued to hang over the course of conduct that would be pursued with respect to Ireland, and particularly towards that community, of which three-fourths of the numerical strength of the sister kingdom was known to consist.

At this moment of hope and anxiety, a letter appeared from Mr. Wellesley Pole, secretary to the lord-lieutenant, stating, that it had been represented to government that the Roman catholics of Ireland were to be collected together for the purpose of appointing persons as representatives, delegates, or managers of an unlawful assembly, sitting in Dublin, and calling itself the catholic committee; in consequence of which, the sheriffs and magistrates, to whom this circular was addressed, were required, in pursuance of the act of the thirty-third of the king, cap. 29, commonly called the convention act, to arrest and commit to prison (unless bail should be given) all persons within their jurisdiction who should be guilty of giving notice of such election or appointment, or of

attending, voting, or acting in any manner in the choice of such representatives.

This circular was immediately noticed in parliament by Earl Moira and Mr. Ponsonby, who contended that Mr. Pole had misconceived or misrepresented the act of the Irish parliament, which required the magistrates to disperse persons sitting in an unlawful assembly, but did not confer upon them the power to commit, or to hold such persons to bail.\* At that time ministers were not in possession of the information and circumstances under which this letter had been written; but from what they knew they declared that they felt themselves inclined to approve and justify the cause adopted by the Irish government. It afterwards appeared that a circular letter, dated the 1st of January, had been written by Mr. Edward Hay, secretary to the committee of the Irish catholics, the object of which was to obtain a complete representative body from all the counties of Ireland, to assist in managing the petitions, and that Mr. Hay's letter, and the measures consequent thereon, had given rise to the circular of the Irish secretary.† The discussions to which these letters gave rise were soon absorbed in the subsequent proceedings in Ireland. The feelings and the conduct of the protestants towards their catholic brethren in that country, were marked, at this crisis, by strong features of liberality and friendship: although meetings for the purpose of appointing delegates were held in almost every county, yet there was scarcely a single instance of magisterial

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\* The convention act consists of four clauses, by the first of which it is enacted, that all assemblies, committees, or other bodies of persons, elected, or in any other manner constituted or appointed, to represent the people of this realm, or any number or description of the people of any province, county, city, or town, or district, within the same, under pretence of petitioning, or in any other manner procuring an alteration of matters established by law in church and state, except duly summoned by the king's writ, are unlawful assemblies, and may be dispersed by the magistrates or peace officers; and if resistance be offered, all persons offending in that behalf are liable to be apprehended. The second clause enacts, that any person giving or publishing a notice of an election to be holden for the appointment of any person or persons to act as such delegate or representative, or any person who shall attend or vote at such election or appointment, being thereof convicted by due course of law, shall be guilty of a high misdemeanor. By clause three, the right of election by corporate bodies and chartered companies is saved. And by clause four it is provided, that nothing in this act contained "shall be construed in any manner to prevent or impede the undoubted right of his majesty's subjects to petition his majesty, or both houses, or either house of parliament, for redress of any public or private grievance."

† Justificatory Speech of Mr. Wellesley Pole in the House of Commons, March 7, 1811.



interference, and some of the magistrates went so far as to promise the protection of their official authority to such meetings as might be molested.

On the 9th of July a "meeting of the catholics of Ireland" was held in Dublin, at which it was resolved that a committee of catholics should be appointed, in order to frame petitions for the repeal of the penal laws, and to procure signatures thereto in all parts of Ireland; that this committee should consist of catholic peers, of their eldest sons, the catholic baronets, the prelates of the catholic church in Ireland, and also of ten persons to be appointed in each county in Ireland, and that it should be recommended to the committee to resort to all legal and constitutional means for maintaining a communication of sentiment and co-operation of conduct among the catholics of Ireland.

In consequence of this meeting, and of these resolutions, a proclamation was issued by the lord-lieutenant and council of Ireland, declaring it to be the intention of the government to enforce the penalties of the law against all such persons as should proceed to elect deputies, managers, or delegates to the catholic committee. On the day subsequent to the appearance of the proclamation, a special meeting of the general committee of the catholics was held in Chapel-street, Dublin, at which the Earl of Fingal presided, when it was resolved, That this extraordinary meeting is held in consequence of the proclamation of the lord-lieutenant; that the committee, relying upon the constitutional right of the subject to petition, and conscious that they are not transgressing the laws, do now determine to persevere in the course they have adopted for the "sole, express, and specific purpose of preparing a petition to parliament, for their full participation of the rights of the constitution; that the committee will never meet under pretence of preparing or presenting petitions, but for that purpose alone; and that the last clause of the convention act recognizes the right of petitioning, secured by the bill of rights." The government, acting upon the proclamation of the lord-lieutenant, arrested five gentlemen who were present at the election of delegates, on the 9th of August, in Liffey-street Chapel, and carried them before the chief-justice of the court of king's bench, by whom they were bound over to take their trials.

The trial of Dr. Sheridan, one of the delegates arrested subsequent to the meeting in Liffey-street Chapel, was to decide the question whether the convention act applied to the proceedings of the catholics. This trial came on in the court

of king's bench, Dublin, on the 21st of November. The doctor was indicted for having assisted in the election of persons to represent one of the parishes of Dublin in the general catholic committee. The trial continued for two days; and the chief justice, in his charge to the jury, gave a decided opinion, that if the facts adduced in evidence were believed, and if it was thereby made out that the traverser had acted in the election of a delegate to the general catholic committee, he must be found guilty upon the legal construction of the convention act; and in this decision the other three judges on the bench fully concurred. It is impossible—indeed language sinks under the effort to describe the anxiety manifested while the jury were in the room to which they had retired to deliberate upon their verdict. Although it was now nine o'clock at night, yet the hall of the four courts, all the avenues leading thereto, and the very attic windows, were crowded with people. When, after an hour and a half's deliberation, it was announced that the jury had returned to their box, a deep and profound silence prevailed. Mr. Byrne, the clerk of the crown, then called over the names of the jury, and Mr. Geale, the foreman, handed down the issue of *Not Guilty*. The words were scarcely pronounced, when a peal of acclamations rang throughout the gallery, and shook even the judicial bench. The plaudits were caught by the anxious auditory in the hall. The judges attempted to speak, and the peace officers to act, but the general enthusiasm deafened and destroyed every effort to resist the popular ebullition. Nothing could be heard but the loud and overwhelming torrents of acclamations, which had now reached the streets, and, by a kind of telegraphic operation, spread to the most distant parts of the city.

The acquittal of Dr. Sheridan having, in the opinion of the attorney-general, by whom the prosecution for the crown was conducted, proceeded from a defect in evidence only, while the law had been distinctly laid down by the chief justice, as applicable to the committee of the catholics, it was judged proper by government not to proceed to the trial of the other arrested delegates, under a persuasion that the delegated meetings would no longer be held. The catholics however saw the matter in a different light; they regarded the acquittal of Dr. Sheridan, as the result of a conviction on the mind of the jury that the law did not apply to this case; and in that persuasion they resolved to continue their meetings: a meeting of the delegates was accordingly held in the theatre, but they were dispersed by the magistrates, who arrested Lords



Fingal and Netterville, which two noblemen had been alternately called to the chair.

The attorney-general, finding that the opinion of the court, as delivered on the trial of Dr. Sheridan, had not operated in such a way as to prevent a repetition of the delegated meetings, determined to institute a prosecution against Mr. Kirwan, another of the arrested delegates, on a similar charge. On Thursday, the 30th of January, 1812, the trial took place, and the jury, after deliberating about a quarter of an hour, returned a verdict of *guilty* against the defendant. On the 6th of February Mr. Kirwan was brought up to receive sentence, when Judge Day, in his address to the defendant, said: "It is candid to suppose that the Roman catholics did not wilfully violate the provisions of an act upon which able and virtuous lawyers have entertained much doubt. The transactions heretofore are therefore consigned to oblivion; but the act must now resume its vigorous operation; it must awake from its long slumbers, and in future remain vigilant; the catholics will bow to it; they were heretofore only ignorant of its force. Under this impression the court mean to punish you with only a nominal penalty; and the sentence of the court is, that you do pay a fine of one mark, and then be discharged." This decision set at rest the legal point that had so long contributed to agitate the public mind in Ireland; the other prosecutions were all abandoned; and the catholic committee, which Judge Day, in his address to Mr. Kirwan, characterised as the greatest enemy to the catholic cause, ceased to exist as a delegated body.

Towards the close of the year 1811, an event was brought before the public with so much prominence and importance, and is in itself of so much consequence to the community, as to claim a place in the history of our own times; this was no less than a plan for the national education of the poorer classes of the people. The causes and motives that led to the adoption of this plan, are probably of a mixed nature; but if the children of the poor receive the advantages of education, it matters little from what motives the system for effecting that object may arise, or who had the honour or credit to be its founder. It may, however, be proper briefly to trace the causes which produced this memorable event.

In the year 1798, Mr. Joseph Lancaster, employed himself in the establishment of a school in the borough of Southwark, on a plan that attracted much attention: by this system children were taught reading, writing, and the most common and useful rules of arithmetic, in a very short space of time, and at a very little

expense. This saving of time, labour, and expense, was effected principally by making the boys at once teachers and learners ; and by a process which united great simplicity and quickness with great effect.\* In 1805, some time after Mr. Lancaster established his school, and made known his plan of education, he was, to the immortal honour of the present king, patronized by him ; and it is recorded of his majesty, that in a conversation held with Mr. Lancaster, he expressed the benevolent wish—a wish worthy of a monarch, “That every subject in his dominions should be able to read his bible.” For some time no opposition was made to the system pursued by Mr. Lancaster with so much success, and schools, formed and conducted upon this plan, were established in various parts of the kingdom. By degrees, however, an outcry was raised against this system of education, which was held out as decidedly hostile to the interests, and even to the very existence, of the established church, because the children were not instructed in the peculiar doctrines of that community.

Dr. Bell, a clergyman of the established church, who had been in India, had, soon after his return from that country, and before Mr. Lancaster had thought of his plan, published a pamphlet, in which he detailed the mode of education which he had practised at a seminary established in Madras. This mode in some of its leading features was the same as that afterwards adopted by Mr. Lancaster ; and Mr. Lancaster has, in effect, acknowledged, that the perusal of Dr. Bell’s work suggested the idea to him. So far Dr. Bell has the honour and credit ; but Dr. Bell merely published, he did not attempt to carry the scheme into execution. Mr. Lancaster, on the contrary, soon after he became acquainted with the plan, set himself most perseveringly and actively to work ; he spared no labour or fatigue, and grudged no time or expense, in the establishment of the new system of education. In this respect therefore Mr. Lancaster has the merit. Neither Dr. Bell nor Mr. Lancaster can be called the inventor of this system of education, which has existed in India for ages ; but Dr. Bell introduced the theory into England, and Mr. Lancaster carried this theory, with several improvements, into extensive practice, and gave to it a character truly national.

The schools established by Mr. Lancaster met with munificent patronage, and gave birth to the formation of a society under the designation of “The British and Foreign School

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\* See “A Comparative View of the Plans of Education as detailed in the publications of Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster, by Joseph Fox.”



Society." A rival institution was also established under the auspices of Dr. Bell, with the name of "The National School Society," at the head of which establishment appears a large proportion of the dignitaries of the church, and the leading men of the state. The object of the former is to afford learning to the poor, at home and abroad, without regard to any particular creed, or preference to any religious community; and the design of the latter, to instruct the children of the poor in the doctrines of the established religion, as well as in the common and useful branches of education. This rivalry, whatever its origin, is calculated to banish gross ignorance, and to diffuse useful knowledge in every part of the kingdom. Even the military partake of its advantages; schools, upon the plan either of Dr. Bell or of Mr. Lancaster, have been formed in many regiments, and the commander in chief, in public orders, has called upon the chaplains of the army to attend in the most scrupulous manner to this duty. Surely this may be considered as an important era, in the history of education, and the hope may justly be entertained, that the foundation is laid for an increase of industry and virtue among the great mass of the people.\* (68.)

During the session of parliament of the present year, an act was passed "for taking an account of the population of Great Britain, and of the increase or diminution thereof;" and the domestic history of the year cannot, perhaps, be brought to a more appropriate conclusion, than by a statement of the result of this national investigation.

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\* New Annual Register for 1811, from which work this article is principally extracted.

(68.) The fact is, that Mr. Lancaster met with no publication of Dr. Bell's till more than *two* years after he had established his seminary in London. He never acknowledged that Dr. Bell's little tract *suggested* the idea to him. The writer of this article evidently alludes to the practice of making the letters in sand---a practice common for ages in India; and in having once adopted *this part*, the partizans of Dr. Bell have most unfairly represented it as an acknowledgement of the *whole*. Dr. Bell had a school at Madras for 200 children, with four salaried teachers. How could this *suggest the idea* of a school for from 3 to 500 children under one master only? The reader will be glad to learn that above 750,000 children are now estimated to have received the benefits of education, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, in consequence of the Lancasterian system.

# \* GENERAL ABSTRACT

Of the Returns made pursuant to an Act passed in the Fifty-first Year of his Majesty  
King GEORGE III.

	HOUSES.				OCCUPATIONS.				PERSONS.		
	Inhabited.	By how many families occupied.	Buildings.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	Families chiefly employed in Trade and Manufacture.	All other Families not comprised in these Classes.		Males.	Females.	Total of Persons.
ENGLAND.....	1,678,106	2,012,391	15,188	47,925	697,350	923,588	391,450		4,575,763	4,963,064	9,538,827
WALES.....	119,398	129,756	1,019	3,095	72,846	36,044	20,866		291,633	320,155	611,788
SCOTLAND.....	304,093	402,068	2,341	11,329	125,799	169,417	106,852		826,191	979,497	1,805,688
ARMY, NAVY, MARINES, and Seamen in Registered Vessels,							-		640,500		640,500
TOTALS....	2,101,597	2,544,215	18,548	62,349	895,998	1,129,049	519,168		6,334,087	6,262,716	12,596,803



# SUMMARY of the ENUMERATION of 1801,† as compared with that of 1811.

	POPULATION 1801.			INCREASE	POPULATION 1811.		
	Males.	Females.	Total.		Males.	Females.	Total.
ENGLAND, - - - - -	3,987,935	4,343,499	8,331,434	1,207,393	4,575,763	4,963,064	9,538,827
WALES, - - - - -	257,178	284,368	541,546	70,242	291,633	320,155	611,788
SCOTLAND, - - - - -	734,581	864,487	1,599,068	206,620	826,191	979,497	1,805,688
ARMY, NAVY, &c. - - - - -	470,598		470,598	169,902	640,500		640,500
TOTALS, - - - - -	5,450,292	5,492,354	10,942,646	1,654,157	6,334,087	6,262,716	12,596,803

[Published by order of Parliament, July 28, 1812.]

## PLACES with a Population exceeding TWENTY THOUSAND, according to the returns of 1811.

### ENGLAND.

1. London and Westminster, }	1,009,546
2. Manchester 79,459, }	
and Salford 19,114, }	98,573
3. Liverpool, - - - - -	94,376
4. Birmingham, - - - - -	85,753
5. Bristol, - - - - -	76,433
6. Leedstown—35,950 }	
Out towns—26,584 }	
7. Plymouth, - - - - -	62,554
8. Portsmouth, &c. - - - - -	56,060
9. Norwich, - - - - -	48,355
10. Deptford and Greenwich, }	37,256
	36,780
11. Sheffield, - - - - -	62,554
12. Nottingham, - - - - -	34,253
13. Bath, - - - - -	31,496
14. Newcastle upon Tyne, - - - - -	27,587
15. Hull, - - - - -	26,792
16. Leicester, - - - - -	23,146
17. Chatham & Rochester, - - - - -	21,722

### SCOTLAND.

1. Edinburgh, - - - - -	102,987
2. Glasgow, - - - - -	100,749
3. Paisley and Abbey, }	36,722
4. Dundee, - - - - -	29,616
5. Aberdeen, - - - - -	21,639

† See Vol. II. Chap. XVIII. p. 112.

## CHAPTER XVI.

CAMPAIGNS IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL: *State of the Peninsula at the Commencement of the Year 1811—Death of the Marquis de la Romana—Siege of Badajoz, and the Surrender of that Fortress to the Duke of Dalmatia—Retreat of Massena from Santarem to the Spanish Frontier—Battle of Albuera—Battle of Fuentes d'Onoro—Escape of the Garrison of Almeida under General Bennier—The Command of the French Army of Portugal transferred from Massena, Duke of Rivoli, to Marmont, Duke of Ragusa—Badajoz besieged by the Allies—Siege raised—Battle of Barrosa—Ciudad Rodrigo invested by Lord Wellington—Retreat of the British Army—Gallant Exploit performed by General Hill at Arroyo del Molinos—Siege and Storm of Tarragona—Fall of Valencia—Repulse of General Victor at Tarifa—Guerilla War—Court of Madrid—Cortes—CAMPAIGN OF 1812: Ciudad Rodrigo carried by Storm—Lord Wellington's Services in the Peninsula rewarded by an Earldom—Siege and Fall of Badajoz—Battle of the Bridge of Almaraz—Retreat of the French Army under the Duke of Ragusa—Forts of Salamanca stormed by the British—Battle of Salamanca—Madrid entered by the Allies—Siege of Burgos: raised—Retreat of the Allies, and Close of the Campaign.*

FRANCE, after having, with unexampled rapidity, conquered the most powerful and firmly established states of Europe, by which she had not only extended her territory and increased her armies and her resources, but, what perhaps was of more moment, infused into her own soldiers a belief of invincibility, and into those of other nations a degrading and weakening feeling of infirmity, attacked a country, the inhabitants of which had long been declining both in patriotism and in valour; the armies of which were either in a wretched state of preparation and discipline, or actually at that moment at a distance from their country, and surrounded by the troops or the allies of the invaders. And yet such was the buoyancy of the patriot cause, and such the deep-rooted indignation at the injustice and perfidy which had been practised towards the nations of the peninsula, that at the commencement of the year 1811, the object of the invaders of Spain and Portugal seemed more distant than at the period when Joseph Bonaparte first entered the Spanish capital. The singularity of the fact will appear the more extraordinary when it is considered that the recognized King of Spain was a captive in the hands of the enemy; that the court of Lisbon had been expatriated; that a large proportion of the grandees of Spain had attached themselves to the cause of the usurper; that during the whole course of the struggle, not a single individual of pre-eminent talents had been produced either in a civil or military capacity; and that whenever the French and Spanish armies met,



if the numerical force was nearly equal, the victory was always on the side of the invaders. The solution of this singular combination of events is perhaps to be found in the difficulties that presented themselves in obtaining the pay and support of the invading armies in Spain and Portugal, in the hostility towards them being national, and in the readiness with which the physical and the military energies of Portugal were placed at the disposal of Great Britain; but above all, in the efficient assistance rendered by this country to the patriot cause, and in the skill and enterprise of our military commanders, aided and made available by the courage, discipline, and constancy of their troops.

Early in the year 1811 intelligence was received by Lord Wellington at Cartaxo,\* that a very numerous corps, amounting to nearly 15,000 men, were on their march to join Massena, Duke of Rivoli, at Santarem. The Portugese general, Silveira, endeavoured to interrupt the march of this corps, and to harass them during their approach; but the Portuguese troops were not able to cope with the French, and Silveira was compelled to abandon his object, after having suffered severely for his temerity.

In no part of Spain had the Spaniards displayed so little energy as in the kingdom of Andalusia. The people of Cadiz, contented with the security for which they were indebted to their situation, seemed little disposed to make any vigorous efforts against the besiegers, Marshal Soult, the Duke of Dalmatia, found himself at liberty to detach a force for the purpose of undertaking the siege of Badajoz. The skill of the French engineers, and the means which the army possessed, rendered the fall of that fortress inevitable, unless the garrison could be relieved by an army capable of meeting the besiegers in the field. To obtain any force equal to this undertaking was found extremely difficult; the long expected reinforcements from England had not arrived; the Spanish army in the south had endeavoured in vain to arrest the progress of the march of the French troops under Mortier; and the embarrassments of the allies were considerably increased by the sudden death of the Marquis de la Romana.\* As a general, the talents of the marquis were not of the first order, but he was a real patriot, and a man of inflexible integrity. Unlured by the temptations held out to him by the enemy, he had

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\* See Vol. III. Chap. XI. p. 240.

\* The Marquis de la Romana died at Badajoz on the 23d January, in a fit of apoplexy, with which he was seized at the moment when he was quitting his house to concert a plan of military operations with Lord Wellington.

served his country with zeal and fidelity ; and he was snatched away at a moment when Lord Wellington was congratulating himself on having a colleague, to whose wise councils and co-operation his lordship was proud to acknowledge his obligations.

General Mendizabal, on whom the command of the army of the Marquis de la Romana now devolved, finding himself unable to resist the advance of the French army, retreated from Llerena, and threw three thousand men into the Olivença, a small fortress in Estramadura, which was placed under the command of Manual Herk ; but the garrison, though thus reinforced, surrendered on the 22d, after a very feeble resistance. Marshal Soult, having left Seville to direct the military operations in Estramadura in person, now advanced to Badajoz, and immediately invested that place ; but, before the investment could be made complete, it was necessary to drive the Spanish army under Mendizabal from their position, and to close the communication with Fort San Christoval. For this purpose, the cavalry under Soult crossed the Guadiana on the 19th of February, to co-operate with the infantry, which had been suffered to pass that river on the preceding night without opposition. At break of day the French cavalry rushed upon the left wing of the Spaniards, and overthrew them, while General Girard attacked and carried the right, in spite of a vigorous resistance made by the flower of the patriot army. When Marshal Soult had ascertained the extent of the advantage gained on the right and left, he collected all his troops against the centre, and by this masterly manœuvre, forced a corps of six thousand Spaniards to lay down their arms, while the remainder of Mendizabal's army were either killed or dispersed.

This victory opened the gates of Badajoz to the besiegers. During the month of February the fortress, however, was defended with much courage and ability ; but in the last sortie made by the Spaniards, the governor, Don Raphael Menacho, was killed ; and on the 11th of March, Don Josse de Imaz, his successor, surrendered this important fortress into the hands of the enemy ; "and thus," in the words of Lord Wellington, "Olivença and Badajoz were given up without any sufficient cause ; while Marshal Soult, with a corps of troops which was never supposed to exceed twenty thousand, besides capturing those two places, made prisoners and destroyed about twenty-two thousand Spanish troops."

A few days before the fall of Badajoz, Marshal Massena, who had maintained his station at Santarem from the 15th of November till the 5th of March following, broke up his can-



tonments at that place, and commenced his retreat towards the Mondego. The pursuit by the British was rapid and immediate, but no operation of any importance took place till the 12th, when the 6th and 12th corps of the enemy took up a strong position at the end of a defile between Redinha and Pombal, where a smart engagement took place, which issued in the retreat of the French to Condexa. This place again afforded another opportunity of rallying, which the necessity Massena experienced of resting and collecting his army obliged him frequently to repeat, and which his consummate skill enabled him successfully to accomplish.

The French army, continuing their retreat by the route of Guarda, passed the Coa on the 3d of April, and on the following day entered Spain. The army under Marshal Massena retreated from Portugal as they had entered it, in one solid mass, covering their rear, on their march, by the operation of two *corps d'armee*; and it is impossible to speak of the retreat, considered purely and exclusively in a military point of view, in any other than terms of the highest admiration. But while due praise must be given to the military skill which enabled the French general to retreat through a hostile and devastated country, with a large army pressing upon his rear, with comparatively small loss, the conduct of his army must be stigmatised as wantonly outrageous. From the moment the retreat commenced the troops gave themselves up to a spirit of cruelty and rapine; and after inducing the inhabitants of many of the towns and villages through which they passed to remain at their homes under the promise of good treatment, they plundered their property, and destroyed their habitations.

Almeida, which was now the only place in Portugal in the hands of the enemy, was immediately blockaded by the British troops, and Lord Wellington, under a persuasion that Massena would not for some time be in a situation to attempt the relief of that fortress, committed the command of his army to Sir Brent Spencer, while he took the opportunity of visiting the army of Estramadura, under Sir William Beresford. On the 15th of April, the fortress of Olivença had again opened its gates to the allies; and on the 22d of the same month, a conference took place between Marshal Beresford and Lord Wellington at Elvas, at which it was determined immediately to invest Badajoz, and to prosecute the siege of that place with vigour. Soon after the conferences at Elvas, the hostile indications of the French army of Portugal recalled Lord Wellington to the north. The overflowing of the waters of the Guadiana delayed the operations

against Badajoz till the 3d of May, and on the 12th of that month, Marshal Beresford was under the necessity of raising the siege in order to advance against Marshal Soult, who had left Seville on the 10th, and was marching to the Portuguese frontier in order to throw succours into the besieged fortress.

The British commander, who, on his way to Albuera, had been joined by the Spanish forces under Generals Castanos and Blake, drew up his army in two lines nearly parallel to the Albuera, on the ridge of the hill which gradually rises from that river. The allied forces consisted of eight thousand British, seven thousand Portuguese, and ten thousand Spaniards, comprehending in the whole not more than two thousand cavalry. Soult left Seville with sixteen thousand men, and had been joined on his route by a reinforcement of five thousand, under Latour Maubourg. At eight o'clock in the morning of the 16th, the enemy's troops were observed in motion, and his cavalry, of which he had at least four thousand, crossed the Ferdia, and formed under cover of the wood in the fork between two rivulets. A strong force of cavalry, with two heavy columns of infantry, then marched out of the wood, pointing towards the front of the allied position, as if to attack the village and bridge of Albuera; while, at the same time, their infantry filed over the river under the protection of the cavalry. The intention of the enemy to turn the allies, and to cut off their communication with Olivença and Valverde, now became apparent, but this manœuvre was defeated by a counter-movement on the part of General Cole's division, and General Blake's forces. The attack commenced about nine o'clock, and while the French General Godinot made a false attack upon Albuera, Soult, with the rest of his army, bore on the right wing of the allies. After a determined and gallant resistance, the Spaniards were forced from the heights, and the enemy knowing the importance of this position, set up a shout of triumph which reverberated through the hills, and was heard to the utmost extremity of the lines. The Spaniards displayed the greatest courage, but their want of discipline was felt, and a great error was undoubtedly committed in assigning to them that precise station upon which the fate of the whole army depended. No sooner had the Spaniards arrived at the bottom of the hill than they rallied, while Colonel Colbourne brought up the right brigade of General Stewart's division for the purpose of re-possessing the allies of the ground which they had lost. Finding that the enemy's column was not to be moved by their fire, they proceeded to an attack with the bayonet; but while in the act of charging, they were themselves suddenly turned, and



attacked in the rear by a body of Polish lancers, armed with long lances, from the end of each of which is suspended a small red flag, which, while it is so carried by the rider as to prevent his own horse from seeing any other object, serves to frighten those horses to which he is opposed. Never was any charge more unexpected or more destructive; the rain, which fell in torrents, and thickened the atmosphere, partly concealed the lancers in their advance, and those of the brigade who saw them approach, mistook them for Spanish cavalry, and therefore did not fire. A tremendous slaughter was made upon the troops thus surprised. The three regiments of Colonel Colbourne's brigade lost their colours at this time, but those of the Buffs were recovered, after signal heroism had been displayed in their defence.

The fate of the day at this moment was every thing but desperate; and nothing but the most determined and devoted courage saved the allies from a defeat of which the consequences would have been more deplorable than the immediate slaughter. The third brigade, under Major-general Houghton, and General Cole's division, advanced to recover the lost heights, their officers declaring that they would carry the position or perish in the attempt. General Houghton fell while leading on his brigade, and cheering his men as they advanced to the charge; and Sir William Meyers shared the same fate. The charge, though destructive, was successful. The fusileer and the royal Lusitanian brigades, though three thousand strong when they advanced to the charge, could not muster one thousand when they gained the eminence—two thousand men and sixty officers, including every lieutenant-colonel and field-officer in the assailing brigades, were either killed or wounded in this murderous charge. But the enemy in their turn, when they were forced down the declivity towards the river, suffered still greater slaughter from the musquetry and shrapnells of the allied army. The conflict ceased about three o'clock in the afternoon; and the combatants, on surveying the field, were struck with horror at the dreadful havoc they had made in each other's ranks.

Of all the battles of modern times, the battle of Albuera was one of the most fatal; the loss sustained by the allies, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounted to seven thousand, while the loss of the enemy exceeded that number. Few engagements have tended so much to exalt the character of the hostile armies in each other's estimation. The French exhibited the highest state of discipline; nothing could be more perfect than their manœuvres; no general could have wished for more excellent instruments; and no soldiers were ever di-

rected with more consummate skill. All their advantages were, however, more than counterbalanced by the discipline and incomparable bravery of their enemies. The loss of the Buffs, and of the 78th regiment, was heavy in the extreme; the first of these corps went into action with twenty-four officers, and seven hundred and fifty rank and file, but on the following day there only remained five officers and thirty-four men to draw rations. Within the circumscribed space where the heat of the battle raged, not less than seven thousand men were stretched dead upon the field; and the rain which ran from the heights, literally reddened the rivulets with blood. General Verle, who, for twenty years, had been to Marshal Soult what Berthier was to Bonaparte—his faithful companion, and his confidential associate, fell, like General Houghton, charging at the head of his troops. The object of Soult, which was to raise the siege of Badajoz, was accomplished even before the battle commenced; and a barren and dearly purchased victory was the only reward of the allies for the danger they had incurred, and the dreadful slaughter they had sustained. On the 17th, Soult manœuvred on his right, under cover of his numerous cavalry, and having saved appearances, by continuing two days after the battle in the neighbourhood of Albuera, he withdrew towards Andalusia.

Several traits of courage, and devotion to the cause in which they were engaged, were exhibited by the British in the battle of Albuera; Ensign Thomas, who bore one of the flags, was surrounded by the enemy, and required to surrender his charge—"Only with my life," was his answer, and his life was the immediate forfeit; but the standard thus taken was recovered. Ensign Walsh, who carried another colour, had the staff broken in his hand by a cannon-ball, and he fell at the same moment severely wounded; but more anxious for the honour of his regiment, than his own safety, he separated the flag from the shattered staff, and when his wound came to be dressed, it was found secure in his bosom. A captain in the 57th regiment, who was severely wounded, directed his men to lay him on the ground at the head of his company, and in this situation he continued to give his orders. Marshal Beresford, the commander of the allied army, in this sanguinary battle, exposed his person to the greatest hazard, and his life was only saved by his prowess and dexterity, which enabled him to dismount a Polish lancer at the moment when a deadly thrust was made at his person. (69.)

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(69.) In the narratives given by Mr. Baines, of the operations of the war between France and the Continental powers, he appears to have dis-



Reports that Marshal Massena was collecting his army to succour Almeida, had called Lord Wellington back to the

played considerable impartiality, and to have consulted the official accounts on each side, in order to furnish a correct estimate of the numbers engaged, as well as of the circumstances, and actual result of every engagement. Where his own countrymen, however, are concerned, the case is very different. He seems to take for granted, every thing that is contained in the official despatch of a British commander, and sets it down accordingly in his book, without enquiring whether a different statement has been published on the opposite side. As the same degree of faith is not generally given, on this side of the Atlantic, to British despatches, we have thought it proper, whenever access could be had to French accounts, to annex them, that a more correct judgment might be drawn from a comparison of the respective narratives. Of the war in Spain, we believe few official accounts have been published by the French government, at least few have reached this country. The memoirs however of the French officers, of which several have appeared, generally supply the deficiency, and may, upon the whole, be considered as furnishing better materials for history, because written generally by eye witnesses, and published since the abdication of Napoleon, and therefore not liable to the suspicion of having been composed under his dictation. From one of these\* we extract the following account of the battle of Albuera, which differs from the narrative in the text, as to the numbers of the hostile armies, and the comparative loss sustained.—“Shortly after the capture of Badajoz, intelligence was received that Lord Beresford, who commanded the Anglo-Portuguese army, had set himself down before that place, after getting possession of Olivença. On this news, Marshal Soult again collected the troops at Seville, and with several regiments which were in cantonments in Estramadura, hastened to the relief of Badajoz. His force was estimated at 16,000 foot and 4,000 cavalry; at whose approach Lord Beresford abandoned his lines, sent his baggage and heavy artillery to Elvas, and marched to meet the French army at Albuera, four leagues from Badajoz. His army amounted to about 45,000 men, including the Spanish corps of Castanos, Blake, and Ballesteros, recently arrived from Cadiz. He placed his centre on a ridge, which was connected with other heights occupied by the Spanish troops who formed the right wing, this point being the key of the position. The left wing rested on the village of Albuera. In front of the allied army was a stream stretching along the whole line, and only fordable above a stone bridge situate in view of the town, on the road to Seville. General Beresford had not occupied the latter, but its approach was commanded by three batteries. Marshal Soult arrived on the 15th of May in sight of Albuera, and encamped in a wood within cannon shot of the village. Having reconnoitred the position of the allies, he perceived that the success of the battle would depend upon getting possession of the ridge on the right, in which, if he succeeded, he would be enabled to cut off the retreat of the enemy upon Olivença, and his communications with Elvas. In conformity with this plan, the French army began the attack on the morning of the 16th. Beresford comprehended the manœuvre of Marshal Soult, and reinforced his right wing, although his adversary wished to deceive him, by making a demonstration upon his centre and left. A great part of the French infantry under General Girard, crossed the stream above the bridge, and moved in solid column up the hill. The cries of ‘forward’ were heard

\* *Memoires sur la guerre d’Espagne, par M. de Naylies, officier, &c. des Gardes du Corps de Monsieur.*—*p.* 290.

north ; and at day-break on the 2d of May, the main body of the French army actually crossed the Agueda, at Ciudad Rodrigo. On the 3d, the French troops marched in the direction of Almeida, and the allied army assembled near the small village of Fuentes d'Onoro, with the exception of General Pack's column, which was ordered to continue the blockade of Almeida. The British position formed a line extending beyond the brook of Onoro, on a hill, whose left was supported by Fort Conception ; the right, which was more accessible, was at Navedeaver, and the head-quarters at Villa Formosa. In this position, the allied armies had the rocky bed of the Coa behind them, and only a single carriage communication by the little town of Castello Bom. The object of Massena was to seize this communication, and for that purpose he proceeded in force against the right of the allies, and attacked Fuentes d'Onoro, which stands partly in front of the hill, while with another part of his army, he kept the centre in check. The attack was not made till the afternoon of the 3d, when Lord Wellington, penetrating the plan of his antagonist, threw reinforcements into the village. The enemy had, at one time, obtained possession of the disputed post ; but that advantage was wrested from him before night put a stop to the action.

The following day was employed by the French general in making dispositions for a renewal of the attack ; and on the morning of the 5th, two of his columns appeared in the valley of the Duas Casas, opposite to Poço Velho, having the

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in all quarters, and our troops advanced at a quick step upon the enemy's lines. They were received with so terrible and well directed a fire, that our columns were thinned in an instant, and a great number of generals and other superior officers, were killed outright. Our soldiers hesitated for a moment, and many were heard complaining aloud of the manœuvre. Disorder and confusion succeeded this want of subordination, and the English general was not slow in perceiving and profiting by it. Several battalions were brought to act against our infantry, which had broken its order of battle ; they drove it back beyond the stream, behind which it formed, under the protection of the artillery. This fruitless attack cost us a great many lives. The 27th chasseurs, the 2d and 10th hussars made some good charges, took several pieces of artillery and a considerable number of prisoners. The dragoons of General Latour Maubourg, who endeavoured to turn the enemy by Valverde de Legare, had also some partial success. The Polish lancers particularly distinguished themselves on this day, by their brilliant charges on the infantry. The novelty of their arms threw terror into the ranks of the enemy, whom they overthrew several times. The two armies re-occupied in the evening the same positions they had previously possessed, and remained in this state all the 17th. We had about 1500 killed and 4,000 wounded ; the loss of the enemy was not so great. The French army being in want of provisions, commenced its retreat on the 18th, leaving in its bivouacs and on the field of battle, a part of its wounded."



whole of his cavalry on his left, under General Montbrun.— On the advance of this force, General Houston, to whom the protection of the passage had been confided, was compelled to retire with some loss. The French having thus established themselves in the village, their cavalry turned the right of the 7th division, between Poço Velho and Navedeaver, from whence Don Julian, the Spanish general, had been obliged to fall back. Lord Wellington, finding his line too far extended, concentrated his troops, by which movement his lordship lost his communication with Sabugal, but he thus prevented the approach of the French to Almeida, which was the ultimate object of Massena's attacks. Generals Houston, Crawford, and Sir Stapleton Cotton, were now ordered to charge the enemy's centre, while the right wing fell on his rear ; this operation, which was executed with the greatest precision, had a powerful influence in deciding the fate of the day. About the same time, General Montbrun charged the cavalry of the allied army in columns, and gained some advantage ; but this attack, upon which the French marshal built his hopes of complete victory, was not attended by any decisive result. Against Fuentes d'Onoro, which was in front of the left, the chief efforts of the French were directed, and this place was several times won and lost in the course of the day ; but the enemy were finally driven through the village by Colonel Mackinnon, and when night closed upon the combatants, four hundred of their dead were lying in that place, which continued in possession of the allied troops. (70.)

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(70.) The failure of the French army to drive that of Lord Wellington from its position, is attributed, by an author from whom we have already quoted, to a mistake in directing the attack against the right instead of the left, of the latter. "Such" he concludes, "was the result of this action, the glory of which certainly belonged to us, since we remained masters of a great part of the field of battle. It is difficult to comprehend how Lord Wellington, who has displayed so much prudence and caution in all his military combinations, could venture to give battle in such a position. It is true that Almeida was the price, and that the importance of this conquest justified great sacrifices. But with what disasters would not a defeat have been followed. Behind him an enemy's fortress, and a deep and rapid stream, and further in the rear a country full of defiles, and of every kind of difficulties. Such is the ground on which he would have been obliged to retreat. The loss of his baggage, of his artillery, and of all his munitions, would have been the inevitable consequence ; and a considerable check would have brought with it other misfortunes. The conduct of the English general can hardly be excused, but by supposing him badly informed as to the state of our force, which he may have believed to have been considerably reduced, and little able to contend against his own, at the close of a campaign so trying to our troops ; but he was nigh paying dear for so mistaken a calculation."

For two days after the battle of Fuentes d'Onoro, the hostile armies remained in their position, the French feeling no inclination to repeat an attempt in which they had already suffered so severely ; and Lord Wellington, from the inferiority of his numbers, and the emaciated state of his cavalry, not choosing to risk a general action. On the night of the 7th, Massena, having entirely failed in his intention to relieve Almeida, crossed the Agueda, and left that fortress to its fate, but not till he had sent orders to General Brennier, the governor, to blow up the fortifications, and to retire with his garrison to San Felices. These orders, owing to the culpable remissness of that part of the allied army which was stationed before Almeida, General Brennier was enabled to execute ; at ten o'clock on the night of the 10th, giving his men the watchword, " Bonaparte and Bayard," he quitted the garrison in silence, and on the 11th joined the French army with 1,500 men on the Agueda.

The failure of Marshal Massena inflicted a severe wound upon the military renown of that general, and determined him to resign the command of an army which seemed doomed to disaster only. After having re-crossed the Agueda, he left Spain on the plea of bad health, and was succeeded in his command by Marshal Marmont, Duke of Ragusa.

On the 16th of May, Lord Wellington set out from Almeida, and arrived at Elvas on the 19th, where he first received the report of the battle of Albuera. His lordship learned also, with pleasure, that Badajoz was again invested by the allies, and that Marshal Soult's army was in full retreat towards Seville, harrassed in their rear by Marshal Beresford. Lord Wellington, on receiving this intelligence, immediately undertook the direction of the operations on the Guadiana, and on the night of the 29th of May, the trenches were opened before Badajoz. On the 6th of June, the breach made in Fort San Christoval was judged practicable. The assault was made in the evening of the same day, about ten o'clock ; but notwithstanding the valour of the assailants, such were the preparations made by the French Governor, Philippon, and such the determined courage of his troops, that the besiegers, after three sanguinary assaults, were obliged to retire. The English engineers, it appears, had not taken the precaution to make themselves masters of the ditch ; and the governor, availing himself of this omission, had despatched his miners to clear the fort of the breach, which was thus rendered to a certain extent impracticable. The firing against San Christoval was again renewed on the following morning, and continued to the 9th, in the evening of which day ano-



ther assault was made; but similar obstacles again presented themselves, and the troops, after displaying an ardour and bravery worthy of a better result, were once more forced to desist from the enterprise. The fatal issue of these repeated assaults, combined with the formidable preparations now making by the French armies under Soult and Marmont, induced Lord Wellington to raise the siege of Badajoz, and to take up a position within the Portuguese frontier.

General Graham, to whom the command of the British force in Cadiz was confided, finding that the besieging army before that city had been much weakened by drafts for the purpose of raising the siege of Badajoz, resolved to profit by this circumstance, and after destroying the works of the enemy, to open a communication with the island of Leon. With this design an expedition was prepared, consisting of four thousand British, and eight thousand Spanish troops, commanded by the Spanish General Don Manuel de Lapena, and under whom General Graham consented to act. On the 20th of February the expedition sailed from Cadiz roads, and on the 27th the combined army was collected on the coast between Terifa and St. Roque; but owing to the almost impassable state of the roads, it was not till the 4th of March that they came in sight of the French posts near Chiclana. The commander of the allied army having succeeded in establishing a communication with the Isle of Leon, directed General Graham to move down from Barrosa towards the Torre de Bermeja, leaving some Spanish regiments, under Brigadier-general Begines, upon the heights. About noon on the 4th, the British troops began their march, and had proceeded about half way down the hill into the middle of a wood, when they were informed that the enemy, who had appeared in force upon the plain, was advancing towards the heights of Barrosa. On these heights, which formed the key of the position of Santi Petri, a body of Spaniards had been left, and General Graham resolved to measure back his steps, and if possible to attain the heights before the enemy could dislodge his allies. At the time this counter-march commenced, part of the British force was entangled in the wood, and before they could extricate themselves from its mazes, General Graham had the mortification to see the Spaniards quit the heights, to which General Victor, with eight thousand troops, was rapidly advancing. The situation of General Graham's corps was now such, that it could only be saved by the prompt arrangement of a judicious plan of operations, aided by the cool and determined bravery of his troops. The nature of the ground at Barrosa precluded the operations from being seen at Bermeja, where the main

body of the Spanish army was posted, and the arrangements were so incomplete, that the communication between the two branches of the allied army was not duly preserved. General Graham, perceiving that he had nothing to expect from the co-operation of General Lapena, determined instantly to attack the enemy.

The brigade of guards, the flank battalions of the 28th, two companies of the 2d rifle corps, with a part of the 57th regiment, formed the right, under Brigadier-general Dilkes. The left consisted of Colonel Wheatley's brigade, with three companies of the Coldstream guards, and Lieutenant-colonel Barnard's flank battalion; while a powerful battery of ten guns opened from the centre. The battery was directed principally against the right division of General Victor's army under General Leval, which, however, still continued to advance, till it was received and checked by the left wing of the British. The three companies of guards, supported by the remainder of the left wing, charged the enemy with so much bravery as to decide the fate of General Leval's division. In this rencontre, an imperial eagle decorated with honourary distinctions, and the first the British had ever won, was captured from the 8th regiment of light infantry. The left division of the French army, under General Rufin, who had now attained the summit of the hill, animated by their numbers and their advantageous position, advanced to meet the right of the British under General Dilkes. For a short time the battle raged furiously, and the issue seemed doubtful, but the French troops, unable to withstand British steel, gave way, and General Rufin, who was mortally wounded in the charge, withdrew with his corps from the heights. In less than an hour and a half from the commencement of the battle, the whole of the French army was in full retreat, and such had been the sanguinary nature of the conflict, that, in that short period, four thousand men had fallen, twelve hundred of whom were British, and the remainder French troops. The disasters of the enemy in the battle of Barrosa were aggravated by the loss of three general officers—General Belgrade, who was killed, and Generals Rufin and Rousseau, who were mortally wounded and taken.

While the British troops were engaged on the hill of Barrosa, an attack was made upon General Lapena at Bermeja, by the French forces under General Villatte; but this effort produced no decisive result. The battle of Barrosa, like that of Albuera, proved an unprofitable though glorious achievement, and owing to the want of energy, skill, and judicious combination on the part of the Spanish commander, the object of the ex-



pedition, which was to raise the siege of Cadiz, entirely failed. (71.)

In the month of August, Lord Wellington, with the main body of the allied army, advanced along the banks of the Tagus to the frontier of Portugal, and on the 5th of September, his lordship completed the blockade of the fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo. On the 22d, the French army of the north, under General Dorsenne, formed a junction with Marshal Marmont at Tamames, on the banks of the Tormes. The combined army, thus augmented, amounted to sixty thousand men, while the allied army did not exceed fifty thousand. This disparity of strength induced Lord Wellington to raise the blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo and to retire to Fonte Guinalda, between Guarda and the river Agueda. The French, having thrown supplies into Ciudad Rodrigo, fell back upon Salamanca, and in these positions the two hostile armies remained, without undertaking any further operations of importance, during the present year. But though the main armies went into winter quarters early in October, a very brilliant achievement was performed by the corps under General Hill, stationed at Portalegra. On the morning of the 28th of October, a French corps under General Girard, on its march to the south of Spain, was surprised and attacked by General Hill, in the neighbourhood of Arroyo del Molinos, with so much vigour and effect, that the French force, which consisted of about two thousand five hundred infantry, and six hundred cavalry, was routed and dispersed, with the loss of upwards of two thousand men, fourteen hundred of whom were made prisoners.

About the beginning of the year 1811, a regular and systematic plan appears to have been formed by Bonaparte for conducting the war in Spain, one leading feature of which was the occupancy of all the principal cities in the peninsula. The French general employed for the purpose of carrying this project into execution in the east, was Suchet, a man of uncom-

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(71.) We find the following account of this engagement, about which so much has been said in England, in M. de Naylies Memoirs. "While our armies obtained such brilliant success in Estramadura, a very sanguinary battle was fought at Chiclana, on the 5th of March, between the corps of Marshal Victor, 6,000 strong, which occupied the lines before Cadiz, and an Anglo-Spanish force of 15,000 men, which had landed at Algesiras to raise the siege. The French performed prodigies of valour, maintained their position, and forced the enemy to retire into the place; but they lost 2,000 men, many superior officers, and two generals. This exploit, so honourable to the French arms, was only one of many glorious actions which distinguished the brilliant career of the Duke of Belluno in Spain."

mon enterprise and activity. About the end of the month of April, General Suchet, at the head of forty thousand infantry, and from six to eight thousand horse, with a hundred pieces of cannon, and all the battering train necessary for a vigorous prosecution of the siege, appeared before Tarragona, the ancient capital of Citerior Spain, and on the night of the 4th of May, the place was completely invested on the land side. The siege was carried on with great vigour and success on the part of the French troops, while Don Juan Senén de Contreras, the governor, in daily expectation of being relieved by the Spanish army under General Campo Verde, made repeated sorties, and continued to defend the fortress to the last extremity. On the night of the 21st of June the trenches were opened, and on the 28th of that month, the breach having become practicable, the French determined to carry the place by storm. On the 26th, an English force from Gibraltar, under Colonel Skerritt, arrived off the coast of Catalonia, and a conference was held between the British commander and the Governor of Tarragona ; but when Colonel Skerritt perceived the inadequate means of defence, and the danger to which the place was exposed, he declined to land his forces. Every thing seemed to conspire against this unfortunate fortress. The Marquis Compo Verde made no efforts to afford the besieged relief ; a division under General Miranda, sent by the Valencians to succour the garrison, instead of entering Tarragona, joined the army under Campo Verde ; and Colonel Skerritt, having received a report from the chief of his engineers and artillery, that the place was incapable of further resistance, returned on board his ship ; and yet they had all been despatched to the relief of the fortress.\* The garrison, which, up to the moment of the assault, had displayed the greatest heroism, became intimidated when the French entered the breach. In vain did the officers attempt to rally their forces ; the panic increased every moment ; and the Spanish troops suffered themselves to be cut down by their own officers rather than face the enemy, who were pursuing them in every direction, and butchering their victims in the street.\* In proportion as the garrison receded the enemy occupied the ramparts of the old and new inclosures, and descended into the streets, where they killed, wounded, or robbed every one, without distinction of class, age, or sex ; and the tragedy would have been still more sanguinary, had not the French officers, in their generous and heroic exertions to restrain these excesses, exposed themselves to the violence and fury of their own soldiery. More than

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\* Despatch from General Contreras to the Spanish Minister at War.



eighteen thousand men, French and Spaniards, perished during the siege.\*

Such is the description of the fall of Tarragona, as given by the governor of that fortress, and that the picture is not overcharged, may be inferred from the despatches of the French general; "The rage of the soldiery," says Suchet in his description of the assault, "was increased by the resistance of the garrison, which every day expected deliverance, and wished to insure its success by a general sortie. The horrible example which I foresaw, to my sorrow, and foretold in my last report, has been made, and will long be remembered in Spain. Four thousand men were slain in the town; from ten to twelve thousand attempted to escape into the country by leaping from the walls; but one thousand of them were cut to pieces or drowned. About ten thousand, five hundred of whom were officers, have been taken prisoners and marched into France. Nearly fifteen hundred lie wounded in the hospitals of this town, where their lives have been spared in the midst of the slaughter. The governor and three major-generals are among the prisoners. Several other superior officers are numbered with the dead. Twenty stands of colours, three hundred and eighty-four battering pieces, forty thousand cannon balls or bombs, and half a million of quintals of gunpowder and lead, are in our power."†

Marshal Macdonald, anxious to emulate the conduct of General Suchet, pressed the siege of Figueras with great vigour; and on the 19th of August, the Spanish General Martinez, after an unsuccessful attempt made on the night of the sixteenth, to carry the French lines, at the head of three thousand men, found himself obliged to surrender the fortress.

After the fall of Tarragona, Marshal Suchet advanced towards Valencia, and prepared to lay siege to the capital of that province. Here, as in every part of Spain, the spirit of the people was decidedly hostile to the French, but in no place had that spirit been more miserably mis-directed than in Valencia. Instead of animating the people to deeds of military renown, they were directed, by a fanatical priesthood, not to ask for cannon and gunpowder, but to fly to their altars; and the Marquis del Palacio, Captain-general of the kingdoms of Arragon, Valencia, and Murcia, besought the army of Valencia to look up for protection to the "adorable and generous Madre de Desamparades, the Queen of angels, under whose staff the kingdom would obtain deliverance." Suchet, disre-

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\* Despatch from General Contreras to the Spanish Minister at War.

† General Suchet's Despatches, dated Tarragona, June 29th, 1811.

garding the invincible staff of the Queen of angels, marched, in full confidence of success, into Valencia, and on the 20th of September laid siege to Murviedro, the ancient Saguntum. General Blake, one of the members of the regency of Spain, who at this time commanded an army of upwards of twenty thousand men, advanced from the city of Valencia to the relief of Murviedro. On the 24th, about noon, the Spanish general arrived with his army on the height of El Puig, and on the following morning the hostile armies met in the field. For some time the battle raged with great fury, but the ardour of the left division of General Blake's army, under Carlos O'Donnell, having separated that division from the other columns, the battalions were thrown into confusion, and it was found impossible to retrieve the fortunes of the day. This action, though one of the best general engagements that had been fought by the Spaniards, was most unfortunate in its result; the loss of General Blake amounted to about seven thousand men, of which number nearly five thousand were made prisoners. The French general, profiting by the victory of El Puig, hastened back to Murviedro, and the governor, despairing of succour, surrendered, after a siege of a few days, a place which had so long resisted the efforts of a powerful army under Hannibal.

The day after the surrender of this fortress, Marshal Suchet, continuing his victorious career, advanced to Valencia, and summoned that city to surrender; but the marshal, as celebrated for his dexterity as a courtier as for his intrepidity as a soldier, proceeded very slowly in his operations against this place, hoping in the issue to shed so much splendour around the conquest as to obtain a dukedom, in addition to the marshal's staff which had been awarded to him on the fall of Tarragona. After fifty days spent in preparation for the passage of the Guadalaviar, the French crossed that river in the night of the 25th of December, in the face of the army of General Blake, and almost without resistance. The investment of Valencia, in which the Spanish army was now shut up, was completed before the close of the 26th, and Suchet, availing himself of these advantages, by which the Spaniards had so little profited, secured in every direction the canals and fosses against a sortie. Still the lines remained, which the Valencians had for three years been employed in constructing; but after all this labour and expense it was discovered that these works were untenable. While success thus continued to attend every effort of the enemy, General Blake resolved to make an attempt to escape from the fortress, with the army under his command; but the inhabitants, having obtained



information of this intention, compelled him to give up the project, and to remain in patient expectation of a fate which he no longer seemed disposed to avert. The trenches being now prepared, they were opened on the first night of the new year, and on the 4th of January, 1812, they had advanced within fifty toises of the ditch. The desertions from the Spanish army had now become so numerous that the garrison was under the necessity of abandoning their lines, leaving behind them eighty pieces of cannon. Animated to the highest degree by the success of his operation against a place which at that moment contained a population of two hundred thousand souls, Marshal Suchet continued to prosecute the siege with the utmost vigour. For three days and nights the bombardment was incessant; and on the 8th of January, General Blake, wishing to spare Valencia the horrors of a storm, consented to capitulate. By the terms of capitulation, the troops became prisoners of war; the inhabitants and their property were to be protected, and the French prisoners in Majorca, Alicante, and Carthagena, were to be exchanged. In virtue of these stipulations, sixteen thousand efficient troops of the line, exclusive of two thousand in the hospitals, eighteen hundred cavalry and artillery horses, twenty-two generals, nine hundred officers, and three hundred and seventy-four pieces of cannon, were surrendered into the hands of the enemy.

The fall of Valencia, which obtained for Marshal Suchet the title of Duke of Albufera,\* terminated the military career of General Blake: repeatedly and severely as he had felt the want of discipline in his troops, he pertinaciously resisted every attempt on the part of the English to regenerate the armies of Spain; and even with the example of Portugal before his eyes, he seemed determined rather to sacrifice his country than to subdue his national pride. But amidst all his errors and misfortunes, he obtained the character of a brave man and a real patriot; and his last despatch, in which he considers captivity to be his future lot, and consigns his numerous family to the protection of the state, cannot fail to awaken feelings of regret and commiseration.

While the events in Valencia doomed the Spanish commander to exile, fortune afforded Colonel Skerritt a favourable opportunity to remove the stigma cast upon his character by the governor of Tarragona. Marshal Soult, sensible of the advantages to be derived from the occupation of Tarifa, ordered Marshal Victor to detach a corps of ten thousand men to obtain possession of that place. On the 20th of De-

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\* The name of a lake in the vicinity of the city of Valencia.

cember, General Leval, to whom the expedition was intrusted, invested Tarifa on the land side, the other being the exclusive dominion of the allies. The garrison, which was under the command of Colonel Skerritt, consisted of about twelve hundred English troops, with nearly an equal number of Spaniards. On the 25th the trenches were opened, at a distance of a hundred and fifty fathoms from the place, and on the 29th the besiegers directed their batteries against the works. On the 31st, the breach being judged practicable, a strong French column, composed of grenadiers and voltigeurs, advanced, about eight o'clock in the morning of that day, to the assault. The attack, which was made with great energy and perseverance, was so gallantly resisted by the garrison, that the besiegers were at length obliged to retire, leaving the ground covered with their slain. This repulse proved so decisive that on the night of the 4th the French retired from before the place in silence, leaving behind them part of their artillery, and all their besieging implements.

The Junta of Seville, in the very infancy of the peninsular war, perceived that the real strength of the Spanish nation was to be found rather in her people than in her armies. Under this impression they proclaimed a Moorish war—*Guerra de Moros contra estos infideles*; and reminded the Spaniards of the manner in which their fathers had exterminated a former race of invaders. The country, they said, was to be saved by killing their enemies day by day, just as they would rid themselves of a plague of locusts. The work would be slow in its progress, but sure in its issue, and the nation would thus be brought to the martial pitch of those times when it was a recreation to go forth and seek the Hagarenes. The old Castillian names were revived for skirmishes, ambushes, assaults, and stratagems—*escaramuzas*, *celadas*, *rebatos*, *ardides*, the necessary resources of domestic warfare, and the people were assured that the nature of the country, and the manners of the inhabitants, rendered Spain invincible. Wherever the Spaniards had no army, the contest assumed this character; and from the moment that the French were masters of the field, and would in any other country have considered their conquest as complete, from that moment a wasting war commenced, against which discipline was of no avail, and which must ultimately consume any military power, however formidable. Every day some post of the invaders was surprised, or some escort cut off; plunder was recovered, despatches were intercepted, and above all, vengeance was taken. In every part of Spain leaders started up, who collected about them the most determined spirits: Don Ventura Ximenez



extended his incursions from Badajoz to Toledo ; Don Julian Sanchez was the terror of the enemy in Old Castile and Leon ; Porlier distinguished himself in the Asturias ; Mina began a glorious career in Navarre ; and Don Juan Martin, the Empecinado, from the mountains of Guadalaxara, baffled all the efforts of the French in Madrid, and alarmed King Joseph for his personal safety. Followers in great numbers were found to join in this Guerilla war—induced, not only by the stimulating properties of a life of outlawry, but by a spirit of patriotism, and a thirst for vengeance.

To follow these bands through their predatory hostilities is impossible, but it is a fact well ascertained, that their operations were more fatal and destructive to the enemy than the battles fought by the main armies—the armies seldom met, but the Guerillas were at all times in active operation. Every Spaniard regarded the public cause as his own private quarrel, and the French troops had almost as many individual enemies to fight as the Spanish peninsula contained inhabitants.\* The priests hated the invaders from patriotism and from interest ; and the people, so far from considering the French in the light of deliverers, for abolishing the inquisition, and reducing the religious orders, hated them the more on that very ground. The religious people could not conceive how institutions, which they regarded as having always existed, could ever cease ; and in these times of misfortune, every change made by an enemy's hand was regarded as an act of impiety. The terror of the French arms conferred no influence around them. The enemy being spread over the whole country, the different points occupied by the French were all, more or less, threatened, and the invaders were not in reality masters of more ground than that they actually trod upon. The length of the war had no effect upon the Spaniards ; their hatred was inextinguishable, and in some provinces, the husbandman guided his plough with one hand, while he held a sword, always unsheathed, in the other, and which was only buried at the approach of the French, if they were too numerous to be assailed by the rustic warriors. Like avenging vultures, eager for prey, the Spaniards frequently followed the French columns at a distance to murder such of the soldiers as, fatigued or wounded, remained behind. When the French sought to revenge the death of their comrades, the inhabitants fled, and nothing was found in the villages but

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\* Memoirs of the War of the French in Spain, by M. de Rocca, a French officer of hussars, and knight of the order of the legion of honour.

deserted dwellings, on which the invaders could not wreak their fury without destroying the places that were to afford them future shelter. This desultory and incessant warfare damped the ardour of the French soldier, and made him pant for the termination of the inglorious contest.\*

In the mean time, the situation of the court of Madrid was deplorable in the extreme. Sick of his humiliating situation, Joseph Bonaparte paid a visit to France,\* to represent to his brother the exhausted state of the public treasury, and the daily and increasing difficulties and embarrassments of his situation; but Moscow, instead of Madrid, now occupied the attention of the Emperor Napoleon, and all that could be awarded to Joseph on his return to Spain was a further supply of troops, for the support of which, in a country already exhausted, his motley administration was directed to supply the means.

The difficulties felt by the cortes were little inferior to those experienced by the intrusive government of Madrid. The chief pecuniary resources of the Spaniards, in the early stages of the contest, were drawn from their South American possessions; but, owing the spirit of independence which had begun to manifest itself in the colonies, this source of revenue was nearly dried up, and the internal supplies of Spain were reduced by the presence of the enemy to insignificance. Much good however was effected by the cortes: a constitution was formed, founded upon the declaration "that Spain belongs to the Spanish people, and is not the patrimony of any family:" the use of the torture was abolished by acclamation; feudal jurisdictions were destroyed; and the African Slave Trade was prohibited.

The year 1811, although one of the most sanguinary epochs in the history of Spain, was crowned with no results decisive of the contest in the peninsula. On the western frontier of that kingdom, Britain had gained little except glory. In the east, the most unexpected misfortunes had befallen the Spaniards, and those provinces which, in the early part of the war, had been the theatre of the bravest resistance, were almost entirely subjugated. A desire to relieve this fine country from the presence of an enemy by which it was overrun, formed one great inducement with the British commander to open the campaign of 1812 at an early period of the year, and with a spirit of enterprise which promised the most brilliant issue.

It was necessary to the plan of operations which Lord Wel-

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\* M. de Rocca.



lington had formed, that he should, in the first place, make himself master of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz. Early in the month of January, therefore, the allied army crossed the Agueda, and on the 8th, the first of these fortresses was invested. General Hill was in the mean time detached against Dombrowski, who was posted at Merida, and who retreated with precipitation on the approach of the British. The British general next proceeded against Drouet, who commanded the fifth division of the French army, at Almendralejo; but this officer, having been apprised of these movements, retired upon Zafra, abandoning his stores and ammunition. By these operations, Marmont and Soult were effectually separated; the country between the Tagus and Guadiana was cleared of the enemy; Drouet was thrown back on Llerena; and Badajoz, which was soon to be attacked, was reduced to the utmost extremity for want of provisions. Lord Wellington was thus left to pursue his operations against Ciudad Rodrigo; and on the evening of the very day on which the siege was begun, a detachment of the division under Lieutenant-colonel Colbourne, of the 52d regiment, stormed and carried the redoubt on the hill of St. Francisco, took some prisoners, and put their comrades to the sword. These important successes enabled the British to break ground near the works. On the evening of the 14th, a fire was opened from the first parallel with twenty-two pieces of ordnance, and three batteries; and on the same evening, the besiegers established themselves in the second parallel, within a hundred and fifty yards of the place. In ten days after the opening of the siege, the approaches were completed; several breaches were made in the wall; and the resolution was taken to carry the works by storm. The storming parties, in five separate columns, composed of the 3d and light divisions of the army, and of Brigadier-general Pack's brigade, were ordered to advance. Lieutenant-general Picton, and Major-general Crawford, took a conspicuous part in the operations, and the efforts of all the columns were crowned with success. The loss of the British in this brilliant affair amounted to about twelve hundred killed and wounded; but the conquest was of great importance in the present state of the campaign, and reflected the highest honour on the assailants. In the short space of ten days, one of the strongest fortresses on the Portuguese frontier had thus been wrested from the enemy; and the satisfaction which this triumph diffused over the country was enhanced by the favourable report which the British commander gave of the patriotism of the Spanish people.

The honour of an earldom, accompanied by an additional

parliamentary grant of two thousand a year, was conferred upon Lord Wellington, in consideration of the eminent and signal services performed by his lordship in the campaigns in Spain and Portugal; and, by a singular coincidence, it so happened, that as the services of the gallant earl were the latest object of reward conferred by the royal authority before it was placed in abeyance, so the reward of those services was the first act that emanated from the unlimited exercise of the sovereign power in the person of the prince regent. In those countries where the governments had the most immediate means of appreciating the merits of Lord Wellington, honours and riches were showered down upon him with a degree of liberality that sufficiently indicated the estimation in which his services were held. In addition to the title of Conde de Vimiera, and the rank of Marshal of the kingdom of Portugal, a reward of 12,000*l.* a year was offered to his lordship by the regency; and in Spain, the elevated office of captain-general, with which he was invested by the government, was accompanied by a salary of five thousand a year. These pecuniary rewards, though offered by foreign gratitude, were declined by the distinguished person on whom they were bestowed: "No," said his lordship, "in the present situation of Spain and Portugal, I will not receive these munificent donations; I have only done my duty to my country, and to my country alone I will look for a recompense."\*

As soon as Lord Wellington had repaired the works of Ciudad Rodrigo, and Marshal Marmont, who had advanced to give him battle, had again retired, and cantoned his army on the banks of the Tormes, his lordship moved towards Badajoz with a determination to push the siege with vigour, and to direct the operations in person. By the middle of March, this fortress was completely invested, the first parallel having been formed within two hundred yards of the out-works of La Picorina. On the 19th the garrison made a sortie against the right of the British works, but were instantly repulsed with considerable loss by Major-general Bowes. On the 25th the besiegers carried Fort La Picorina by storm, and put the garrison to the sword. The progress which had thus been made is unexampled in the history of sieges. By the 6th of April no less than three breaches had been made, which were considered practicable; and the storming of the place was immediately determined upon. Lieutenant-general Picton, with the third division, was ordered to attack the castle of Badajoz by escalade; Major Wilson, with a detachment from

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\* Mr. Canning's Speech in the House of Commons.



the fourth division, was to assail the ravelin of St. Rocque ; Major-general Colville, with the remainder of the 4th, and the light division, was to attack the bastions of La Trinidad and Santa Martha ; and the conduct of a false attack was committed to Lieutenant-general Leith, with instructions to turn it into a real one, should circumstances prove favourable.

About ten o'clock in the night of the 6th of April, General Picton set out on his arduous enterprise. He crossed the river after some resistance, and in the short space of an hour and a half was master of the castle of Badajoz. Major Wilson, with two hundred men, carried the ravelin of St. Rocque. The light division, advancing to the covered way, descended into the ditch, and proceeded to storm the breaches ; but such were the obstacles which the contrivance of the enemy had thrown in the way, that although the assault was often renewed, the British troops were unable to establish themselves in the place. The false attack, however, under General Leith, was converted into a real one ; and the besiegers, having succeeded at all points except at the bastions, the light division was drawn off. Both the castle and the town were now in possession of the British. The French governor, General Philippon, with his staff, retired into Fort St. Christoval, and surrendered on the following day. The garrison, which amounted originally to five thousand men, had lost twelve hundred killed and wounded in the previous operations, besides those that perished in the assault. The British and Portuguese sustained a loss of two thousand eight hundred killed and wounded, a loss which must be thought considerable, notwithstanding the value of the service, and the rapidity of the operations. Thus had the allied army, in the short space of one month, reduced a great fortress, improved by all the resources of art, and defended by a strong garrison.

The sagacity of Lord Wellington in pressing the siege of Badajoz with so much vigour soon became manifest : Soult was rapidly advancing to the relief of this important fortress ; and Marmont, after an unsuccessful attempt to carry Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida by a *coup-de-main*, was marching into the interior of Portugal. The British commander, feeling the necessity of promptitude of action, instantly moved forward to check the progress of Soult ; but that officer, having, on his arrival in Estramadura, been apprised of the fall of Badajoz, measured back his steps into Andalusia. Marmont's advance was checked at Castle Branco, by the progress of the British arms, and his retreat precipitated by the apprehension that the fall of the fortresses would leave the conquerors at liberty to follow up their success, and press upon his rear.

Such was the auspicious opening of a campaign which was yet to exhibit events still more brilliant.

Marmont was now at Salamanca, Drouet at Aguazel, and Soult at Seville. Lord Wellington, in prosecuting the ulterior operations of the campaign, directed his efforts in the first place to break up entirely the communication between these armies ; and for this purpose, General Hill was despatched to destroy the bridge of Almaraz, which, crossing the Tagus on the northern frontier of Estramadura, formed the only remaining line of connection below Toledo. On his approach to the Tagus General Hill found the bridge strongly protected, both sides of the river being provided with works, which the enemy had thrown up, while the castle and redoubts of Mirabet added much to the difficulty of the enterprise. Finding it impossible, owing to the bad state of the roads, to arrive at an hour sufficiently early to form his columns before day-break, the French were of course fully apprised of his intention, and opened a heavy fire on the advancing corps ; but the British, undismayed by this resistance, made an assault upon the fort, by which the left bank of the river was protected. In a moment the works were escalated at three different points, and carried at the point of the bayonet. The enemy, incapable of withstanding this fatal instrument, fled in all directions, and attempted to escape by the bridge ; but their comrades, on the opposite bank of the river, had already cut off the communication, and those who escaped destruction by the bayonet, perished in the stream.

All the operations of the French generals, during the present campaign, strikingly illustrated the talents and enterprise of their adversary ; and their movements were generally made when the object of those movements was no longer attainable. Thus Marmont advanced to the relief of Ciudad Rodrigo, when, to his astonishment, that fortress was already reduced : thus, also, did Soult march to the relief of Badajoz, when the works had been stormed and carried ; and thus did Marmont now move tardily to the protection of the bridge of Almaraz, when the communication across the Tagus had been destroyed. These movements, which exhibited the appearance of distraction rather than of system, proved the entire dependence of the French operations on those of their enemies, while they evinced at the same time the paramount genius of the British commander, which was now rising to its meridian altitude.

Every preparation having been made for the advance of the British army into Spain, Lord Wellington crossed the Agueda on the 13th of June, and on the 16th arrived in the neighbour-



hood of Salamanca. Marmont, contrary to the general expectation, retired with the main body of his army from that city without attempting its defence, and took up a position on the eastern bank of the Tormes. Having collected his whole force, he moved forward on the 20th, with the apparent design of offering Lord Wellington battle; but the British army was found to be so advantageously situated, that the enemy again retired, leaving the forts of Salamanca, the defence of which had been confided to about eight hundred men, to their fate. Owing to the want of the necessary implements, and to a defective supply of ammunition, the reduction of these forts proved a work of greater difficulty than was at first anticipated. On the 23d, General Bowes, who was ordered to carry Fort San Cayetano by storm, was wounded at the commencement of the action; but the moment his wound was dressed he returned to the assault, and in a fresh attack, gloriously, but unprofitably, perished at the head of his brigade. The arrival of a supply of ammunition having enabled the besiegers to renew their efforts, the breach in the principal fort became practicable on the 27th, when La Merced and San Cayetano were carried by storm, and San Vincente capitulated. These convents, which had been converted into forts, served as depots for clothing and stores, the whole of which fell into the hands of the British. Lord Wellington himself, when he examined the works, expressed his surprise at the rapidity with which they had been carried, and the French marshal was, as usual, filled with astonishment.

The great event so long expected was now approaching, but a new series of manœuvres was first to be executed. Marshal Marmont, presuming upon his experience in the art of war, hoped, by a combination of skilful movements, to draw the allies from Salamanca, and to cut off their communication with Ciudad Rodrigo; while the object of Lord Wellington was to frustrate this purpose, by counter-movements.

On the morning of the 21st of July, the whole British army was concentrated on the Tormes, and in the afternoon of that day, the enemy crossed that river, and advanced in the direction of Salamanca. Two armies, each amounting to about fifty thousand men, (72.) moving in so small a space of ground, must soon come to a general engagement; and this result was

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(72.) The comparative force of the two armies is here grossly misstated. Most of the French writers on the subject of this campaign, represent the numbers of their army at about 35,000, and those of the allies at not less than 80,000; and when we consider the great drafts made by Napoleon for his Russian campaign, the accounts of the latter will appear most likely to be true.

hastened by the intelligence Lord Wellington had received on the night of the 21st, that General Clausel was advancing with the cavalry and the horse artillery of the northern army, and that he would form a junction with Marmont, within two days from the time at which the accounts reached his lordship.— During the night of the 21st, the enemy had taken possession of the village of Calvarosa d'Arabi, and of the neighbouring height; the allied army being in possession of Calvarosa d'Abexo: and soon after day-light in the morning of the 22d, the enemy's position was materially strengthened by a successful effort to obtain possession of the more distant of two hills from the British right, called Dos Arapiles.

After a variety of evolutions and movements, Marmont, who seems to have determined upon his plan of operations about two o'clock in the afternoon of the 22d, extended his left, under cover of a heavy cannonade, and moved forward his troops, apparently with an intention to embrace that single post of the Arapiles which Lord Wellington occupied, and from thence to attack and break his line. In the execution of this operation, the French marshal, in person, advanced to the ridge to remedy some irregularities in his divisions, at which moment he was struck by a shell, which broke his right arm and made two large wounds in his side; under the torture of these wounds he was obliged to retire from the field, leaving the command of his army to General Clausel.\* This extension of the enemy's line, however bold and judicious, comprised within itself the elements of his defeat; and gave to the allied army an opportunity of attacking him to advantage, for which Lord Wellington had long been waiting. His lordship, seizing the opportunity, instantly reinforced his right with the 5th division, under Lieutenant-general Leith, which he placed behind the village of Arapiles, on the right of the 4th division, with the 6th and 7th divisions in reserve. As soon as these troops had taken their stations, Lord Wellington detached the honourable Major-general Pakenham to move forward with the 3d division; and General D'Urbans, with two squadrons of the 14th light dragoons, under Lieutenant-colonel Hervey, to turn the enemy's left on the heights; while Brigadier-general Bradford's brigade, the 5th division under Lieutenant-colonel Leigh, the 4th division under the Hon. Major-general Cole, and the cavalry under Sir Stapleton Cotton, were ordered to attack in front; supported in reserve by the 6th division under Major-general Clinton, and the 7th

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\* Report of Marshal the Duke of Ragusa to the French Minister at War.



division under Major-general Hope ; the Spanish division of Don Carlos d'Espagna, and Brigadier-general Pack's division, being at the same time ordered to support the left of the 4th, by attacking the position of Dos Arapiles.

By these movements Lord Wellington extricated his army from the danger of being outflanked, and instead of continuing to act on the defensive, actually became the assailant. The meditated attack on the enemy's left was now made, and General Pakenham, fully comprehending the plan of his commander, formed the third division across the enemy's flank, and overthrew every thing that opposed him. These troops were supported, in the most gallant style, by the Portuguese cavalry and Lieutenant-colonel Hervey's squadron, who defeated every attempt made by the enemy on the flank of the third division. At the same time, Brigadier-general Bradford's brigade, the fourth and fifth divisions, and the cavalry under Lieutenant-general Sir Stapleton Cotton, attacked the enemy in front, and drove his troops before them from height to height. This attack, which had been combined with so much skill, and executed with so much bravery, became irresistible ; but General Pack was less fortunate ; all his efforts to obtain possession of the Dos Arapiles failed, except in diverting the attention of the enemy's corps, placed on that eminence, from the troops under the command of Lieutenant-general Cole. The cavalry, under Lieutenant-general Sir Stapleton Cotton, made a brilliant charge against a body of infantry, which they overthrew and cut to pieces ; but this success was dearly purchased by the loss of that " most noble officer,"\* Major-general Le Marchant, who fell at the head of his brigade.

After the crest of the height had been carried, one division of the enemy's infantry made a stand against the 4th British division, which was obliged to give way, and Lieutenant-general Cole was severely wounded in the retreat. The French now redoubled their efforts to regain the ground which they had lost, and Marshal Sir William Beresford, and General Leigh, who were appointed to support General Cole, having both been wounded, the expectations of the French became sanguine ; but at this critical moment, General Clinton, at the head of the 6th division, marched to their assistance and restored the former success. Still the contest continued to rage ; the enemy's right, reinforced by the troops which had fled from his left, and by those which had retired from the Arapiles, maintained their ground. Lord Wellington, seeing the

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\* Lord Wellington's Despatches.

determined stand made by the enemy at this point, ordered the reserve, consisting of the 1st and light divisions, and the brigades under Colonel Stubbs and Major-general Anson, to turn the right, while the 3d and 5th attacked the front. At length this bravely contested point was carried, and the enemy fled through the woods towards Tormes; but night, which had now come on, rendered the pursuit difficult, and favoured the escape of the retreating army.

On the 23d, the pursuit was renewed; when the allies were enabled to reach the enemy's rear-guard near Le Serna; here a desperate charge was made upon the fugitives by the brigades of cavalry under Generals Bock and Anson, which was completely successful, and the whole body of the infantry, consisting of three battalions, were made prisoners. The pursuit was continued until the evening of the 23d, and extended as far as Peneranza; while the scattered remains of Marmont's army passed through Flores d'Avila towards Valladolid, where they were joined by the cavalry and artillery of the north. It is difficult to estimate the enemy's loss in the battle of Salamanca; but it probably amounted to about thirteen thousand men, of whom seven thousand were prisoners, including one general, three colonels, three lieutenant-colonels, and a hundred and thirty officers of inferior rank; and in addition to which, eleven pieces of cannon, two eagles, and six standards, were taken. Such a victory could not be achieved without a heavy loss on the side of the allies, but it was not of a magnitude to distress the army or to cripple its operations. The total loss of killed, wounded, and missing in the allied army, amounted to five thousand two hundred and twenty, of whom three thousand one hundred and seventy-six were British; two thousand and thirty-six Portuguese; and six Spaniards.

In reporting the disastrous issue of this battle to the French minister at war, Marshal Marmont says, "It is difficult to express the different sentiments which agitated me at the fatal moment, when the wound which I received caused me to be separated from my army. I would with delight have exchanged this wound for the certainty of receiving a mortal stroke at the close of the day, on the condition that the faculty of command should have been preserved to me during the battle; so well did I know the importance of the movements which had just taken place, and how necessary the presence of the commander in chief was at the moment when the shock of the two armies was approaching. Thus one unfortunate moment has deprived me of the labours of six weeks of wise combinations."



The battle of Salamanca was distinguished from all other battles hitherto fought in the peninsula, by several important circumstances : it was more masterly in the design, more gallant in the execution, and followed by consequences of far greater importance. By the reduction of the strong fortresses at the beginning of the campaign, and the separation of the French armies, the contending parties were placed in an attitude towards each other, very different from that in which they formerly stood, and incomparably more favourable to the allies. In the former battles, the allies had acted in a great measure upon the defensive, and by a display of bravery, had, in very unfavourable circumstances, repulsed the enemy, but here their triumphs might be said to end. A battle however had now been fought, which united at once all that was brilliant, with all that was useful. While one of the mightiest hosts of the enemy had been dispersed, his other armies were disjointed ; the capital of Spain was laid open ; and an opportunity was offered to the Spaniards themselves to come forward and seal the deliverance of their country ; but all hopes founded upon their simultaneous exertions proved illusory. If the Spaniards loved the independence of their nation much, they loved their own ease still more ; if they hated the French, they contented themselves with shewing their hatred by an irregular and petty warfare, marked with features of ferocity, which could scarcely be justified, even when practised against their invaders.

Lord Wellington, having left a force at Valladolid, under General Paget, to watch the motions of the enemy, advanced with the main body of his army to the Spanish capital. Joseph Bonaparte, who had under his command about twenty thousand troops, hastily evacuated Madrid on the approach of the British, and retreated to Amaroza, on the frontiers of Valencia and Murcia ; a position from which he could communicate either with Soult or with Suchet. On the 12th of August the British army entered the capital ; the Retiro, garrisoned by fifteen hundred men, immediately surrendered, while Guadalaxara was at the same time taken by the *empecinado*. Intelligence was also received that an army of sixteen thousand men, consisting of British and Neapolitan troops from Sicily, with some Spaniards from Majorca, had reached the eastern coast of Spain, and disembarked at Alicant, under the command of Gen. Maitland.

The allies found at Madrid about two hundred pieces of ordnance, nine hundred barrels of gunpowder, and twenty thousand muskets. The joy of the inhabitants was unbounded ; the whole population came out to meet their deliverers ;

and every individual embraced either the officers or the soldiers. The 12th of August was a day of universal jubilee, and in the evening, the ancient form of government, the cortes and Ferdinand VII. were proclaimed anew in the midst of the acclamations of the whole city. But political events are to the inhabitants of a great metropolis what winds are to the sea. The enthusiasm of the Spaniards, which appeared so universal on the entrance of the allied army, vanished when Lord Wellington solicited a loan of two millions of piastres.\* This attempt to raise contributions upon the impoverished Castilians, as might have been foreseen, entirely failed, and instead of enriching the military chest, lowered the British general in the estimation of the inhabitants.

The recovery of Madrid was not the only immediate consequence of the battle of Salamanca. The raising of the siege of Cadiz was another, which might have been turned to very great advantage by the Spaniards. Marshal Soult now became convinced, "that there would be no way of preserving Spain, but by abandoning Andalusia for a time ;"† under this persuasion, the siege of Cadiz was raised on the 25th of August, and the army of the south was united with the French forces of the north, the centre, and the east.

The disasters of the French in Spain had hitherto arisen in a great measure from their separate and ill-combined plans of operation ; but they now determined to profit by experience, and, if possible, to avoid so flagrant an error in future. Their whole force, under Clausel, the successor of Marmont, Suchet, Soult, and Joseph Bonaparte, amounted to a hundred and fifty thousand effective troops ; and by their present plan of operation, Clausel's army, reinforced by the troops from Biscay, was to move in the direction of Burgos, to watch the British forces destined for the siege of that fortress, while Soult, with Joseph Bonaparte and Suchet, should advance upon Madrid, and compel the allies to evacuate that capital.

The presence of Lord Wellington was now required in the north, and on the 1st of September his lordship quitted Madrid, with the determination to lay siege to Burgos. On the 19th, Lord Wellington reconnoitred the works, and on the following night General Pack carried the enemy's horn works by assault, and established himself on the hill of St. Michael. This service was performed with the same success which had marked all the other operations of the army ; but so thick was the darkness, that some mistakes were made by the as-

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\* The Spanish piastre is of the value of 3*s.* 7*d.* sterling.

† Letter of Marshal Soult to Joseph Bonaparte.



sailants, in consequence of which their loss was more than usually severe, amounting at least to three hundred men. The French stationed in the works were five hundred in number, only sixty-three of whom were made prisoners, the remainder having all perished in the fury of the assault. The rapidity of Lord Wellington's advance had prevented him from bringing up his heavy artillery, without which nothing but the imperious necessity which he felt at this time for the most vigorous operations, could have justified him in attempting to take the castle of Burgos. He was thus compelled to abandon the ordinary method of attack, for want of a proper artillery train, and to resort to the slow and more uncertain process of sapping the works. The defence was conducted with great skill and resolution by the garrison; and General Dubreton, who had instructions to hold out to the last extremity, acquitted himself with distinguished valour and success. As soon as the British had got possession of St. Michael's Hill, they erected a battery, which commanded the outer line of the works, connecting the fortress with the town. This line was escaladed at two points by a British and Portuguese detachment; the Portuguese, however, failed in the attempt, and the British had advanced so far that it was not without some difficulty they were drawn off. The French, after this, did not remain altogether on the defensive; they made successively two sorties against the works of the besiegers, which were neither of them attended with very important consequences. The besiegers, in spite of all the efforts of the garrison, still continued to make rapid progress; they established themselves within one hundred yards of the enemy's interior line; they effected a breach in another part of the same line; accomplished a lodgment; and carried on their mines under ground with the utmost celerity. On the 11th of October, a mine was successfully sprung; the breaches were instantly stormed, and the lines escaladed, and part of the British troops actually entered the works; but the fire from the garrison was so heavy, that they were unable to sustain themselves, and retired, after suffering a severe loss. Notwithstanding these repeated repulses, the most confident hopes still existed that Burgos was doomed to share the fate of Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo; but a series of unforeseen accidents occurred, which prevented the fulfilment of these expectations, and tarnished the splendour of the closing scenes of the campaign.

In the east, the Spanish General O'Donnell, sustained a severe defeat from the French under General Harispe, by which the operations of General Maitland were paralyzed, and his

army doomed to a state of inactivity at Alicant. From the side of Galicia, Lord Wellington was promised the co-operation of a well-appointed Spanish army, amounting to thirty-thousand men; but to his extreme mortification, he found that this body of men did not exceed ten thousand, and that they were without discipline, and destitute of all the requisites of soldiers. Ballasteros, the commander of the army of the south, was at this time meditating the ambitious project of seizing on the chief command of the Spanish armies, and instead of falling upon the flanks of the French, conformably to the orders of Lord Wellington, he answered these commands by an appeal to his soldiers, and to the Spanish nation; for which contumacious proceeding he was superseded, arrested, and exiled.

In consequence of the inaction of the Anglo-Sicilian expedition, the inefficacy of the Spanish army of Galicia, and the refusal of Ballasteros to act under Lord Wellington, his lordship found himself in a situation of considerable difficulty and embarrassment. The French army of Portugal, for by that name it was still designated, greatly reinforced, was advancing under General Souham, who had now taken the command, with a view either to raise the siege of Burgos or to force the allies to an engagement under great disadvantages. The movements of Souham and Soult were nearly simultaneous, and formed part of the same plan which the latter general had adopted for the recovery of Madrid. On the 21st of October Lord Wellington received information that the whole of the French forces, under Soult, Suchet, and Joseph Bonaparte, were fast approaching the passes, and threatened General Hill. This intelligence determined his lordship to raise the siege of Burgos, to recall General Hill from Madrid, and to retreat in the direction of Valladolid. It is difficult to describe the feelings of the British people when they learnt that the Spanish capital was again in possession of the enemy, and that the siege of Burgos had been raised by an army which had been so lately broken and almost dispersed by the besiegers.

During the retreat, the British army displayed, under its illustrious leader, its wonted steadiness and bravery; and although closely pressed at different points by very superior numbers, the enemy was kept in check, and the best order preserved. In the course of the retreat, the French endeavoured to turn the flanks of the retiring army at various points; the main body of Souham's force, advancing to Toro and the Jacama, threatened its left, while Soult marched to Avila, in hopes of turning the right. Lord Wellington immediately



put his whole force in motion and retired to Salamanca, where he hoped to be able to establish himself, but the united forces of the enemy were too numerous and powerful, and he was obliged to evacuate this city and continue his retreat. In the movements from Salamanca to Ciudad Rodrigo, Sir Edward Paget, a brave and able officer, to whom the command of the centre column was confided, unfortunately missed his way in the dark, and fell into the hands of the enemy. The allies in the mean time continued their retreat, with very little loss or inconvenience, except from the wretched state of the roads, till they reached the Portuguese frontier. Here they were distributed into extensive cantonments; and as the season of the year, and the state of the roads, no longer admitted of military movements, the conquerors of Salamanca were allowed to enjoy the repose necessary to recruit their exhausted strength, and to prepare them for the toils of another campaign, which was to be scarcely more glorious in its progress, but much more decisive and happy in its results.

## CHAPTER XVII.

**BRITISH HISTORY:** *Meeting of Parliament—Establishment of the Royal Household—Negociations for an extended Administration—The Prince Regent invested with the unrestricted Powers of the Sovereign—Mr. Perceval retained in his Situation as Prime Minister—Alarm occasioned by the Murders in the Metropolis—Inquiry instituted into the Policy and Operation of the Orders in Council—Assassination of Mr. Perceval—Trial and Execution of Bellingham, the Assassin—Sketch of the Life and Character of Mr. Perceval—Motion of Mr. Stuart Wortley for an Address to the Prince Regent, beseeching his Royal Highness to appoint a strong and efficient Administration—Carried by a Majority of four—Negociations for a New Ministry consequent thereon—Failure of the Negotiations, and Continuance of the existing Administration in Office under certain Changes and Modifications—List of the Administration as constituted in June, 1812—Revocation of the Orders in Council—Finances—Motion in favour of the Catholics—New Toleration Act—Dissolution of Parliament—Overtures for Peace made by France—Political Relations between Great Britain and America—Captain Henry's Mission—War declared by the United States against England—Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress and Suppression of the Commotions in the Manufacturing Districts of England, popularly styled "Luddism."*

THE year 1812, by re-uniting all the prerogatives of the crown in the person of the prince regent, may be considered as the actual commencement of a new reign, while the ministerial negociations by which this period was distinguished,

put to the test the strength of the different political parties, and demonstrated the existence of a preponderating mass of power on the part of the executive, which, when brought into exercise, reduces them all to comparative insignificance. The parliament was convened at an early period, as well on account of the important concerns of the country in general, as for the purpose of delegating to his royal highness the prince regent, the full powers of government, which had, during the preceding year, limited him in the exercise of the royal prerogative. Both houses met accordingly on the 7th of January, when a speech was delivered by the lord chancellor, in the name of the prince regent. The speech, after lamenting the disappointment of the hopes so confidently entertained of his majesty's speedy recovery, congratulated parliament on the skill and valour displayed by the British army in the peninsula of Spain and Portugal, as well as upon the extinction of the colonial power of the enemy in the east; and concluded with an assurance on the part of his royal highness, that he would continue to employ all such means of conciliation for adjusting the existing differences between Great Britain and America, as might be consistent with the honour and dignity of his majesty's crown.

The state of the king's health was the first object that engaged the attention of parliament, after the usual address on the speech had been passed. Two reports by the queen's council on this melancholy subject, the first dated the 5th of October, 1811, and the second, the 5th of January, 1812, were laid before parliament; and committees were appointed by both houses to examine his majesty's physicians. These inquiries proved the improbability of the king's complete and final restoration to health, although the physicians, with one exception, concurred in declaring that they did not entirely despair. The history of this most afflictive case was altogether singular: during the early stages of his majesty's illness, the most sanguine hopes were cherished; the king was visited by his family; he took exercise in the open air; the bulletins, for a short time, were discontinued; and his subjects, with that feeling of loyalty which his numerous virtues inspired, rejoiced in the prospect presented by these favourable appearances. A marked change, however, took place about the beginning of July, 1811, and although, from that period downwards, his majesty had been able at intervals to converse with his medical attendants, yet the symptoms of his illness gradually became more discouraging, until, in the beginning of the present year, they had assumed such an aspect as



almost to close the door of hope against his complete restoration to mental health.

At a very early period of the session, Mr. Perceval came forward with a plan for the arrangement of his majesty's household, which seemed neither to imply confident hope nor absolute despair of his recovery. Parliament, he said, had last year made full provision for supplying the exercise of the royal authority ; and as the law now stood, all the prerogatives, as well as all the duties of the sovereign, would, on the 18th of February, devolve on the prince regent ; and as the civil list would of course at that time be transferred to his royal highness, it became necessary to make some provision for the personal comfort and dignity of the king. His majesty's civil list he considered as the proper fund for such a provision ; and as separate establishments for the regent and the king would now be necessary, he had to propose that an addition of 70,000*l.* per annum should be made to the civil list, out of the consolidated fund. He then proceeded to state, that as the lord steward and lord chamberlain had duties to perform immediately connected with the royal functions, it would be necessary that these officers should be placed round the person of the regent ; and that, in their room, the first gentleman of the bed-chamber should be substituted as the chief officer of the king's household, with the vice-chancellor as his deputy ; that four lords and as many grooms of the bed-chamber, a master of the robes, and seven or eight equerries, together with his majesty's private secretary, should form the new officers of the proposed establishment, which of course must be placed under the control of the queen, to whom the care of his majesty's person must continue to be intrusted. The annual expense of this establishment was estimated at a hundred thousand pounds, and this sum it was proposed to take from the civil list, with a reservation that any deficiency should be drawn from the treasury, and that any surplus should go in aid of the public supplies. In the circumstances in which the queen was placed, it was judged proper to add ten thousand a year to her income. It was further proposed, that all pensions and allowances which the king was accustomed to grant to the objects of his bounty, were to be paid as formerly out of the privy purse ; that the expenses incurred for medical assistance should be paid out of the revenue of the duchy of Lancaster ; and lastly, that a commission of three persons should be appointed, one of them to be a master in chancery, and the other two to be named by the queen and the prince regent, for the management of the king's private property. In

virtue of this arrangement, one hundred thousand pounds were to be appropriated to the king's household, together with sixty thousand pounds, the amount of the king's privy purse, and ten thousand pounds to the queen, making an aggregate sum of 170,000*l.* a year. To meet these charges, the prince regent consented to give up his exchequer income of fifty thousand a year, which, with the seventy thousand pounds voted by parliament, would leave a deficiency of fifty thousand pounds; but this sum, it was judged, might be dispensed with, as the prince had not so large a family as his royal father. To this plan it was objected, that it was involved in unnecessary perplexity; and that, by establishing two courts, one for the prince regent, and another for the queen, a great unnecessary expense was incurred, and a dangerous and conflicting influence created. These objections were not thought of sufficient weight to influence the decision of parliament, and the plan proposed by Mr. Perceval ultimately passed both branches of the legislature, along with a cotemporary bill, by which the sum of a hundred thousand pounds was voted to the prince regent to meet the expenses which his royal highness had incurred, or might yet incur, on his assumption of the royal authority. In addition to the ample provision made for the royal household, the liberality of parliament was this year called forth in favour of the Princesses Augusta, Elizabeth, Mary, and Sophia, to each of whom a grant of nine thousand per annum was made, exclusive of four thousand per annum, granted to each of the princesses from the civil list, in the 18th and 39th years of his majesty's reign. The princesses had hitherto lived in family with their royal parents, but the melancholy circumstances which had recently occurred, placed them in the same condition as if the demise of the crown had actually taken place, and it became necessary therefore to make a suitable provision for the establishment of these august females.

The near approach of the period when the restrictions upon the royal authority, as exercised by the prince regent, expired, awakened in the minds of the political parties into which the country is divided, a deep and general interest; and their expectations, their hopes, and their fears, were respectively predominant, according to the light in which they viewed the conduct of the royal personage by whom the question that had so long hung in suspense was to be decided. When the prince first resolved to continue Mr. Perceval in his office as prime minister, he considered himself as acting solely as his father's representative, and expressly declared, that an impulse



of public duty alone dictated that decision.\* These motives were not only expressly laid open to Mr. Perceval, but every opportunity seemed, in the early period of the regency, to be taken, to prove to that gentleman and his colleagues, that their services were merely tolerated, and that the attachments of the prince towards his own political and personal friends remained unaltered. Only a few months, however, elapsed, before it became manifest that the dislike of the prince had gradually passed to endurance; and long before the period arrived for the removal of the restrictions, it began to be conjectured that this feeling had given place to something approaching to interest and attachment. The evidence of this fact was displayed in the month of February, when the prince took a decisive step, such as left little doubt in the minds of cool and impartial persons, that he wished for no material change in the policy of his government, and that his wish for a change of men to administer public affairs, was by no means ardent.

On the 13th of February, when the restrictions were on the eve of their termination, the prince regent addressed a letter to the Duke of York, in which, after stating the motives by which his mind had been influenced, while he considered himself in the situation of the representative of his royal father, he adds, "A new era is now arrived, and I cannot but reflect with satisfaction on the events which have distinguished the short period of my restricted regency. Instead of suffering in the loss of any of her possessions, by the gigantic force which has been employed against them, Great Britain has added most important acquisitions to her empire. The national faith has been preserved inviolate towards our allies; and if character is strength, as applied to a nation, the increased and increasing reputation of his majesty's arms will shew to the nations of the continent how much they may still achieve when animated by a glorious spirit of resistance to a foreign yoke. In the critical situation of the war in the peninsula, I shall be most anxious to avoid any measure which can lead my allies to suppose that I mean to depart from the present system. Perseverance alone can achieve the great object in question; and I cannot withhold my approbation from those who have honourably distinguished themselves in the support of it. I have no predilections to indulge—no resentments to gratify—no objects to attain, but such as are common to the whole empire. If such is the leading principle of my conduct—and I can appeal to the past in evidence of

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\* See Vol. III. Chap. XII. p. 272.

what the future will be—I flatter myself I shall meet with the support of parliament, and of a candid and enlightened nation.” This letter concludes with the expression of a wish on the part of his royal highness, that some of those persons with whom the early habits of his public life were formed, would strengthen his hands, and constitute a part of his government. Two days after the date of this letter, Lords Grey and Grenville, to whom the Duke of York had, in compliance with the request of the prince regent, communicated his sentiments, addressed a reply to his royal highness, in which they confined themselves to those passages in the prince’s letter which they supposed to have a more immediate reference to themselves: in this reply they beg leave most earnestly to assure his royal highness, that no sacrifices, except those of honour and duty, would appear to them too great to be made, for the purpose of healing the divisions of the country, and uniting both its government and its people. All personal exclusions are entirely disclaimed; they rest solely on public measures; and it is on this ground alone that they express the impossibility of uniting with the present government. Twice before they had acted on this impression; the reasons then given still existed, and were strengthened by the increased dangers of the times; nor had there, down to the moment of writing this letter, appeared even an approximation towards such an agreement of opinion on the public interests, as could alone form a basis for the honourable union of parties previously opposed to each other. Into a detail of these differences they expressed an unwillingness to enter; they embraced, however, almost all the leading features of the present policy of the empire; but, on the affairs of Ireland, so far were they from concurring in the sentiments of his majesty’s ministers, that they entertained opinions directly opposite, and were firmly persuaded of the absolute necessity of a total change of the present system of government in that country, and of the immediate repeal of those civil disabilities under which so large a proportion of his majesty’s subjects still labour, on account of their religious opinions.

This answer, which was the only one which could be expected from statesmen who had, on former occasions, repeatedly declined to sacrifice their honour and consistency, to the acquirement of the patronage and emoluments of office, was decisive, and proved the utter hopelessness of all attempts to accomplish a fair and honourable union between Lords Grey and Grenville and the present ministers. The regent, in offering to include some of his former friends in the ministerial arrangements, had evidently been prompted by considerations



of consistency rather than of inclination ; and by the result of this negociation, Mr. Perceval was fixed more firmly than before in his office of prime minister. The ministry, as it was at present constituted, consisted of two parties, at the head of one of which was Mr. Perceval, and at the head of the other the Marquis Wellesley. The differences between these statesmen were partly personal and partly political ; the high and aspiring views of the Marquis Wellesley would not permit him to serve *under* Mr. Perceval, though he had no objections to serve *with* him, or to serve *under* either Earl Moira or Lord Holland ;\* and when it appeared, at the expiration of the restrictions, that the prince regent intended to continue Mr. Perceval at the head of his councils, the marquis resigned the seals of his office into the hands of his royal highness. The Marquis Wellesley, in assigning the reasons for this step, expressed a conviction, founded on experience, that the cabinet, as then constituted, neither possessed ability nor knowledge to devise a good plan, nor temper and discernment to adopt it ; but his principal objection arose from the narrow and imperfect scale on which the efforts on the peninsula were conducted.\* On the subject of the catholic claims, against the concession of which Mr. Perceval was decidedly opposed, the Marquis Wellesley declared, that, in his judgment, an intermediary principle should be adopted, equally exempt from the extreme of instant, unqualified concession, and of peremptory, eternal exclusion.\* On the resignation of this minister, the seals of the foreign department were put into the hands of the Earl of Liverpool, *pro tempore* ; but Lord Castlereagh was afterwards appointed to that department ; and the earl continued in his station of secretary of state for war and the colonies.

These negotiations and arrangements, which engrossed so large a share of the public attention, were thought by Lord Boringdon to demand the intervention of parliament ; and on the 19th of March, that nobleman submitted to the house of lords a motion for an address to the prince regent, beseeching his royal highness to form an efficient administration. This motion, which was strenuously opposed by his majesty's ministers, called forth the whole strength of the upper house of parliament, and, on a division of that assembly, there appeared for the motion, seventy-two ; and against it, one hundred and sixty-five voices.

Although the first year of the regency had been eminently distinguished by the success of the British arms abroad, yet

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\* Statement of the Marquis Wellesley.

at home great distress and dissatisfaction prevailed ; in various parts of the country, disturbances of a very alarming nature burst forth ; and in the metropolis, events occurred during the winter of 1811, which aroused the alarm and apprehension of the inhabitants in a most extraordinary degree. Although offences against property have increased in this country in full proportion to the growth, wealth, and luxury of the people, it is to the honour of the national character that crimes of aggravated cruelty and enormity have been but little known among us ; and when the solitary malignity of a wretch, whose name will in future be classed with those of the monsters who have outraged humanity, exterminated two families of innocent and unoffending beings, the metropolis was in a ferment ; the character of the British nation, it was said, was entirely changed ; assassination was charged upon us as a national crime ; our houses were no longer our castles ; and we were considered as unsafe in our beds.\* The nature and extent of the evils by

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\* The family of Mr. Timothy Marr, silk-mercier, No. 29, Ratcliffe-Highway, consisting of himself, his wife, an infant son, fourteen weeks old, and an apprentice boy, were all found murdered, between twelve and one o'clock on Sunday morning, the 8th of December, 1811. On entering the house, the horrid spectacle presented itself of James Gohen, the apprentice, lying on his face in the shop, with his brains dashed out, and part of them actually covering the ceiling. On further search, Mrs. Marr was found lying on the floor, near the street door, and Mr. Marr behind the counter, in the shop, both weltering in their blood, from mortal wounds in the head ; and the child in the cradle, finding in its innocence and infancy, no protection from the barbarous hands of the assassin, had its throat cut from ear to ear. Plunder was no doubt the object of the ruthless murderer ; but the unexpected return of the servant maid, who had been despatched, about twelve o'clock at night, on some little domestic errand, created an alarm, and obliged him to decamp without his booty. On the 19th of the same month, another family was murdered in Gravel-Lane, only two streets distant from the house of Mr. Marr, and with circumstances which led to the suspicion that the bloody intent was formed in the same sanguinary mind, and executed by the same relentless hand. The scene of this second series of murders was the King's Arms public-house, and the victims were Mr. and Mrs. Williamson, the keepers of that house, and their servant maid. A lodger, roused by the cries of murder, let himself out of a two pair of stairs window by the sheets of his bed, and alarmed the neighbourhood. On the outer door being forced open, the mistress of the house, and the maid servant, were found lying one upon the other, by the kitchen fire, quite dead, with their throats cut from ear to ear ; and on continuing the search, Mr. Williamson was found in the cellar, a lifeless corpse, with one of his legs broken, and his head nearly severed from his body. The murderer, unfortunately, had escaped.

But the retributive finger of Providence speedily pointed to the person of John Williams, *alias* Murphy, a sailor, who had, for some months, lodged at a neighbouring public house ; and the evidence of the guilt of this wretch was every day accumulating, when, on the 27th of December, he terminated an existence which had become intolerable, by hang-



which society was assailed, were for some time unknown, and as no one could imagine that any single human being, however deep his depravity, could require so much blood to satiate his appetite, it was generally supposed that these horrid murders formed part of a system, the object of which no one could fathom, and to the extent of which the human mind, always prone to magnify danger, could fix no limits.

Some radical defect, it was supposed, must exist in the system of police, which exposed the inhabitants of the first city in the empire to such dangers, and many persons, in the moment of panic, seemed disposed to surrender their liberties, with a view to secure the protection of their persons. Under such impressions, a cry was raised for the establishment of an armed police; but the rashness of this proposal was soon detected, and the principal measure resorted to by government on this occasion was the establishment of a more efficient nightly watch than had hitherto existed in London.

The bill for improving the police of the metropolis was succeeded by a motion for an inquiry into the state of the nation. This motion, which was made by Sir Thomas Turton, and involved the whole system of government, foreign and domestic, was chiefly remarkable for the exhibition it afforded of the strength of the parties in parliament, and a majority of seventy voices in favour of ministers, who resisted the proposed investigation, sufficiently proved, that under the powerful influence of royal favour, they were able to maintain their stand in the face of the opposition of their rivals, and the secession of their colleagues.

But the subject which occupied the attention of parliament most closely during the present session, and which, in the existing state of the country, was of the highest importance, was an inquiry into the policy and operations of the orders in council,\* not so much as they regarded other countries, but as they affected the interests of the manufacturing and commercial classes in our own. There were several points at issue between those who maintained that the British orders in council ought to be repealed, and those who held an opposite opinion; they differed respecting the nature, extent, and causes of the distresses which prevailed in the manufacturing districts, and respecting the manner in which those distresses

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ing himself with his neck-handkerchief, in his cell in the Cold-Bath-Fields prison. The coroner's inquest assembled on this occasion, returned a verdict of *felo de se*, and the body of the assassin and suicide was committed to the earth with every possible mark of ignominy, while his memory was consigned to universal execration.

\* See Vol. III. Chap. IV. page 59.

might be most effectually removed. The evil was so manifest, that its existence could not be denied ; but the advocates for the orders in council insisted, that it had been greatly exaggerated ; that similar distresses had prevailed at former periods ; that, in fact, the present state of things necessarily resulted from the unusual fluctuations in trade, and that its removal was probably not far distant. However that might be, they held, that the repeal of the orders in council would not remove or greatly diminish the distress, and that it was unfair to hold out such an idea, since it excited expectations which certainly could not be realised.

Notwithstanding this reasoning, the belief that the orders in council were the principal causes of the decay in trade, and of the consequent distresses both among the merchants, the manufacturers, and the labouring classes, was very strongly prevalent. Petitions were poured into the house of commons from all the principal manufacturing districts in the kingdom, and from those sea-ports which chiefly depended for their commerce on the intercourse with America ; and the petitioners begged for permission to be allowed to establish their case by evidence before parliament. They asserted, that if the prayer of their petitions were complied with, they could prove that unparalleled distresses prevailed throughout the most populous parts of Great Britain, and that these distresses had been gradually increasing ever since the promulgation of the orders in council, till they had at length become intolerable. This subject was brought before parliament in the house of lords by the Marquis of Lansdowne, and in the commons by Mr. Brougham, who both, with distinguished force of eloquence, pressed for the appointment of a committee, to take into consideration the present state of the commerce and manufactures of the country, particularly with reference to the orders in council, and the trade by licenses. But the inquiry was resisted by ministers, and their adherents, in both houses of parliament, and the motions were rejected by considerable majorities. The petitioners, feeling the urgency of the case, still persevered ; the distresses and agitations in the country increased and extended themselves ; and dissatisfaction spread among many descriptions of persons, who had been remarkable for their peaceful and contented demeanour. Still, however, it is probable, that Mr. Perceval would have continued firm in his determination, not to appoint a committee, nor to hear evidence, had not many of the members of the house of commons, who usually supported his measures, and who possessed great weight in the house and in the nation, expressly declared, that they thought a committee ought to be appointed,



and that, as the petitioners were so numerous and so urgent, it would have the appearance of slighting their distresses, if they were denied the opportunity of proving their allegations. At length ministers gave a reluctant consent to the appointment of a committee, and to the hearing of evidence. On the 29th of April the evidence began, but on the 11th of May the progress of the investigation was interrupted, and the whole nation thrown into the utmost consternation and horror, by the atrocious assassination of the prime minister.

On Monday, the 11th of May, at half past five o'clock in the afternoon, Mr. Perceval was entering the lobby of the house of commons, when a person, who had some time before taken his station in the recess of the door-way, drew out a small pocket pistol, and shot him in the lower part of the left breast. Mr. Perceval, on receiving the shot, merely moved forward a few steps, and as he was in the act of falling, a gentleman stepped forwards, and caught him in his arms. The only word that escaped his lips after receiving the shot was, "murder," or "murdered," uttered in a low, faint, and nearly inarticulate voice. A surgeon was immediately sent for, but the ball entered the heart, and before the return of the messenger Mr. Perceval had breathed his last. Amidst the general horror and dismay no attempt was made for some time to secure the assassin; but when a spectator at last exclaimed, "Where is the villain who fired?" a person, who had remained unobserved, stepped forward, and coolly said, "I am the unfortunate man." The prisoner, who had made no attempt to escape, was seized by General Gascoigne, and conveyed to the bar of the house of commons. An immediate examination took place in the house of commons, before several of the members who were in the commission of the peace, and the assassin himself, when questioned on the subject, said—"My name is John Bellingham—it is a private injury—I know what I have done—it was a denial of justice on the part of government." Being cautioned not to criminate himself, he added—"I have admitted the fact—I do admit it—I have been ill-treated—they all know who I am, and what I am, through the secretary of state and Mr. Beckett, with whom I have had frequent communications—they knew of my intention six weeks ago, through the Bow-Street magistrates—I have sought redress in vain—I am an unfortunate man, and feel here," pointing to his heart, "sufficient justification of the act I have committed." At the conclusion of the examination the prisoner was committed to the prison-room of the house of commons, and at one o'clock in the morning, conveyed under an escort of dragoons, to Newgate.

An opinion instantly became prevalent that the murder of Mr. Perceval was the first act of a deep and extensive conspiracy, and the departure of the post was delayed till despatches could be made out, and instructions prepared, for the civil and military authorities in the different parts of the kingdom, particularly in the disturbed counties.

It was desirable, in a case of this nature, that no unnecessary time should be lost between the commission of the crime and the infliction of the punishment awarded by the law against the delinquent; but it was equally desirable that the purposes of substantial justice should be answered, and that the decorum and solemnity of a judicial process should be preserved. These observations are suggested by the precipitancy of the proceedings instituted against Bellingham. The deed was committed on Monday evening; the prisoner was tried and convicted on the Friday following; and his friends, who resided at Liverpool, not being aware that the trial would take place so soon, had not time to repair to London, to appear in his behalf. Of the fact of the murder the evidence was too clear to admit of any doubt, but the sanity of the prisoner was involved in a high degree of uncertainty, and the presence of his friends seemed indispensable, to shew whether the assassin could by a fair and liberal construction, be considered as a moral agent. On his trial, he conducted himself with great coolness and self-possession: he displayed a mind not wanting in quick perception, but apt to draw erroneous conclusions; he discovered intellectual powers which could discern all the tendencies of human action, and estimate its several qualities; bewildered, however, by passion, and stimulated to the confines of madness, by an acute sense of supposed injury, he considered himself as the judge of his own actions, and claimed the right to avenge his own wrongs; he seemed fully and deeply impressed with the idea that the act he had committed was perfectly justifiable; that his acquittal was certain; and that his conduct would be approved by the nation. His defence was remarkable for its acuteness: he stated that he had been engaged in extensive mercantile concerns in Russia; that, by the tyranny and oppression of that government, he had been stripped of nearly all his property, and thrown into prison; that he had applied repeatedly, but unsuccessfully, to Lord Granville Leveson Gower, the British ambassador at St. Petersburg, for redress. In consequence of this he had returned to England, where he had laid the hardship and injustice of his case before his majesty's ministers, but they also had refused to do any thing in his behalf. He then formed his resolution: this resolution he had com-



municated to the officers at Bow-Street, and they had transmitted it to the treasury ; but instead of obtaining redress, he was told, he might do his worst ; and he had obeyed these instructions. Towards Mr. Perceval he had no antipathy or ill-will. He was sorry—as sorry as any of the friends of that gentleman could be, for his fate ; but he was convinced that much public good would result from it, and that ministers would be taught, by the lesson he had given them, to pay more attention to the just claims of individuals. He concluded by expressing his firm persuasion that it was impossible to convict him of the crime of wilful murder, unless it were proved that he had malice prepense towards the unfortunate gentleman for whose death he was then on his trial, and towards whom he utterly denied all personal ill-will. At the close of this singular defence his council wished to put in a plea of insanity ; but this the prisoner rejected, declaring, that he acted from a well-defined motive ; that reflection, instead of creating compunction and remorse for the deed which he had done, only tended to convince him of the propriety of his conduct, and to console him under its consequences ; and that he should prefer a thousand deaths to the injuries and indignities he had experienced. After a suitable charge from Mr. Justice Mansfield, the jury retired, and on their return into court pronounced the fatal verdict of guilty. On the Monday following the execution of Bellingham took place—just one week after the perpetration of the deed for which the malefactor suffered ; and in the brief interval, his behaviour had been composed and tranquil. To the last he laboured under the delusion that the murder he had committed was justifiable, and the moment before he was led from his cell to the scaffold, he solemnly declared, in answer to the inquiries of the lord mayor and sheriffs of London, that he had no accomplices.

The assassination of Mr. Perceval has no parallel in the annals of British history ; neither the murder of the Duke of Buckingham by Felton, in the reign of Charles I. nor the attempt on the life of the chancellor of the exchequer, Harley, by Guiscard, a Frenchman, in the reign of Queen Anne, were similar cases. In both instances the assassins believed they had been injured by the objects of their vengeance, while it was proved in this instance that the claims of Bellingham had never been submitted to his victim. The day after the assassination of Mr. Perceval, a message was sent down to parliament by the prince regent, expressing the wish of his royal highness that a suitable provision should be made for the family of the deceased premier. A grant of two thousand a year was accordingly made to Mrs. Perceval, and the sum of

fifty thousand pounds voted by the liberality of parliament to her twelve children. It was afterwards proposed that the annuity of Mrs. Perceval should, at her demise, descend to her eldest son, and this alteration in the original proposition was sanctioned by the legislature.\*

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\* THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SPENCER PERCEVAL.—

The biography of this elevated statesman lies within very narrow limits. Mr. Perceval was the second son of John, the late Earl of Egmont, by Catharine Compton, sister of Spencer, Earl of Northampton, from whom he took his Christian name. His mother was, in the year 1770, created a peeress of Ireland in her own right, with the title of Baroness Arden; and dying in 1784, she was succeeded by her eldest son, Charles George, who, in July 1808, was raised to the peerage of England. Mr. Perceval, after having passed the usual time at school, was entered of Trinity College, Cambridge, where he formed some of the most valuable connections of his future life. As soon as he had completed his collegiate studies, he entered himself a member of Lincoln's Inn, and pursued the study of the law as a profession. He was remarkable for close and regular application---aware that eminence is not to be obtained without industry and perseverance, and in these he studied to excel. On the death of his uncle, in 1796, a vacancy was created in the borough of Northampton, which place introduced Mr. Perceval to parliamentary life. He immediately gave his support to Mr. Pitt, and pursued the same line of politics, regularly and consistently, through the whole of his parliamentary career. In 1801, at the formation of the Addington administration, Mr. Perceval, then in his 39th year, was appointed solicitor-general; and in 1802, he was promoted to the situation of attorney-general, on the elevation of Edward Law, now Lord Ellenborough, to the chief-justiceship of the court of king's bench; and the only *ex officio* prosecution worthy of notice, instituted by Mr. Perceval in his character of attorney-general, was that against M. Peltier, the editor of a French journal, printed in London, for a libel inciting to the assassination of Bonaparte. He first came forward after the death of Mr. Pitt as a public speaker on the side of opposition, and in this character he was animated, without asperity; earnest, without ostentation; and attached to his party, without an indiscriminate contention with his adversaries. When the Fox administration quitted office, in the early part of the year 1807, Mr. Perceval was appointed chancellor of the exchequer; and, on the death of the Duke of Portland, he became the ostensible, as he had for some time before been the real, prime minister. The situation of the country was at this period difficult and embarrassing, and the direction of the state vessel required great talents, exercised with uncommon delicacy, as well as a due degree of vigour and decision. The talents of Mr. Perceval were not of the first order; but his ready elocution and unwearied industry compensated in some degree for any deficiency in the brilliancy of his genius. The decision of his mind sometimes assumed the character of obstinacy; and he seemed to have imbibed a principle, which a prime minister should never admit into his thoughts---that a measure once openly avowed, ought on no account ever to be abandoned. He was the decided and avowed enemy to those concessions to the catholics, which many statesmen, with as much wisdom, and greater talents, have regarded as essential to the safety of the state. To his unyielding temper, the American war, in which the country was plunged, soon after his death, had been imputed. As a public speaker, he rose much in reputation after he had become minister; and in domestic life, few men were more amiable or more de-



On the death of Mr. Perceval, which deprived the ministry of its ostensible head, it was deemed impossible, even by ministers themselves, to conduct the affairs of the nation without an accession of strength. The connection which had hitherto subsisted between the members of Mr. Perceval's administration, and the Marquis Wellesley and Mr. Canning, with the general coincidence of their public principles, induced them in the first instance to direct their attention to those statesmen. But it soon became manifest that the object of Lord Liverpool, to whom the negociation was confided, was not to introduce the Marquis Wellesley and Mr. Canning on equal terms into office, but to assign to them and to their friends subordinate situations. To such a proposal only one answer could be returned, and, as might have been foreseen, the negociation entirely failed.

In consequence of the general disappointment arising from the failure of this attempt to strengthen the existing government, Mr. Stuart Wortley brought the subject before the house of commons on the 21st of May, and moved an address to the prince regent, praying him to take such measures as would enable his royal highness, under the present circumstances of the country, to form a strong and efficient administration. This motion, which was seconded by Lord Milton, was carried by a majority of one hundred and seventy-four to one hundred and seventy voices, and on the presentation of the address, by the mover and seconder, the prince assured them that he should take into his serious and immediate consideration, the address which he had received from the house of commons.

The Marquis Wellesley was now employed, not actually to form an administration, but to *sound* the expectations and principles of the leading statesmen who might be called to a situation in the cabinet. The principles upon which the administration was intended to be formed were stated to be,

“First, That the state of the laws affecting the Roman Catholics, and the claims of that body of his majesty's subjects, should be taken into immediate consideration, with a view to a conciliatory adjustment of those claims. Secondly, That the war in the peninsula should be prosecuted on a scale of adequate vigour.”\*

The marquis was no sooner vested with this commission

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servedly respected. He fell, as has been already stated, by the hand of an assassin, in the 50th year of his age, and his warmest political opponents vied with his friends and supporters in the encomiums pronounced in the senate on his mild and engaging manners, and his inflexible political integrity.

\* Communication made by the Marquis Wellesley to Lords Grey and Grenville, May 24.

than he addressed himself personally to Lords Grey and Grenville, and through the medium of Mr. Canning to Lord Liverpool; from the two former noblemen, he ascertained that their sentiments on the catholic question, and on the conduct of the war in Spain, were sufficiently accordant with his own to admit of a cordial union and co-operation; but Lord Liverpool replied to the overture, that himself and his colleagues should decline to become members of an administration formed by Marquis Wellesley.\* At the close of this preliminary correspondence, full powers were received by the marquis; and on the 1st of June, his lordship declared to Lords Grey and Grenville, that it was the pleasure of the regent that he, the Marquis Wellesley, should be first commissioner of the treasury, and that Lord Moira, Lord Erskine, and Mr. Canning, should be members of the cabinet. As the cabinet was to consist of twelve or thirteen members, the regent wished Lords Grey and Grenville to mention four persons, if of twelve, and five, if of thirteen, to become members, and the Marquis Wellesley was commanded to fill up the vacant situation from among his majesty's ministers, or such other persons as he might think proper.† To this novel mode of nominating an administration, Lords Grey and Grenville objected, that the proposal was founded on a principle of disunion and jealousy, the tendency of which, in their opinion, would be to establish, within the cabinet itself, a system of counteraction, which must necessarily defeat the very object which the house of commons recommended—the formation of a strong and efficient government. Such an administration, they added, could neither possess the confidence of the nation, nor act with that decision and unanimity which were absolutely necessary to secure its welfare;‡ and upon this point the negociation with the Marquis Wellesley closed.

The next agent employed by the prince regent in this delicate and embarrassing business was the Earl Moira; and his lordship, in an interview with Lords Grey and Grenville, on the 6th of June, stated, that the prince regent did not mean to lay them under any restrictions or limitations whatever; that such measures as they might conceive to be for the public advantage, they might pursue; and that not only were there to be no restrictions or limitations with respect to the measures

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\* Lord Liverpool's Letter to Mr. Canning, dated May 23d.

† Communication from the Marquis Wellesley to Lords Grey and Grenville, dated June 1.

‡ Letter from Lords Grey and Grenville to the Marquis Wellesley, dated June 2.



of government, but the arrangement of the whole administration was committed entirely to Lord Moira and Lords Grey and Grenville. On further explanation, however, it appeared, that this unlimited power did not extend to the officers of the prince's household, though his royal highness expressed his readiness, if it were for the good of the nation, to consent to their removal; yet so impressed was Lord Moira with the magnanimity of this resolution, that when it was communicated to him by the prince, he declared, "that he should not part with one of them." Lords Grey and Grenville assured Lord Moira, that in adverting to this subject they were actuated solely by a sense of public duty: they considered that every administration should possess the character of efficacy and stability, and enjoy those marks of confidence, and that constitutional support from the crown, without which it was impossible to act usefully to the public service; hence they were convinced, that on the first arrangement of any administration, the connection of the great offices of the court should be clearly established. On this point the conversation broke up; and two days afterwards the Earl of Liverpool stated in the house of lords, that his royal highness the prince regent had been pleased that day to appoint him prime minister, and that the vacant offices would be filled up as soon as possible. Speedily after this annunciation the vacancies were supplied, and the new ministry, thus constituted, consisted principally of the members of the late cabinet.\*

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\* LIST OF THE ADMINISTRATION, FORMED IN JUNE, 1812.

CABINET MINISTERS.

Earl of Harrowby,	-	Lord President of the Council.
Lord Eldon,	-	Lord High Chancellor.
Earl of Westmoreland,	-	Lord Privy Seal.
Earl of Liverpool,	-	{ First Lord of the Treasury, (Prime Minister.)
Rt. Hon. Nicholas Vansittart,	-	{ Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer.
Lord Viscount Melville,	-	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Earl Mulgrave,	-	Master-General of the Ordnance.
Lord Viscount Sidmouth,	-	{ Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Lord Viscount Castlereagh,	-	_____ for Foreign Affairs.
Earl Bathurst,	-	{ _____ for the Department of War and Colonies.
Earl of Buckinghamshire,	-	{ President of the Board of Control for the Affairs in India.
Marquis Camden,	-	

NOT OF THE CABINET.

Earl of Clancarty,	-	President of the Board of Trade.
The Hon. F. Robinson,	-	Vice-President of the Board of Trade.

In the midst of all this political fermentation, the inquiry regarding the policy and influence of the orders in council was proceeding in both houses of parliament with little interruption : and in the prosecution of this inquiry, it was proved, that in all the manufacturing districts in the kingdom, an unusual degree of poverty and misery prevailed among the labouring classes ; that their wages were in many places little more than one half the regular sum ; that not nearly so many were employed at this low rate of wages as formerly ; and that, were it not for the subscriptions that had been set on foot in these districts, the numerous instances of wretchedness and misery pointed out in the evidence, would have existed to a still more alarming magnitude. It was attempted to be shown that this misery arose principally from the high price of all kinds of provisions, and the other necessaries of life : but in answer to this supposition it was satisfactorily proved, that in the years 1800 and 1801, when the necessaries of life were equally dear, the distress was not nearly so great and extensive, because work was then more plentiful. With respect to the master manufacturers, these might be divided into two classes : the first, comprehending those whose capitals were very large, and who consequently could bear the pressure of the times with comparatively little suffering, though even of this class, there were many who had nearly their whole capital locked up in goods for which they could obtain no demand ; and in order to keep their work-people from absolute starvation, they were continuing to manufacture, notwithstanding they had no prospect of a market. With respect to the second class, namely, those whose capitals were trifling, many of them had sunk into the rank of labourers ; numbers were plunged into a state of insolvency ; and others had been obliged

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Rt. Hon. George Rose,	Treasurer of the Navy.
Lord Palmerston,	Secretary at War.
Lord C. Somerset,	} Joint Pay-Masters-General of the Forces.
Right Hon. C. Long,	
Earl of Chichester,	} Joint Post-Masters-General.
Earl of Sandwich,	
Richard Wharton, Esq.	} Secretaries of the Treasury.
Sir Charles Arbuthnot, Knt.	
Sir William Grant,	Master of the Rolls.
Sir Thomas Plumer,	Attorney-General.
Sir W. Garrow,	Solicitor-General.

#### PERSONS OF THE MINISTRY IN IRELAND.

Duke of Richmond,	Lord Lieutenant.
Lord Manners,	Lord High Chancellor.
Right Hon. Robert Peel,	Chief Secretary.
Right Hon. W. Fitzgerald,	Chancellor of the Exchequer.



to dispose of their stock, at a very inadequate price, in order to keep themselves and their families from the parish.

The circumstance of the misery of the manufacturing districts being thus established, the next inquiry was, to what cause was the decline of trade to be attributed? On this point also the evidence was full and satisfactory. America was the market which took off a large portion of their goods; while this market was open and free, trade was brisk, wages were high and steady, manufactures flourished, and the labouring classes could maintain themselves and their families in a decent and comfortable manner; but when that market was suspended or closed, as at present, the reverse took place. The nature of the evil suggested the remedy; and the petitioners had the authority of the American government, frequently expressed in public documents, for declaring, that if the British orders in council were rescinded, the ports and markets of the United States would be opened to British ships and British merchandise.

Those who advocated the cause of the orders in council, on the contrary, maintained, that other causes of dispute existed between the British and the American governments; and that such was the attachment and partiality of America to France, and such her hostile spirit towards Britain, that it was absurd to expect that she would be satisfied with the repeal of the orders in council; so that, by revoking those edicts, we should, without benefiting our own trade, deprive ourselves of an engine which had greatly annoyed the enemy. Ministers, however, being no longer directed and animated by the unbending spirit of Mr. Perceval, consented to the repeal of the orders in council, and on the 23d of June a declaration from the prince regent appeared in the London Gazette, absolutely and unequivocally revoking these orders as far as they regarded American vessels;\* with this proviso, that if, after the notification of this repeal by the British minister in America, the government of the United States should not revoke their interdictory acts against British commerce, that revocation on our part should be null and void. But the determination to repeal the orders in council had already been deferred too long, and it afterwards appeared, that five days before the

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\* This act of revocation was grounded upon a certain instrument, purporting to be a decree passed by the French government, on the 28th of April, 1811, and transmitted to his majesty's government for the first time on the 20th of May, 1812, by which the decrees of Berlin and Milan are declared to be definitively repealed, and from the date of the first of November next, considered as never having taken place (*non avenues*) with regard to American vessels.

document announcing their repeal appeared in the London Gazette, the government of the United States of America had declared war against Great Britain.

The office of chancellor of the exchequer had now devolved upon Mr. Vansittart, and on the 17th of June, that gentleman, rising in his place in the house of commons, declared, that it was impossible to perform the duty which it had fallen to his lot to discharge, without sensations unusually painful, from the recollection of the singular situation in which he was placed. Considering in whose place he stood, whose papers he held in his hands, and whose plans he was about to state to the house, he felt rather that he was executing the last official duties of his lamented friend than the first act of his own. Happy should he have thought himself if he could, at the close of this day, have resigned those papers into the hands that had formed them, but happier still if he could inherit the talents and virtues of their author, and close a life of public service with the same testimonies of public approbation and equal consciousness of unblemished integrity.\*

The whole amount of the charges to be provided by the supplies, he stated at 62,376,348*l.*, from which 7,025,700*l.* was to be deducted for Ireland, leaving a total to be provided for by Great Britain for the year 1812, of 55,350,648*l.* This sum certainly was an enormous, he might even say, a terrible extent of charge; but, he had the consolation to reflect that,

#### \* FINANCES.

PUBLIC INCOME of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1812.

<i>Branches of Revenue.</i>		<i>Gross Receipts.</i>			<i>Paid into the Excheq.</i>		
		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Customs, - -		9,676,009	4	7 $\frac{3}{4}$	7,835,235	5	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
Excise, - - -		20,617,266	8	0	19,003,970	16	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
Stamps, - - -		5,396,882	11	5 $\frac{3}{4}$	5,291,224	9	10 $\frac{1}{4}$
Land & Assessed Taxes,		7,399,442	1	0 $\frac{3}{4}$	7,280,919	4	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Post-Office, - -		1,709,869	1	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,478,505	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Miscel. Permanent Tax,		91,130	14	9 $\frac{3}{4}$	96,998	17	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
Hered. Revenue, -		119,751	3	0 $\frac{1}{4}$	127,436	7	6
Extraord. Resources,							
War Taxes { Customs, - -		3,013,723	2	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2,633,919	0	10
Excise, - - -		6,543,953	1	0	6,484,961	19	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
Property Tax, -		13,234,896	13	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	13,451,986	4	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
Miscel. Income, -		3,310,664	3	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	3,288,050	11	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Loans, including } 14,500,000 for the } Service of Ireland, }		16,636,375	3	9	16,636,375	3	9
Grand Total		187,749,963	9	9	183,609,583	5	2
Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, } 25th March, 1812. }		(Signed) RICH. WHARTON.					



great as it was, the resources of the country were still equal to support it; and by an enumeration of the ways and means, he produced a result of 55,390,460*l.*, including a loan made on the preceding day, for 15,650,000*l.* In the course of the present year, a former loan had been obtained to the amount of 6,789,625*l.*, which added to the loan as stated above, and to the exchequer bills funded in 1812, created an annual interest of 1,905,924*l.*, which was to be provided for by new taxes. For this purpose the chancellor of the exchequer proposed to discontinue the bounty on the exportation of printed goods; to double the duty on tanned hides and skins; to double also the duty on glass; to add one tenth to the existing duty on tobacco: to subject all property offered to sale by auction to the auction duty, under certain modifications; to make an addition of one penny to the postage of all letters carried more than twenty miles; and to increase the assessed taxes on male servants, carriages, horses, dogs, and game certificates. The aggregate annual product of which taxes he estimated at 1,903,000*l.* Of the taxes proposed by Mr. Vansittart, that principally opposed in parliament was the increased duty on leather, but this opposition, though very strong, was unavailing, and the entire budget received the sanction of parliament.

Notwithstanding the repeated failure of the attempts made in parliament to procure for the catholics of this realm an

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1812.

<i>Heads of Expenditure.</i>	<i>Sums.</i>		
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Interest, - - - - -	22,100,845	1	0½
Charge of Management, - - - - -	228,349	16	0½
Reduction of National Debt, - - - - -	12,502,860	0	11½
Interest on Exchequer Bills, - - - - -	1,556,735	0	5½
Civil List, - - - - -	1,472,403	11	9½
Civil Government of Scotland, - - - - -	109,693	6	1
Payments in anticipation, &c. - - - - -	596,549	5	1
Navy, - - - - -	19,540,678	14	10
Ordnance, - - - - -	4,557,509	8	6
Army, - - - - -	13,753,163	0	0
Extraordinary Services, - - - - -	10,116,196	0	0
Loans to Sicily, Portugal, and Spain, including } 4,432,202 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i> to Ireland, }	7,410,039	15	3
Miscellaneous Services, - - - - -	1,962,636	8	2½
Deductions for Sums forming no part of the Ex- } penditure of Great Britain, - - - - - }	95,907,659	8	3½
	4,489,462	18	3
Grand Total	1,91,418,196	10	0½

*Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, }  
25th March, 1812.*

(Signed)  
RICH. WHARTON.

equal participation in the rights and immunities of their fellow-subjects, the advocates of the catholic cause, probably imputing the opposition to circumstances supposed now no longer to exist, resolved not to give up the contest, but to appeal again to the legislature, under more auspicious circumstances. In pursuance of this line of policy, Mr. Canning rose in the house of commons on the 22d of June to propose a motion on this subject. The honourable gentleman assumed as a general rule, 1. That citizens of the same state, living under the same government, are entitled *prima facie* to equal political rights and privileges. 2. That it is at all times desirable to create and maintain the most perfect identity of interest and feeling among all the members of the same community. 3. That where there exists in any community a general permanent cause of public discontent, which agitates men's minds without having any tendency to subside of itself, it becomes the duty of the supreme power in the state to determine in what mode this discontent may most advantageously be removed. Upon each of these several heads Mr. Canning enlarged with his accustomed force and eloquence, and concluded by moving, "That the house will, early in the next session of parliament, take into its most serious consideration the state of the laws affecting his majesty's Roman catholic subjects in Great Britain and Ireland, with a view to such a final and conciliatory adjustment as may be conducive to the peace and strength of the united kingdom; to the stability of the protestant establishment; and to the general satisfaction and concord of all classes of his majesty's subjects." This motion, which was supported by Lord Castlereagh, was carried by the decisive majority of two hundred and thirty-five to one hundred and six voices.

A similar motion made in the house of lords, by the Marquis Wellesley, on the 1st of July, displayed an extraordinary balance of opinion in that assembly, where it was supported by one hundred and twenty-five, and opposed by one hundred and twenty-six voices. On this occasion, ministers and their usual supporters were ranged indiscriminately on opposite sides of the house; of the royal dukes, two voted on one side, and three on the other; and even the bench of bishops was divided, though less equally, three of them voting for, and fifteen against the pledge to consider the subject.

During the discussion on the bill brought into parliament by Lord Sidmouth, in the course of the last session, "to explain and amend the act of toleration," it was stated that different constructions had been put upon that act, at the quarter sessions, and that in some instances the justices had assumed



to themselves a right to withhold licenses from persons wishing to become preachers. In order to remove all ambiguity on the subject of licenses, and to extend and secure the privileges of the dissenters, a bill was introduced into parliament by Lord Castlereagh on the 10th of July, by which it was proposed to repeal the intolerant statutes, known by the designation of the conventicle and five-mile acts,\* and to make it obligatory upon preachers, when required to take the oath and declaration set forth in the 19th of George III. cap. 44; and upon justices of the peace, to administer such oath and to take such declaration when applied to for that purpose. Meetings for worship, in which the persons assembled did not exceed twenty, above the family of the occupier of the house, were, by this bill, exempt from all restrictions, but other places of religious worship were required to be registered at the quarter sessions, and held with open doors; and persons disturbing such assemblies were made liable to a heavy penalty. Although this bill did not recognise the great principle of the dissenters—That the civil magistrate has no right to interfere in matters purely religious; yet as an act of toleration, it was more complete than any legislative measure ever passed in this country; and to the honour of the British senate, the bill advanced through all its stages in both houses of parliament, and passed into a law, not without observation, but without opposition.

In the month of April, at the time when the French Emperor was meditating a war against Russia, and when that war was on the eve of its commencement, overtures for peace with England were made by the government of France, and a correspondence took place upon the subject, which terminated unsuccessfully, after the interchange of a single despatch between the foreign ministers of the two governments. No notice of the correspondence was taken in parliament before the 17th of July, on which day, Lord Holland requested to know from the premier whether ministers were in possession of any further information respecting the overture made by the French government than what had been published in the foreign journals? and whether it was the intention of the executive government to take the subject into their consideration?

Lord Liverpool had no hesitation in admitting that the correspondence alluded to, as published in the Paris papers, was substantially correct. With respect to the answer returned to the French minister, he was persuaded that there were few in

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\* 22d Car. II. c. 1.—17th Car. II. c. 2.

this country who would not agree, that if the acknowledgment of Joseph Bonaparte as King of Spain were made a necessary preliminary basis by the French government, no negotiation could be entered into; it had therefore been thought requisite to call for an explicit declaration on that head in the first instance; and as no communication in reply had been received from the French minister, there the matter was suffered to drop.\*

The long session of 1812 now drew to a close, and on the 30th of July, parliament was prorogued by a speech delivered in the name of the prince regent by commission. Ministers at the time of the prorogation of parliament appeared in full possession of all the usual influence of government, and the regent's terminating speech expressed full satisfaction in the measures which had been adopted by that assembly; but this parliament was not to meet again, and on the 29th of September, a proclamation was issued by the prince regent announcing its dissolution. The remainder of the year was

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\* This correspondence commenced on the 17th of April, and the following was the basis proposed by the French government:—"That the integrity of Spain shall be guaranteed. France shall renounce all idea of extending her dominion beyond the Pyrenees. The present dynasty shall be declared independent, and Spain shall be governed by a national constitution of her cortes. The independence and integrity of Portugal shall be also guaranteed; and the house of Braganza shall have the sovereign authority. The kingdom of Naples shall remain in possession of the present monarch; and the kingdom of Sicily shall be guaranteed to the present family of Sicily. As a consequence of these stipulations, Spain, Portugal, and Sicily, shall be evacuated by the French and English land and naval forces. With respect to other objects of discussion, they may be negotiated upon this basis—that each power shall retain that of which the other could not deprive him by war."—*Letter from the Duke of Bassano to Lord Castlereagh.*

The reply of the English government was dated on the 23d of April, and as a preliminary to negotiation, inquired what precise meaning was attached by the French government to the following passage:—"The actual dynasty shall be declared independent, and Spain governed by the national constitution of the cortes?" "If," says the answer, "the meaning of this proposition is, that the royal authority of Spain and the government established by the cortes shall be recognized as residing in the brother of the head of the French government, and the cortes formed under his authority, and not in the legitimate sovereign, Ferdinand VII. and his heirs, and the extraordinary assembly of the cortes now invested with the power of the government in that kingdom, in his name, and by his authority; the obligations of good faith do not permit his Royal Highness, the Prince Regent of England, to receive a proposition for peace founded on such a basis. But if the expression cited above apply to the actual government of Spain, which exercises the sovereign authority in the name of Ferdinand VII. upon an assurance to that effect from the French government, the prince regent will feel himself disposed to enter into a full explanation upon the basis which has been transmitted in order to be taken into consideration by his royal highness."—*Lord Castlereagh's answer to the Duke of Bassano.*



occupied with all the bustle of a general election; but the shortness of the notice, combined with the circumstances of the times, served to abridge the usual proportion of contests. As far as the sentiments of the people could be collected from the returns of the representatives to parliament, the cause of opposition had gained no ground by the events of the year. In the metropolis, and the towns of Bristol and Liverpool, the candidates in that interest sustained a defeat, and their success in some other places was not sufficient to counter-balance these losses. In Liverpool, the contest was not only extremely keen, but attended by circumstances of peculiar interest. The candidates were Mr. Brougham and Mr. Creevy, on one side; and Mr. Canning and General Gascoigne, on the other. Mr. Brougham, a young man of first rate talents, had distinguished himself by the active, zealous, and successful part, which he took against the orders in council, and to his exertions the country was chiefly indebted for their repeal; and as Liverpool had suffered extremely by the suspension of the commercial intercourse with America, Mr. Brougham was very popular in that place. Mr. Canning, however, had the decided support of the government party; and though the contest was well maintained, that interest ultimately prevailed. Indeed the friends of Mr. Brougham attempted too much; they aspired to the return of two representatives, and failing in that purpose, they lost both their candidates.

The relations subsisting between Great Britain and the United States of America had for many years exhibited a singular aspect: the nations were not indeed in a state of open war, but the conflict of opposite pretensions, the angry discussion of many intricate questions of international law, the charges and recriminations which had for a number of years formed the only subject of their diplomatic intercourse, had diffused over both countries a spirit of distrust and animosity, which seemed likely to find in war alone its natural gratification. In Great Britain an idea prevailed, and seemed in a considerable degree to influence the ministry, that America had displayed a very unjustifiable spirit of hostility towards this country, while she had manifested a decided leaning and partiality towards the interests and views of France; this opinion appeared to justify those who were decidedly for war with the United States, in giving currency to their hostile feelings. But another circumstance also operated towards the same end: a war with America, it was argued, would be not only just but of short continuance, and would exhibit a scene of uninterrupted and splendid successes on our part, and of defeat and

disgrace on theirs. The Americans, on the other hand, were galled and irritated by the attacks made on their commerce ; by the right of search, as claimed and exercised by England, not always on the best grounds, or in the least offensive manner ; and by the impressment and detention of their seamen ; and to these motives for war was probably added the hope of conquering Canada, and of enriching themselves by the capture of our merchant ships.

As no doubt could be entertained that in the event of a war between the two countries, Canada would be attacked, Sir James Craig, the governor of that province, very judiciously took every measure which he thought could be effectual or conducive to its protection and defence. Had he confined himself to this line of conduct alone, no blame could have been imputed to him ; but he thought himself justified in sending a person, of the name of Henry, into the United States on a very ambiguous and reprehensible errand. This man was seized by the American government, who obtained possession of his instructions, as well as copies of the communications which he had made to Sir James Craig ;(73.) and according to the statements submitted to congress, the object of Captain Henry was to ingratiate himself with the federal party ; to ascertain its strength, its wishes, and its views, in the different states ; and more particularly to encourage, with the promise of British assistance, any design they might be disposed to form for a separation of the states. This conduct on the part of Great Britain, originating in one of her highest authorities in North America, the president, in a message to the senate, represented as a flagrant breach of public faith, committed at a time when Great Britain and America were employed in discussions of amity and reconciliation. When the subject of the mission of Captain Henry was brought before the British parliament, ministers refused to produce the correspondence and papers connected with these mysterious transactions, nor did they give a very clear and satisfactory account of the business. They denied, however, that Captain Henry

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(73.) The circumstances relating to the disclosures made by this agent of the British government are somewhat incorrectly stated. He was not "seized by the American government," but made a voluntary discovery of the plot, in consequence of the neglect he experienced from the British ministry, and from the still stronger inducement of a pecuniary compensation, to the amount of fifty thousand dollars, paid him by the American administration. It is proper to add, that it did not appear from the papers laid before congress, that a communication had taken place between Captain Henry, and any individuals of the federal party, on the subject of a separation of the union, or a connection with the British government.



was accredited by them, or that they were acquainted with the intention of Sir James Craig to employ him. Notwithstanding this disavowal, the British government had all the disgrace of having acted contrary to the law of nations, and at the same time, the mortification to perceive that the American people were more closely united by this most injudicious and unjustifiable attempt to divide them.

Before the intelligence of the assassination of Mr. Perceval reached America, that government had determined on war with Great Britain, and early in the month of June, a message was sent to the senate and house of representatives, containing a recommendation to that effect. In this state paper, the president complains of the violation which the American flag had so repeatedly suffered from British vessels "on the great highway of nations;" of the practice of impressing American seamen;\* of the violation of the American waters, and of the infraction of the fundamental principles of the law of nations, by the pretended 'blockades.' But all these causes of war are in the message held as subordinate to the orders in council, both in the injustice which they display, and in the injury which they inflict. These orders were, it is said, evidently framed so as best to suit the political views and the commercial jealousies of the British government; the consequences which would result from them to neutral nations were never taken into the account, or if contemplated or foreseen as highly prejudicial, that consideration had no weight in the minds of those by whom they were imposed. It was, indeed, attempted to justify them, by an appeal to similar measures adopted and carried into execution by France; as if America could be satisfied with the unjust and injurious conduct of one belligerent, by that belligerent proving that she had been treated in an equally unjust and injurious manner by the other. But, what was the fact? France, indeed, by her Berlin and Milan decrees, manifested her willingness and disposition to impede and injure neutral commerce, in order that she might thus cripple the trade of Great Britain; but these decrees were almost a dead letter; British superiority at sea prevent-

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\* In a publication, issued by the authority of the American government, entitled, "An Exposition of the Causes and Character of the War with Great Britain," it is stated, that up to March, 1811, Great Britain had impressed from the crews of American vessels peaceably navigating the high seas, not less than six thousand mariners, who claimed to be citizens of the United States, and who were denied all opportunity of verifying their claims. And in the same publication it is added, that when war was declared, the orders in council had been maintained with inexorable hostility, until a thousand American vessels, with their cargoes, had been seized and confiscated under the operation of these edicts.

ed them from being acted upon in any effective or permanent manner ; it was therefore absurd to attempt to justify the mischief which actually flowed on America from the orders in council, by appealing to decrees which, while Britain remained mistress of the sea, were utterly without effect. The British government was surprised and indignant that America viewed the conduct of France more coolly than the conduct of England ; not recollecting that edicts executed against millions of American property, could not be a retaliation on edicts comparatively impossible to be executed. Besides, this plea of retaliation was untenable, when viewed in another light : to be just, retaliation should fall on the party setting the guilty example, and not on the innocent party ; which, moreover, could not be charged with an acquiescence in the injustice practised by France.

This message, which was dated the 1st of June, was, on the 18th of the same month, succeeded by an act of congress, containing a formal declaration of war against Great Britain. Five days after this declaration of war, the orders in council were rescinded by the British government ; but the arrival of this intelligence in America, did not appear in the slightest degree to restore a pacific disposition on the part of that government. The orders in council, she said, had not been repealed, because they were unjust in their principle and highly detrimental in their effects on neutral commerce ; on the contrary, the motive of their repeal was obviously selfish, and had no reference to the rights of neutral nations. America, to protect herself, and to avenge her wrongs, had prohibited all commercial intercourse with Great Britain ; the latter power, thus deprived of her best customer, had no longer a sufficient and regular market for her manufactures and colonial produce ; her merchants and her manufacturers were nearly ruined ; distress, discontent, and poverty, spread over her territory ; complaints and petitions poured in from all quarters ; and the orders in council were repealed, not to render justice to America, but to rescue a large portion of the British people from absolute starvation. It was, however, stated, that if the revocation of the orders in council had taken place sufficiently early to have been communicated to the United States before they had actually declared war, the repeal of these decrees against neutral commerce would have arrested the resort to arms ; and that one cause of the war being removed, the other essential cause—the practice of impressment, would have been the subject of renewed negotiation. But the declaration of war having announced the practice of impressment as one of the principal causes, peace could only be the result of an ex-



press abandonment of that practice, or of a cessation of actual sufferance, in consequence of a peace in Europe.\*

Such are the causes of war, as stated in the official papers put forth by the government of America; but, in a declaration promulgated by the Prince Regent of England, some months after letters of marque and reprisals against America had been issued, it was stated, "that the real origin of the contest was to be found in that spirit which had long unhappily actuated the councils of the United States—their marked partiality in palliating and assisting the aggressive tyranny of France; their systematic endeavour to inflame the people against the defensive measures of Great Britain; their injurious conduct towards Spain, the immediate ally of Great Britain; and their unworthy desertion of the cause of other neutral nations." "It is through the prevalence of such councils," says the declaration, "that America has been associated in policy with France, and committed in war against Great Britain. And under what conduct on the part of France has the government of the United States thus lent itself to the enemy? The contemptuous violation of the commercial treaty of the year 1800, between France and the United States; the treacherous seizure of all American vessels and cargoes, in every harbour subject to the control of the French arms; the tyrannical principles of the Berlin and Milan decrees, and the confiscations under them; the subsequent condemnation under the Rambouillet decree, antedated or concealed, to render it more effectual; the French commercial regulations, which rendered the traffic of the United States with France almost illusory: the burning of their merchant ships at sea, long after the alleged repeal of the French decrees—all these acts of violence on the part of France, produced from the government of the United States only such complaints as end in acquiescence and submission; or are accompanied by suggestions for enabling France to give the semblance of legal form to her usurpations, by converting them into municipal regulations. This disposition of the government of the United States—this complete subserviency to the Ruler of France—this hostile temper towards Great Britain, are evident in almost every page of the official correspondence of the American with the French government, and form the real causes of the present war between America and Great Britain."†

Towards the close of the year 1811, a spirit of riot and in-

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\* Exposition of the Causes and Character of the War with Great Britain.

† Declaration of the Prince Regent, dated January 9th, 1813.

subordination had manifested itself in the county of Nottingham, which, in the course of the present year, extended to the counties of Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lancashire, Cheshire, and Yorkshire, and, in some degree, pervaded all the manufacturing districts of England. The avowed and immediate object of the insurgents, who assumed the name of LUDDITES,\* was the destruction of certain articles of machinery, the use of which had superseded or diminished manual labour, in the manufacture of the articles to which they were applied. These disturbances, which had now attracted the attention of parliament, and excited apprehensions of the most alarming nature, first manifested themselves by the destruction of a great number of newly-erected stocking-frames, by small parties of men, principally stocking-weavers, who assembled in various places round the town of Nottingham. The men engaged in the disturbances, were, at first, principally those thrown out of employment by the use of the new machinery, or by their refusal to work at the rate of wages offered by the manufacturers, and they particularly sought the destruction of frames owned by those hosiers, or worked by those men who were willing to work at the lower rates. In consequence of the resistance opposed to the outrages of the rioters, in the course of which one of their number was shot, on the 11th of November, at Bulwell, near Nottingham, they became still more violent, and the magistrates found it necessary to call in the assistance of a considerable armed force, which was promptly assembled, consisting, at first, principally of local militia and volunteer yeomanry, to which were added about four hundred special constables. The terror of this force seemed for a time to allay the spirit of insubordination; but before the end of the month of November, the outrages were renewed, and assumed a more serious and systematic character. In several villages, the rioters not only destroyed the frames, but they levied contributions for subsistence, which rapidly increased their number, and enlarged their sphere of action.

A considerable regular military force was now sent to Not-

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\* Probably with a view of inspiring their adherents with confidence, the malcontents gave out that they were under the command of one leader, whom they designated by the fictitious name of Ned Ludd, or General Ludd, calling themselves *Ludds*, *Ludders*, or *Luddites*. There is no reason however to believe that there was in truth any one leader. In each district where the disaffection prevailed, the most aspiring man assumed the local superiority, and became the General Ludd of his own district.---*Preface to the Official Report of the Trials at York, in January, 1813.*



tingham, and in January, 1812, two of the most experienced police magistrates were despatched from London to that place, for the purpose of assisting the local authorities in their endeavours to restore tranquillity in the disturbed districts. The systematic combination with which the outrages were conducted, the terror which they inspired, and the disposition of many of the lower orders to favour, rather than to oppose them, made it very difficult to discover the offenders, or to obtain evidence to convict those who were apprehended.—Some, however, were afterwards proceeded against at the spring assizes of 1812, at Nottingham, and seven persons, convicted of different offences connected with the riots, were sentenced to transportation. In the mean time, acts were passed by the legislature for establishing a police in the disturbed districts, upon the ancient system of watch and ward, and for making the destruction of stocking-frames a capital crime, punishable by death.

Early in the year, the spirit of riot and disturbance spread itself into Cheshire and Lancashire; at Tentwistle, in the former county, the cotton machinery in Mr. Rhodes's mill, was totally destroyed; and at Stockport, the house of Mr. Goodwin was set on fire on the 14th of April, and his steam-looms destroyed. On the 20th of the same month, the manufactory of Messrs. Daniel Burton and sons, situated at Middleton, six miles from Manchester, was attacked by a mob, consisting of several thousand persons, and although the rioters were repulsed, and four of their number killed by the military force assembled to protect the works, a second attack was made on the following day, when Mr. Emanuel Burton's dwelling-house was set on fire, and destroyed. About the same time riots took place in Manchester, of which the alleged cause was the high price of provisions. At West Houghton, near Bolton-le-moors, the rioters, taking advantage of the absence of the military, assailed the large manufactory of Messrs. Wroe and Duncuft, and after having forced the doors, and set fire to the mill and machinery, dispersed before the soldiers could be assembled.

Symptoms of the same lawless disposition appeared at Newcastle-under-line, Wigan, Warrington, and Eccles; and the contagion had spread to Carlisle, and into Yorkshire. In Nottinghamshire, the machinery obnoxious to the rioters was wide weaving frames; in Lancashire, looms wrought by steam; and in Yorkshire, gig-mills, or machinery used in the shearing of woollen-cloth—all inventions of modern date, and each of them calculated to supersede or diminish the demand for manual labour. In the immediate neighbourhood of Hud-

dersfield, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, the destruction of dressing machines began early in February. In March, the machinery belonging to Mr. Francis Vickerman, in that neighbourhood, was destroyed. In April, the destruction of Bradley Mills was threatened; but the execution of these threats was frustrated by the presence of a military guard, to which the protection of that extensive concern was, for many months, confided. The inhabitants of Leeds had for some time been much alarmed by information that attacks were intended to be made on various places in that town and neighbourhood; and early in the month of January, an assemblage of insubordinate workmen, with their faces blacked, and armed with offensive weapons, took place. On the first night of their meeting, they were surprised by the vigilance of the magistrates, and prevented from committing any outrage; but on the 19th of that month, the gig-mill of Messrs. Oates, Wood, and Smithson, was wilfully set on fire, and considerable damage done to the building and machinery. This incendiary act was succeeded by a regular and systematic attack upon the mill of Messrs. Thompson and Brothers, at Rawden, in the same neighbourhood, on the night of the 23d of March, when the shears used in dressing the cloth were broken, and the machinery rendered useless. Previous to the attack the rioters seized and secured the watch; and when the mischief, which occupied but a few minutes in the perpetration, was effected, they assembled on a neighbouring eminence, and called over the numbers by which each man was designated, and instantly dispersed. Only two nights after, a quantity of woollen-cloth, of the value of five hundred pounds, dressed by machinery, the property of Messrs. Dickinson and Co. was cut in shreds in their dressing-shops, at Leeds. At Horbury, near Wakefield, the mill of Mr. Foster was attacked by an armed body of men, supposed to consist of three hundred, who marched in regular sections to the assault, and destroyed the machinery, having previously secured two of the sons of the proprietor, by tying them together in their bed-room.

These outrages, which had hitherto been practised in the county of York almost with impunity, were at length doomed to receive a check: about midnight on Saturday, the 11th of April, an attack was made by a body of armed men, supposed to amount to about one hundred and fifty, upon the shearing-mill of Mr. William Cartwright, situated at Cleckheaton, at about an equal distance from Leeds, Huddersfield, and Halifax. The mill was defended with so much gallantry by Mr. Cartwright, the proprietor, assisted by two soldiers, and four of his work-people, that the assailants, after a number of des-



perate efforts, were completely repulsed, and two of their number left upon the field mortally wounded.

From this period, the insurgents determined upon a different course of conduct; they had found one of the mills invulnerable, and it was supposed that other proprietors, animated by the success of Mr. Cartwright, would in future defend their property; it was therefore determined no longer to attack the mills, but to strike at the life of the owners: in pursuance of this sanguinary resolution, Mr. William Horsfall, a respectable merchant and mill-owner at Marsden, in the neighbourhood of Huddersfield, was way-laid by four assassins, on Tuesday the 28th of April, on his return from the market, and mortally wounded by shots fired at him from behind a wall, in open day, on the public road. A reward of two thousand pounds was offered for the discovery of the murderers; but, although the fatal secret was known to many persons besides the parties concerned, such was the spirit of the times, that it was several months before the perpetrators of this atrocious crime were discovered. About the same time a shot was fired at Mr. Armitage, a magistrate in the neighbourhood of Huddersfield, which happily did not take effect; and Colonel Campbell, the commander of the Leeds district, was equally fortunate in escaping two shots, fired at him within twenty yards of his own door.

At Sheffield, the store-house of arms of the local militia was surprised in the month of May, and a large part of the arms broken and taken away; but this disturbance was followed by no further consequence, and seems to have been a popular ebullition arising from the high price of the necessaries of life. During the months of May and June, depredations of different kinds, and particularly the seizure of arms, continued to be nightly committed in the neighbourhood of Huddersfield and Halifax, where almost all the arms of the peaceable inhabitants were swept away by bands of robbers, who, availing themselves of the general panic, sallied forth nightly to raise contributions upon the public.

The causes alleged for these alarming proceedings were generally the want of employment for the working manufacturers—a want, however, which was the least felt in some of the places where the disorders were the most prevalent; another of the alleged causes was the application of machinery to supply the place of labour; and a third, the high price of provisions. An opinion also prevailed at the time, that the views of some of the persons engaged in these excesses extended to revolutionary measures, and contemplated the overthrow of the government; but this opinion seems to have

been supported by no satisfactory evidence ; and it is admitted on all hands, that the leaders of the riots, although possessed of considerable influence, were all of the labouring classes.

That societies existed for forwarding the objects of the disaffected was clearly manifested, all which societies were directed by a secret committee, which might be considered as the great mover of the whole machine ; and it was established by the various information received from different parts of the country, that these societies were governed by their respective secret committees : that delegates and messengers were continually despatched from place to place for the purpose of concerting plans and conveying information ;\* that an illegal oath of the most atrocious kind was extensively administered ;† and that secret signs were arranged, by which the persons engaged in these conspiracies were known to each other. The military organization, carried on by persons engaged in these societies, had also proceeded to an alarming length ; in some parts of the country they assembled in large numbers, chiefly by night, upon heaths or commons, taking the usual precaution of paroles and counter-signs. The muster-rolls were called over by numbers, not by names ; they were directed by leaders, sometimes in disguise ; they placed sentries to give alarm at the approach of any person, whom they might suspect of an intention to interrupt or give information

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\* A small weekly contribution paid by every member of these combinations, formed a fund, by which the delegates and messengers were wholly, or in part, supported, according to the nature and extent of their service. This fund there is reason to suppose was also applied to the support of the imprisoned Luddites ; and its application in this way, combined with the nature of the oath, may in some degree account for the paucity of information collected from them while in prison, and even in the prospect of death. In fact, they made no disclosures. All their secrets, whether they related to the organization of their societies, the names of their leaders, or their depots of arms, died with them.

† Several copies of the oath were discovered, but the following appears to be the correct version :—

OATH—" I, A. B. of my own voluntary will, do declare, and solemnly swear, that I never will reveal to any person or persons under the canopy of heaven, the names of the persons who compose this secret committee, their proceeding, meetings, places of abode, dress, features, complexion, or any thing else that might lead to a discovery of the same, either by word, deed, or sign, under the penalty of being sent out of the world by the first brother who shall meet me, and my name and character blotted out of existence, and never to be remembered but with contempt and abhorrence ; and I further now do swear, that I will use my best endeavours to punish by death any traitor or traitors, should any rise up among us, wherever I can find him or them, and though he should fly to the verge of nature, I will pursue him with unceasing vengeance. So help me God, and bless me to keep this my oath inviolable."



of their proceedings : and they dispersed instantly at the firing of a gun, or other signal agreed upon, and so dispersed as to avoid detection. In some instances, signals were made by rockets and blue lights, by which they communicated intelligence to the parties, and the whole system evinced an extraordinary degree of concert, secrecy, and organization. The collection of arms and ammunition, and the progress in discipline, as manifested in the attacks upon some of the mills, could not fail to produce in the country a great degree of alarm ; and the system of intimidation produced by the oaths administered to the initiated ; the destruction of property ; and the threats held out against, and, in some cases, executed upon their opposers, greatly aggravated this alarm, and for a long time tended to baffle every effort made to bring the offenders to justice.

In consequence of the report of the secret committee appointed by parliament, from which the foregoing relation is principally drawn, government determined to adopt decisive and vigorous measures against the insurgents. A bill was immediately brought into the house of commons, which made it a capital offence to administer illegal oaths ; and the power of the magistrates in the disturbed districts was considerably enlarged. These measures were strongly objected to by Mr. Whitbread, Sir Francis Burdett, and several other members, on the ground that the report of the secret committee had been entirely made up from documents and evidence which were by no means entitled to implicit belief ; and which ought not to guide parliament when they were about to legislate for the purpose of curtailing the liberty of the subject and increasing the number of capital crimes, already much too great in the criminal code of this country. That at any rate, if such strong and severe measures as those proposed by ministers were to be resorted to, it would be but just that government should, at the same time, as much as lay in their power, remove the cause of the disturbances which they were about to punish ; that their principal cause must be sought in the extension of taxation, and the destruction of commerce and manufactures ; and that these, in their turn, originated in the foolish and wicked continuance of a war without object and without hopes, and in the profligate expenditure of the public money. These representations, however, had no effect ; and it must be confessed, that when certain classes of the people, in any country, are so ill-advised as to have recourse to violence and force for the purpose of removing their real or imaginary grievances, it is the first and most imperious duty of government to protect the peaceable and well-dispos-

ed, and to restore public tranquillity by subduing the lawless. After order and tranquillity are restored, government have another duty to perform, equally imperious—the removal of every real and well-founded cause for complaint and dissatisfaction: and a government that with equal judgment and promptitude performs both these duties, will be at once respected and loved, and will best secure the well-being of the nation committed to its charge.

The exertions of the magistrates in Lancashire and Cheshire, had, early in May, filled the gaols of those counties with prisoners, charged with various offences; and in the interval between the spring and the summer assizes, special commissions were issued to try the offenders. These commissions were opened at Lancaster on the 23d of May, before Mr. Baron Thompson and Sir Simon Le Blanc; and at Chester on the 25th of the same month, before Mr. Justice Dallas and Mr. Justice Burton. Under each of the commissions numerous convictions took place for every gradation of offence; and of the capital convicts, eight at Lancaster, and two at Chester, suffered the penalty of the law.

Although the excesses in the west-riding were checked by the executions in the neighbouring counties, and by the laws passed by parliament, yet no very important discoveries were made in the county of York, earlier than the month of July. At that time some commitments took place, and information was obtained, principally through the zeal, perseverance, and energy, of that intrepid magistrate, Joseph Radcliffe, Esq. of Milns-Bridge, near Huddersfield,\* by which sixty-four persons, charged with offences connected with the disturbances in the west-riding, were, before the close of the year, apprehended and lodged in the castle at York. Government now determined to issue a special commission for the trial of these prisoners, which was directed to Mr. Baron Thompson, and Mr. Justice Le Blanc, who appointed the 2d of January for opening the assize. The trials exhibited a scene of moral turpitude, at which the mind shudders; of sixty-four prisoners, eighteen were capitally convicted;† of whom three, the murderers of Mr. Horsfall, were executed on Friday the 8th of January, and fourteen others on Saturday, the 16th of the same month, the sentence of the remaining capital convict be-

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\* As a mark of the royal favour for the distinguished services rendered to the country at the period now under consideration, this gentleman was, in the course of the following year, created a baronet.

Three for murder; five for the attack on Mr. Cartwright's mill; and the remainder for burglaries, committed ostensibly for the collection of arms, but really for the acquisition of plunder.



ing commuted to transportation for life. Six were convicted of administering, or of aiding in, and consenting to, the administration of unlawful oaths, and sentenced to be transported for seven years : seven others put upon their trials were acquitted : seventeen, against whom bills of indictment had been found for capital offences, were discharged on bail ; and sixteen others by proclamation.

For some months before the special assize, the disturbances in Yorkshire, as well as in all the other manufacturing districts of the kingdom, had nearly subsided ; and this tremendous example, made to the offended laws of the country, served to confirm and render permanent the public tranquillity.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

*RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN : Causes of the War—Austria and Prussia become Parties in the War against Russia—Preparations for Opening the Campaign—Bonaparte quits Paris to assume the Command of the French Army—Opening of the Campaign—Passage of the Niemen by the French—Retreat of the Russian Army, and Advance of the French to the Capital of Russian Poland—The French interpose between the First and Second Russian Armies—Concentration of the First Russian Army on the Dwina, under the Commander in Chief, General Barclay de Tolly—Critical Situation of General Bagration—Advance of the French Army to the Dwina—The French possess themselves of Vitebsk—Defeat of Marshal Oudinot by Prince Wittgenstein on the Dwina—Junction of Prince Bagration with the First Russian Army—Advance of the Russians, under Admiral Tschichagoff, from the Danube into the Government of Minsk—Operations in the North—The Intention of Marshal Oudinot and General St. Cyr to penetrate to St. Petersburg defeated—Battle of Smolensk, and Advance of the French Army—Arrival of the French at Viasma—Command of the Russian Armies transferred from General Barclay de Tolly to Prince Kutusoff—Battle of Borodino—Entrance of the French into Moscow—Destruction of that magnificent City.*

THE campaign of the French in Russia will form one of the most interesting and extraordinary passages in history ; whether we consider the mighty interests which depended on its issue, the magnitude of the means employed, the singular and impressive events which marked its progress, or the momentous consequences that flowed in rapid succession from this prolific source. Here all the efforts of genius, discipline, and numbers, were rendered abortive. The army which, in the arrogance of the invader's calculation, was to lay the foundation of universal dominion, was itself annihilated ; the stupendous fabric of power and conquest raised by a life of adventurous and successful enterprise, was shaken ; and the



PRINCE KOUTOUSOFF.

*See the Biography  
Page 787*





enemies of the conqueror of Austerlitz and Friedland, gathering strength as they advanced, and animated by a succession of triumphs, were at length enabled to execute an awful retribution for all the humiliation they had experienced, and all the wrongs they had suffered.

The principal article of the treaty of Tilsit was that by which Russia bound herself to accede to the continental system, and to exclude from her ports all British manufactures and colonial produce.\* On this article Bonaparte laid so much stress, that he was willing to purchase the acquiescence of Russia by foregoing all the advantages of his victory over her. Finding all direct efforts to subjugate Great Britain impracticable, he resolved on measures for gradually exhausting her resources ; but while his edicts were limited in their operation to the states over which he exercised a direct control, they were found to be in a great measure ineffectual.—His plan therefore was to render them general throughout the continent ; to seduce or to compel all the nations of Europe to give them effect, and in this way to dissolve the commercial relations of Great Britain with continental Europe. The Emperor of Russia, not aware of the consequences of his engagements at Tilsit, had placed himself in a situation of great difficulty and embarrassment : if he attempted to fulfil the treaty so far as to interdict the trade between Great Britain and the Russian empire, he deprived his subjects of the best market for their produce, and roused his nobility against him—and the nobility in Russia, as in all despotic and semi-barbarous countries, are as frequently the masters as the subjects of their sovereign. A regard, therefore, to his own tranquillity and safety, as well as to the well-being of his subjects, prompted him to deviate from the continental system ; while, on the other hand, his apprehensions of the power of Bonaparte were so strong and well founded, that he determined upon a species of compromise ; and as he could not strictly prohibit British manufactures, for which the produce of Russia was exchanged, the Emperor issued an ukase on the 10th of December, 1810, forbidding the introduction of all British produce and manufactures into his dominions, except by special license, and in neutral ships. This partial prohibition was by no means satisfactory to Bonaparte : the slightest tendency to favour British commerce did not fail to rouse his indignation ; and the natural irritability of his temper was whetted the more sharply against Russia, because she had bound herself by treaty to adhere to the “ Continental Sys-

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\* See Vol. II. Chap. II. p. 564.



tem," and in consequence of this agreement, had experienced more favour from him in the other articles of the treaty of Tilsit, than she would otherwise have acquired, or indeed had, in her portentous situation, any right to expect.

But while Bonaparte was thus peremptory with Russia respecting the rigid fulfilment of the secret article of the treaty of Tilsit, he did not himself hesitate to violate its open and avowed stipulations. In contravention of this treaty,\* he seized the dominions of the Duke of Oldenburg, the brother-in-law of the Emperor Alexander, and the ally of Russia; and with most insulting sophistry, attempted to justify this act of spoliation by representing it to be in conformity with the spirit of the treaty of Tilsit. The French minister, assuming the language of complaint, upbraided Russia with having abandoned the engagements to which she had pledged herself at Tilsit, and with violating that treaty, the principle of which she had solemnly espoused in her declaration of war against England:

"From the moment," says the French minister, "the ukase of the Russian government permitted the importation of British goods under neutral flags, the treaty of Tilsit was at end. Russia had broken her solemn engagements: she forgot what she owed to the clemency and magnanimity of the French Emperor, in not only not stripping her of part of her dominions, but in even permitting her to enlarge them by the annexation of Moldavia and Wallachia. Russia further discovered that she had abandoned the continental system by protesting against the occupation of the duchy of Oldenburg; that occupation was indispensable to the full execution of that system; but France, willing to pacify Russia, offered the Duke of Oldenburg an indemnity for his loss of territory; and that indemnity, by the advice of Russia, was refused. These events occurred in the course of the year 1810: in the subsequent year, the intentions of Russia were still more manifest: at the very time that she was dictating the terms of peace to the Turks, she was preparing for war against France: in the month of February, 1811, the Russian armies pressed so closely, and in such numbers, on the Vistula, that the army of the duchy of Warsaw was compelled to repass that river, and fall back on the confederation. At the very moment when the Russian armies were so powerful, and were collected in such a menacing posture and situation, all the French troops were within the Rhine, except a corps of forty thousand men stationed at Hamburg, for the defence of the coasts of the North Sea, and for the maintenance of tranquillity in the countries recently united; the reserved places in Prussia were occupied only by the allied troops: the garrison of Dantzic consisted of not more than four thousand men; and even the troops of the duchy of Warsaw were on the peace establishment. His majesty, nevertheless, was even yet unwilling to suspect Russia of breaking her most solemn engagements, or to imagine that, after the experience she had had of the result of a contest with France, she would again hazard it, unprovoked and without cause: he therefore proposed an arrangement on the following terms:—

"In the first place, the existence of the duchy of Warsaw; this in-

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\* See Vol. II. Chap. II. page 564.

deed was a condition of the treaty of Tilsit : secondly, the annexation of Oldenburg ; this the war with England had rendered necessary ; and this also, though not contained in the treaty of Tilsit, was conformable to its spirit : thirdly, that Russia should pass clear and positive laws respecting trade in English merchandise and denationalized vessels ; these laws to be regulated by the spirit and terms of the treaty of Tilsit : lastly, the re-calling of the ukase of 1810, by which the mercantile relations of France and Russia were destroyed, and the ports of the latter opened to English produce.

“ The offer of articles so moderate in themselves, and which would have been discussed and modified on the part of France with perfect sincerity and an anxious desire to be at peace with Russia, and to secure her interests, was received, not with the same spirit which dictated them, but with evidences of a hostile disposition. All new offers made to Russia were answered by her with fresh armaments ; she refused to enter into explanation, to propose any terms, to state what were her grievances, or the object she had in view, till at length it became apparent that it was not her own commerce, but the commerce of England, she wished to protect and encourage ; that she did not wish to secure the independence of Warsaw, but to seize it herself ; and that it was not for the interests of the Duke of Oldenburg that she wished to interfere, but that it was an open quarrel with France that she wished to keep in reserve till the moment of the rupture for which she was preparing.”

Very soon after the differences began between Napoleon and the Emperor Alexander, the former took such measures as he thought would either awe the emperor into submission, or secure victory and success in case of hostilities : he assembled large bodies of troops in the north of Germany ; instead of evacuating Prussia, which he was bound to do, he kept possession of a great part of that kingdom, especially of those places which were most conveniently situated for an attack on Russian Poland ; and he forcibly occupied Swedish Pomerania. To all these circumstances, the Russian ambassador alludes in his reply to the communication from the French minister of foreign affairs :—

“ The preservation of Prussia and her independence,” says the Russian minister, “ from every political engagement hostile to Russia, are indispensable to the interests of his imperial majesty : it is impossible that peace between France and Russia should be permanent, that it should not be frequently interrupted or endangered, if there does not exist between them a neutral country ; neutral in reality, and not merely in name, and capable of making its neutrality respected : it is therefore absolutely necessary that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from Prussia ; till they are withdrawn Russia cannot consider herself safe, nor can she regard France as that sincere and real ally which she always wishes to consider her. The Emperor Alexander is convinced that it is his real policy to be at peace with France ; and he therefore is extremely solicitous to remove every cause of suspicion or quarrel : but this cannot be done, while, by the occupation of Prussia, the Russian frontiers are threatened by the French army. Under these impressions, therefore, the Russian ambassador declares, that the first basis of a negotiation must be a formal engagement, or a complete evacuation of the Prussian states, and of all the strong places in Prussia ; a diminution of the garrison of Dantzic ; the evacuation of Swedish Pomerania ; and an arrangement with the King of Sweden, calculated to give mutual satis-



faction to the crowns of France and Sweden ;—If these terms are previously complied with, the Emperor Alexander engages not to adopt any change of the prohibitory measures established in Russia against direct trade with England ; to agree with the French Emperor respecting a system of licenses, to be introduced into Russia in the same manner as in France, provided such system does not augment the deterioration already experienced by the trade of Russia ; to modify the custom-house duties of the Russian empire, in such a manner as may be desired by France ; and, finally, to conclude a treaty of exchange for the duchy of Oldenburg, and to withdraw the protest he was about to issue on the subject of the seizure of that duchy, and on the claims of his family to it.”

No answer was made by France to this remonstrance. The die was now cast, and Napoleon was preparing to place himself at the head of his army ; but before he quitted Paris, the usual annual exposition on the state of France was presented by the minister for foreign affairs. In this document the approaching war with Russia was avowed, and descanted upon with much formality. New charges against the Emperor Alexander were made, and it was asserted, that in the Austrian war of 1809, the Russian contingent of auxiliary troops had not been brought forward ; Russia was bound by treaty to assist France with one hundred and fifty thousand troops ; but so slow was she in her movements, and so inadequate in the force sent to co-operate with her ally, that only fifteen thousand men came into the field, and by the time they had crossed the Russian frontier, the fate of the war was decided. This expose' was accompanied by copies of treaties which had been entered into by France with Austria and Prussia ; by the former of which the Emperor Francis engaged to furnish thirty thousand men to France in her war with Russia ; to guarantee the integrity of the Turkish territories in Europe ; and to recognise the principles of the treaty of Utrecht, which sanctions the favourite doctrine of the French Emperor—that neutral bottoms make neutral goods, and that the flag covers and protects the merchandise, even though it be the property of a belligerent, provided it be not contraband of war. The treaty between France and Prussia was merely nominal ; all the resources and troops of Prussia had long been at the disposal of France, and this treaty, which was defensive, contained no stipulation regarding the force which either party should bring into the field.

Preparations had been made by Russia, so early as the spring of 1811, to meet the crisis which was so fast approaching. Two hundred thousand troops were concentrated in the western governments of the Russian empire ; the manufacture of arms was encouraged ; five hundred thousand muskets, and two thousand pieces of ordnance, were manufactured with







Chart  
Illustrative of the  
**CAMPAIGNS**  
of the  
WARS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION  
In Germany Poland Russia & France.  
From 1803 to 1813.

The Asterisks indicate the Scenes of great Battles.

British Miles.	German Dutch Polish Miles or Leagues.
10	10
20	20
30	30
40	40
50	50
60	60
70	70
80	80
90	90
100	100

French Leagues.

10	10
20	20
30	30
40	40
50	50
60	60
70	70
80	80
90	90
100	100

Russian Miles.

10	10
20	20
30	30
40	40
50	50
60	60
70	70
80	80
90	90
100	100



unexampled rapidity ; the cannon from the arsenals and in the interior was secretly despatched towards the frontier ; and the fortifications of the Dwina were every where strengthened and improved. At this period the Russian infantry of the line consisted of twenty-eight divisions, of six regiments each, and every regiment containing one thousand eight hundred men, forming a total of three hundred and two thousand four hundred ; the cavalry consisted of seven divisions, of forty squadrons each, each squadron containing one hundred and forty-two effective men, so that the whole cavalry amounted to thirty-nine thousand seven hundred and sixty ; besides these there were fifty thousand Cossacks ; making an aggregate of three hundred and ninety-two thousand one hundred and sixty men. But of this number two divisions were employed against the Persians ; five against the Turks ; and two were stationed in Finland, as the system meant to be pursued by Sweden was not at that time ascertained. It follows, therefore, that the force which could have been brought to act against the French, nearly reached three hundred thousand men, exclusive of the militia. Such were the military preparations of Russia in 1811, and as the probability of war was continually increasing subsequent to that period, it is reasonable to infer, that her preparations and means were augmented when hostilities actually commenced.

Bonaparte had been more urgent and imperious in his demands than active in his preparations. In 1811, he had about sixty thousand men in Germany, including the garrisons of Stettin, Custrin and Glogau ; from the duchy of Warsaw he might have drawn about the same number ; while the confederation of the Rhine, whose contingent was one hundred thousand, could not, at this time, have supplied more than half that number. By the spring of the following year, however, the French armies had been greatly augmented ; the troops of the confederation had been raised to the stipulated quota, and the Kings of Saxony and Naples had been induced to embark in the great enterprise against Russia. The armies which Napoleon had thus assembled on the frontiers of Russian Poland, amounted, by a moderate computation, to three hundred thousand infantry, and sixty thousand cavalry, in a state of the highest discipline and equipment, provided with fifteen hundred pieces of cannon, and commanded by the first military talents of the age. (74.)

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(74.) Most of the French accounts carry this force much higher than is here represented. Bourgeois, an eye witness of most of the operations of this campaign, computes it at 400,000, three fourths of whom were



The preparations made on each side corresponded to the magnitude of the interests embarked in the contest. The Russians were about to contend for the very existence and independence of their country ; the French, on the other hand, were now to strike a blow which would, if successful, place the whole of continental Europe under their dominion. In numbers the combatants were not, at first, on a footing of equality ; and in discipline, in science, and in organization, the French had a marked superiority. The whole of the military resources of a mighty empire, pre-eminent in civilization, yet devoted to war, were brought forth ; every aid experience and skill could give in the application of these resources, was contributed ; the accumulated means and varied talents which twenty years of successful war had created, were concentrated in this formidable host. The French legions were composed of soldiers grown old in victory, or the successors of those who had perished in the midst of triumphs ; all animated by the lively enthusiasm so characteristic of their nation, and so natural to the circumstances in which the army was placed.

The Russians possessed other advantages for the approaching contest, which may seem almost to have over-balanced those of the enemy. They had been impelled into a state of warfare by the necessity of defending their country from a foreign yoke. They had indeed few distinguished generals, but they had many men of bold and vigorous minds, who required only the extraordinary combination of circumstances which the enemy had hastened, to draw forth their talents. The science of war, it has been justly remarked, requires not the highest gifts, either of the head or of the heart ; and barbarous nations, in general, possess a great deal more of that species of talent which qualifies a man for the conduct of a fierce and obstinate contest, than their more polished neighbours. The Russian soldiers, if they were less active than the French, were far more resolute and steady ; if their onset was less impetuous and vigorous, they could sustain the conflict with more firmness and determination ; if they had less discipline, they had more native courage ; if they could not rally so fast, neither were they so soon thrown into disorder ; if they had not, in the present instance, the hope of conquest

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French. (*Tableau de la Campagne de Moscow*, p. 5.) The author of the life of Marshal Ney, who appears to have drawn his information from official sources, estimates it at 400,000 infantry and 60,000 cavalry, independent of an Austrian corps of 30,000 men under Prince Schwartzenburg. (*Vie du Mare'chal Ney*, Paris, 1816.) Either these statements are incorrect, or but a small part of this army actually entered Russia, for it seems generally admitted, that at the battle of Borodino, or Mojaïsk, the forces on each side did not exceed one hundred and thirty thousand men.

to animate them, they had a sense of duty, the feelings of patriotism, and the sanction of religion, to confirm their native bravery.

On the 9th of May, Bonaparte left Paris, and on the 22d of June he arrived on the banks of the Niemen. The organization of the army was now fully completed, and placed under its respective commanders.\* The Russian army at this time opposed to the French was composed of seven great corps.†

## \* LIST

*Of the principal French Commanders in the Russian Campaign of 1812.*

NAPOLEON, Emperor of France.

Jerome, King of Westphalia, Commander of the Advanced-Guard.

Joachim Murat, King of Naples, Commander of all the Cavalry.

Eugene Beauharnois, Viceroy of Italy, do. 4th Corps.

Berthier, Prince of Neufchatel and of Wagram, Major-General.

Davoust, Prince of Eckmuhl, Commander of the 1st Corps.

Oudinot, Duke of Reggio, - do. - 2d

Ney, Duke of Elchingen, do. - 3d

Prince Poniatowski, - do. - 5th

Marshal Count St. Cyr, - do. - 6th

General Count Regnier, - do. - 7th

Junot, Duke of Abrantes, - do. - 8th

Victor, Duke of Belluno, - do. - 9th

Macdonald, Duke of Tarento, do. - 10th

Prince Schwartzemberg, - do. Austrian Auxiliary Corps.

Bessieres, Duke of Istria, - do. Cavalry of the Guard.

Caulincourt, Duke of Vicenza, General of Division, Grand Ecuyer.

Duroc, Duke of Friuli, Gen. of Division, Grand-Marshal of the Palace.

Count Rapp, Gen. of Division, } Aides-de-Camp to the Emperor.

Count Lauriston, do. }

&c. &c. &c.

## † LIST

*Of the principal Russian Commanders in the Campaign of 1812.*

ALEXANDER, Emperor of Russia.

Grand Duke Constantine.

Prince Kutusoff, Commander-in-Chief.

Barclay de Tolly, Commander-in-Chief before the arrival of Prince Kutusoff.

Prince Wittgenstein, Commander of the 1st Corps. }

General Bogawout, - do. - 2d

Schomoaloff, do. - 3d

Tutschkoff, do. - 4th

Prince Bagration, do. - 5th

Doctorow, - do. - 6th

Tormasow, - do. - 7th

} 1st Army.

} 2d Army.

Admiral Tschikakoff, Commander of the Army of the Danube.

Platoff, Hetman of the Cossacks.

Platoff, Son to the Hetman

Orlow Dennisow, General of the Advanced-Guard.

General Kamenski, }

Ertel,

Essen,

Marcoff,

} Commanders in Volhynia.

Count Rostopchin, Military Governor of Moscow.

Milloradowitch, Commander-General of the Advanced-Guard of Prince

Kutusoff.

&c. &c. &c.



The first, twenty-thousand strong, occupied Rossiena and Keidanoui; the second, of the same force, guarded Kowno; the third, consisting of twenty-four thousand, was posted at New Troki; the fourth corps was stationed in the country between New Troki and Lida; and these four corps, together with the guards, were designated by the name of the "First Army of the West." The "Second Army of the West" consisted of the 5th corps, amounting to forty thousand men; and of the 6th, consisting of eighteen thousand men; and was encamped at Grodno, Lida, and in other parts of Wolhynia. General Marcoff organized in this province the 9th and 15th divisions, which formed the 7th corps, and which acted in the sequel under General Tormasow, against the duchy of Warsaw.

On taking the field, Napoleon, assuming a prophetic tone, issued the following proclamation at Wilkowiski, dated the 22d of June:—

"SOLDIERS!—The second Polish war is begun; the first terminated at Friedland and at Tilsit: at Tilsit, Russia vowed an eternal alliance to France, and war to England. She now breaks her vows, and refuses to give any explication of her strange conduct; let not the French eagles repass the Rhine to leave our allies at her discretion.

"Russia is hurried away by a fatality! her destinies will be fulfilled. Does she think us degenerated? Are we no more the same soldiers who fought at Austerlitz? She places us between dishonour and war. Our choice cannot be difficult. Let us march across the Niemen! and carry the war into her country. This second Polish war will be as glorious for the French arms as the first has been; but the peace we shall conclude, will carry along with it its own guarantee, and will put a stop to the fatal influence which Russia, for fifty years past, has exercised in Europe."

On the 24th, the French army forced the passage of the Niemen at Kowno; and on the 25th the Emperor Alexander issued from Wilna the following proclamation:—

"For a long time past we had remarked, on the part of the Emperor of the French, hostile proceedings towards Russia; but we had always hoped to avert them by conciliatory and pacific means. At length, experiencing a continued renewal of direct offences, in spite of our desire to maintain tranquillity, we have been obliged to complete and to assemble our armies. But even then, we still flattered ourselves to succeed in a reconciliation, by remaining on the frontiers of our empire, without violating the peace, and being prepared only for our defence. All these conciliatory and pacific means could not preserve the peace we desired. The Emperor of the French, by suddenly attacking our army at Kowno, has been the first to declare war. As nothing, therefore, can make him sensible of our desire to maintain peace, we have no choice but to oppose our forces to those of the enemy, invoking the aid of the Almighty, witness and defender of the truth. It is unnecessary for me to recall to the minds of the commanders, to the chiefs of the corps, and to the soldiers, their duty and their bravery; the blood of the gallant Sclavonians runs in their veins. Warriors! you defend your religion, your country, and your liberty! I am with you. God is against the aggressor.

(Signed)

"ALEXANDER."

The plan of defence which the Russians had decided upon, was well adapted to the circumstances of the country, and the character of the army and of the people. A general battle, in the early stages of the campaign, was to be avoided, because the superior discipline and tactics of the enemy must, in such a conflict, have given him many advantages. His progress was, however, to be retarded by a bold resistance at all points where a stand could easily be made, without committing the armies in a general engagement. The country, so far as the invaders might be able to penetrate, was to be laid waste ; every thing useful to the enemy was to be destroyed or removed ; and a scene of desolation was to be presented on every side. Should the enemy, in such circumstances, dare to advance into the heart of the country, his difficulties would every day accumulate ; and should he be desperate enough to linger in the interior till the approach of winter, his doom would be sealed.

The passage of the Niemen, and the capture of Kowno, though in themselves events of little moment, were attended with very important consequences. The Russians, in pursuance of the plan of the campaign which they had resolved to follow, had marked out their first line of defence on the banks of the Dwina, and it is not easy to discover the military policy which induced them to push forward a large portion of their troops to the margin of the Niemen. By this disposition of their forces, the Russian line became too much extended, and in many places so disadvantageously posted, that it was exposed to the attacks of the enemy without any prospect of presenting a successful resistance to his advance. Bonaparte, instantly perceiving the error that had been committed, penetrated into Russian Poland with so much rapidity as to cut off the communication between the first and second Russian armies, and hoped to consummate his success by his favourite manœuvre of attacking and defeating his enemies in detail. In the former part of his plan he was completely successful ; but in the latter he was foiled and disappointed, by the steady and persevering resistance of the troops to which he was opposed.

As soon as the French troops had crossed the Niemen, they pushed forward with great rapidity to Wilna. On many accounts the occupation of this city was of the utmost consequence to Napoleon : the Emperor Alexander was still here ; and though there was no chance of making so exalted a captive, yet the circumstance of Alexander flying before the French, served to give *eclat* to the commencement of the campaign ; and the expectation might be entertained, that if he remained sufficiently long to witness the rapid advance and



formidable numbers of the French army, he would be intimidated into submission. On the 28th of June Bonaparte entered the capital of Russian Poland; and from the measures which he immediately adopted, it was plain that he expected considerable assistance from the Poles. He knew their just hatred to Russia; and though he had already deceived them, in the expectation of independence which he had held out on a former occasion, yet he knew how to inspire them with fresh confidence. France herself had never inflicted, because it was impossible to inflict, greater evils upon any nation, than those which Poland had suffered from Russia; and when the re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland was now proclaimed, and a diet assembled, under the guarantee of the French Emperor, the national enthusiasm was raised in his favour, and the ranks of his army swelled by Polish levies.

The French troops, instead of following the Russians to the Dwina, whither they had retired, spread themselves towards the south, with the two-fold object of cutting off the second corps of the Russian army, under Prince Bagration, which was already separated from the first, under General Barclay de Tolly, the commander-in-chief, and of turning the intrenchments on the Dwina, without being exposed to the hazard of carrying them by storm. The bulletins issued by the French Emperor during this campaign, were read with avidity in every part of Europe; and never were they so interesting as they had now become. Already they began to change their character; no victories were gained, few prisoners were made; and the capture of cannon and colours, the trophies of war, no longer imparted a splendour to those military documents.

As soon as the Emperor Alexander became acquainted with the nature of the movements made by the enemy, he issued orders to the different divisions of the Russian army to re-unite at Drissa, at which place a strong intrenched camp had been previously formed. In compliance with this order, General Wittgenstein advanced with the first corps from Wilkomir to Braslaw. General Doctorow was eagerly followed by the enemy, and had several affairs during his retreat with the corps of Soult, Borde, Nansouty, and Pajol, whom he continually repulsed, and on the 4th of July effected a junction with the main army. On the 6th, the rear-guard of the right of the army under Generals Knorff and Kutusoff, was attacked near the Dwina by the troops under the King of Naples, supported by a strong corps of flying artillery under General Montbrun; but the assailants were received with bravery, and quickly repulsed by the Cossacks of the guards, who

took some prisoners, among whom was the Prince Hohenloe Kirchberg, in the service of the King of Wirtemberg. The Russians were now enabled to pass the river without molestation, and on the 8th the main body of the first army effected their passage at Dinabourg. The divisions of the first army had thus been assembled without loss ; but the movements of Prince Bagration were attended with infinitely greater difficulty. This general, who, when the orders of the emperor for forming a junction on the Dwina reached him, was stationed with the second army in the government of Minsk, in the neighbourhood of Bialystock and Volkovisk, ordered the Hetman Platoff, with his Cossacks, to advance upon Grodno, and thus protect the movements of the main body, on their advance in the direction of Wilna. But he soon discovered that the French army was already spread over his line of march, and that the junction with the first army in this direction could only be effected by great sacrifices. Under these circumstances, he thought proper to retrace his steps and to direct his march towards Minsk ; he had soon however the mortification to learn that here again he had been anticipated, and that the Prince of Eckmuhl was already in possession of that place. The situation of the Russian general had now become critical and embarrassing in the extreme ; but with that presence of mind, which never deserts a brave and able commander, he instantly resolved to march towards Slutzk, in the hope that he might afterwards proceed by Mohilow towards Vitepsk, and there accomplish the object of his exertions.

The rout on which Prince Bagration now determined was circuitous, and his progress was attended with much hazard. To cover his movements, Platoff, with his Cossacks and light artillery, left Grodno and passed towards Mir. This movement of the Cossack chief probably saved the second Russian army. On the 7th of July, Platoff was met by the advanced guard of the French army, under the King of Westphalia, which he repulsed with great slaughter. The following day Platoff occupied the suburbs of Mir, and again repulsed a still greater force, under the Polish chief Rominski. In the sanguinary affair which succeeded, the enemy was defeated ; three entire regiments of Polish hulans were cut to pieces ; and the commander narrowly escaped being made prisoner. The loss of the Russians was also severe ; and their indefatigable leader had fresh obstacles to encounter. He no sooner directed his troops towards Romanoff, than he was again attacked by an enemy still more formidable ; when an obstinate engagement again ensued, in which the first regiment of chasseurs a cheval, and the grenadiers a cheval, shar-



ed the fate of the Polish hulans. Two colours, sixteen inferior officers, and three hundred men, were made prisoners in this rencontre ; and after having pursued the enemy for three leagues, the Cossacks advanced to Mohilow, to maintain their communication with the second army, which was moving on this place by forced marches.

Notwithstanding these partial advantages, no effectual resistance had been made to the progress of the grand army of the enemy ; and the Emperor Napoleon, in announcing his progress, exclaimed, " Ten days after the opening of the campaign, our advanced posts are upon the banks of the Dwina ! Almost all Lithuania, a country containing four millions of inhabitants, is conquered. The Russians are engaged in concentrating their forces at Drissa. They now talk of fighting, after having abandoned, without a stroke, their Polish possessions. Perhaps they adopt this peaceful mode of evacuation as an act of justice, to make some restitution to a country which they had acquired neither by treaty nor the right of conquest." It now seems to have been the intention of the French to attack the right of the Russian army, and to force the works of the Dwina. With this view Marshal Oudinot approached Dinabourg ; and in the morning of the 18th attacked the bridge, where some works had been constructed. This attack was gallantly repulsed by the Russians ; and although the attempt to force the passage was renewed with increased vigour on the following day, the enemy was again driven back with considerable loss. The project of forcing the Russian intrenched camp was now abandoned, and the enemy determined to push forward to Vitepsk, on which station Beauharnois, Davoust, and Mortier, were already moving. The Russian left at the same time made a rapid movement on Polotsk ; and the commander-in-chief finally resolved to abandon his intrenched camp at Drissa and to retire on Smolensk, where it was hoped that a junction might at last be formed with the second army. Prince Wittgenstein, who about this time began to display those military talents by which their possessor was enabled to act so distinguished a part in the deliverance of Europe, was in the mean time left to occupy the country to the north of the Dwina, and to keep in check the corps under Macdonald and Oudinot. On the 25th the Russian corps under General Osterman was in motion ; and three versts (two English miles) in advance of Ostrowno, they fell in with a large body of French cavalry under the King of Naples, who fought with determined bravery, but were ultimately compelled to give way. The Russians, too impetuous in following up their success, were in their turn repulsed,

with a loss of twenty pieces of cannon. On the following day, the King of Naples, powerfully reinforced by the Viceroy of Italy, renewed the attack. The Russians had their right on the Dwina, their centre on the great road leading to Vitepsk, and their left covered by a wood, of which the French made several vigorous efforts to obtain possession. During the heat of the battle the Emperor Napoleon was discovered on the road in the midst of a brilliant suite. After surveying the field from an eminence, he caused new dispositions to be made, which being executed with order and rapidity, the French army was soon in the middle of the forest, and at the close of the day this advanced-guard arrived at the foot of the hills of Vitepsk.

On the morning of the 27th, at the dawn of day the French marched upon Vitepsk, and took possession of that city, from which the Russians retired, taking up a position which commanded the Smolensk road. The two grand armies, now in sight of each other, waited with impatience for the commencement of a general battle; but at the moment when every thing seemed to be prepared for the great struggle, the plans of the Russian general-in-chief were changed by the receipt of intelligence from Bagration, who, finding Mohilow in possession of the French, had determined to retire by another rout upon Smolensk. The night of the 27th was passed by the French army under arms, with a confident expectation that the great battle would be fought on the following day. But what was their astonishment on the following morning to find that the Russians had effected their retreat during the night, in such perfect order that they had neither left cannon, wag-gons, or even a single vehicle, to indicate the road they had taken.\*

The French Emperor determined to remain some time at Vitepsk, to afford his army a respite from the fatigues and privations to which they had already become exposed; but while the grand armies were thus reposing in a state of inactivity, the operations of the campaign were vigorously prosecuted in the neighbourhood of Polotsk, by the Russian corps under Prince Wittgenstein, and the French division commanded by Marshal Oudinot. On the 11th of August, Wittgenstein encountered a detachment of French cavalry, from one of whom he learned that the French marshal had formed the project of advancing to St. Petersburg. The Russians however defeat-

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\* Narrative of the Campaign in Russia, by Eugene Labaume, an officer of engineers, serving in the fourth corps of the French army, during the whole of the campaign.



ed this intention, and compelled Oudinot to retire upon Polotsk, where he was joined by a corps of Wirtemberg and Bavarian troops, under the command of General Gouvion St. Cyr. Thus reinforced, Oudinot once more advanced on the rout to the Russian capital; but the promptitude and penetration of Prince Wittgenstein again arrested his progress. The arrangements of the Duke of Reggio were made with consummate skill, but they availed not against the courage of the Russians, who bore down upon him with such fury, that after a brave resistance, which lasted for more than six hours, the enemy was repulsed with great loss. On the following day Wittgenstein resumed the attack, and the Duke of Reggio had improved the few hours of darkness by which the conflict was interrupted, in such a manner as might have been expected from an able general. The contest was again maintained with great vigour, and attended with a heavy loss on both sides. On the third day the French troops were completely overthrown, and the fugitives who escaped from the field sought shelter in the lines before Polotsk. The loss of the enemy in these obstinate and sanguinary engagements, was estimated at five thousand killed and wounded, and three thousand prisoners, besides artillery, baggage and ammunition waggons; and the Russians admit a loss of two thousand men, among whom was General Kouluff. "During the three days attack," says Prince Wittgenstein, "the corps I had the honour to command performed prodigies of valour. Their resolution was not to be shaken; and their ardour, like a devouring flame, consumed all before it. The artillery and the bayonet were equally the instruments of their zeal; for where the one fell short of the mark, the other was pushed with a resolution that overthrew whole ranks of the enemy. Even the most solid columns of infantry, and batteries of cannon, were compelled to give way before the intrepid motions of our troops.

Another effort was now to be made by the Russian army, under Bagration, to effect a junction with the commander-in-chief, and with this view, he formed the hazardous determination to cross the Beresina at Bobruisk, and to cut his way through the divisions of Marshals Davoust and Mortier on the Dnieper. The battle which ensued was extremely bloody, and lasted for upwards of ten hours with various success; but at length the Russian troops opened themselves a passage, and on the 12th of August re-established, at Smolensk, that communication which had been lost on the 24th of June, by a military error committed on the banks of the Niemen.

The Russians, concentrated at Smolensk, seemed to await

the approach of the enemy, whose head-quarters were still at Vitepsk, but whose divisions were now pressing forward in all directions. Delay still promised advantages to the Russians ; it was necessary in some measure to repair the strength of the second army, already exhausted by marches so harrassing, and greatly reduced in numbers by the desertion of the Poles, and other adverse circumstances. The whole force under General Barclay de Tolly did not, even including the second army, exceed one hundred and thirty thousand men, upon which the powerful divisions of Beauharnois, Murat, Ney, Davoust, Mortier, and Poniatowski, were fast advancing. Had the French, at this moment, been able to force their enemies to a general and decisive action, the integrity of the Russian empire might have been exposed to great peril ; but the affairs of Russia were gradually improving, while every day that elapsed was as the loss of a battle to the fortunes of the invaders.

About the end of July, when the French armies had been six weeks in Russia, and had made the most alarming progress in the interior, the emperor received intelligence that peace had been concluded with Turkey, and that the Russian army of the south which had distinguished itself in the protracted contest on the Danube, was now at liberty to unite in repelling the invaders of the empire. This gratifying intelligence was at the same time accompanied by the annunciation, that peace with England, which all orders in Russia had so earnestly desired, was concluded : that from this time all the ports of Russia would be open to English vessels ; and that every commercial relationship should instantly re-commence between the empire of Russia and the kingdom of Great Britain.\*

General Count Kutusoff, who became afterwards so famous in the campaigns of the north, had hitherto conducted the army of the Danube to victory, and had, by his wise policy, hastened that pacification with the Ottoman empire, which it was so much the interest of Russia to conclude. This gallant officer had been created a prince of the Russian empire, as a reward for his distinguished services, and as he was far advanced in years, he had retired to St. Petersburg, in the hope of spending the evening of life in tranquillity. A more brilliant destiny, however, was reserved for him ; and the closing scenes of his military career were to be signalized in the defeat and destruction of the enemies of his country. The army of the Danube was, in the mean time, commanded by Admiral Tschikakoff, a man of singular and versatile powers, and

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\* Proclamation of the Emperor Alexander.



of a genius for martial affairs which was not confined to one element. The first task imposed upon him in his new situation was, to conduct his army through a long and difficult march; to bring up his troops from the Danube and the Pruth, and to encounter the Austrians, under Prince Schwartzenberg, and the Saxons, under General Renier, who had reached Kobrin, Slonim, and Minsk. At Kobrin, a detachment of Saxons, under General Kleingel, had been previously surprised by a Russian force, commanded by General Kamenski, and after an obstinate engagement, the Saxon commander, with seventy officers, and two thousand five hundred men, were made prisoners. General Tormasow resolved to follow up these successes by an advance on Slonim, where Renier and Schwartzenberg were now posted. On the morning of the 12th of August the attack was begun. Schwartzenberg, observing that the whole attention of the Russians was directed to their left, made an unsuccessful effort to pass a morass, by which the right of their position was defended. The French general, rendered desperate by the unexpected difficulties which he had to encounter, brought immense reinforcements from his centre and left, and extending his front, endeavoured to out-flank the Russians. General Tormasow instantly adopted the only plan by which these movements could be counteracted, and charged the enemy in front, at the same time extending his line in a parallel direction with that of the hostile army. The battle was once more renewed with great fury; and six fresh battalions of infantry, and several regiments of hulans and hussars, were led on to the attack. Night alone parted the combatants, each of whom left on the field about five thousand killed and wounded. This immense expenditure of blood was attended by no decisive result; the enemy occupied his former positions, and the Russians during the night, prepared to retreat to Kobrin, where they arrived on the following day without molestation.

While these events occurred in the south, great exertions were made by General Essen to strengthen the city of Riga, against which a division of the French army, under Marshal Macdonald, had been directed. In the month of July an obstinate engagement was fought in the vicinity of that city, in which a strong Russian detachment, under General Lewis, was repulsed by the Prussian General Kliest, and obliged to seek refuge within the walls of the fortress. This was the first engagement in which the Prussians had entered the lists with their ancient ally; and it was not till the 23d of the following month that the contest in this quarter was renewed. On that day General Essen, who had received intelligence that a strong

force was advancing from the side of Germany to reinforce the besieging army, determined to attack the Prussians, and to drive them back to Mitau. The attack was made with great spirit, and the enemy's intrenchments were carried at the point of the bayonet. But the incautious intrepidity of the Russian troops having hurried them into an eager and disorderly pursuit, their ranks were laid open, and a large body of Prussian cavalry, perceiving the advantage that presented itself, rushed upon the advancing Russians, and inflicted a terrible slaughter. Notwithstanding the surprise of this assault, the Russians receded not from the field till it was covered with the dead bodies of their comrades, when they gallantly and deliberately retreated beyond their lines of defence. This adverse turn in the fortunes of the day gave the enemy time to rally his ranks, and to return to his guns, from which he had been driven. Battle was again offered, with an air of triumph, which roused the spirit of the Russian army, and the engagement was renewed with increased fury. The Prussians fought with distinguished bravery, but Russian energy at length prevailed, and the discomfited flank of the enemy assumed a retrograde movement, and ultimately abandoned the field.

Prince Wittgenstein, who continued to occupy the ground gained from the enemy on the Petersburg road, having now received reinforcements from Dinabourg, determined to dislodge Marshal Oudinot from his fortified position at Polotsk. On the 17th of August, the Russian general advanced in two columns, and after a few hours reached the ground on which he meant to give the French battle. A heavy fire from a Russian battery, directed against the enemy's masses, while they were yet unformed, created the utmost confusion; while a concentrated charge of cavalry completely laid open the flank of the French army. At this crisis Marshal Oudinot received a dangerous wound in the shoulder, which obliged him to retire from the field; and at the close of the day, Prince Wittgenstein was enabled to take possession of the intrenchments, erected by the enemy, in front of Polotsk. General St. Cyr, on whom the command of this division of the French army had now devolved, animated by the hope of retrieving the disaster of the 17th, determined to renew the conflict on the following day. On this occasion Count Wrede commanded the Bavarians on the right; General Maison was intrusted with the left; and General St. Cyr in person led the centre. Prince Wittgenstein, availing himself of the intrenchments obtained from the enemy on the preceding day, determined to remain on the defensive. The attack was commenced by a discharge



of the Bavarian artillery, which was instantly followed by a general and destructive fire from the whole of the French line. The French had added to the strength of the left by a well-appointed battery, placed on the banks of the Dwina; but the Russians, regardless of this advantage, charged to the very mouth of the guns, and with the point of the bayonet, drove the front line back upon the reserve. The contest in the centre, where the commanders-in-chief on both sides were arrayed against each other, was maintained with the most obstinate bravery; but the steady courage of the Russians at length prevailed, and obliged St. Cyr to fall back upon his lines of defence. The right, yet unbroken, distinguished itself by memorable acts of bravery; but General Wrede, finding all his exertions to resist the Russian columns unavailing, felt himself obliged to follow the retreating legions, and, like them to seek refuge within the walls of Polotsk. The battle continued for twelve hours; and the pursuit, which was continued into the streets of the city, did not cease till midnight. The number of prisoners made by the Russians during the 17th and 18th amounted to three thousand, including thirty officers. The killed on both sides are variously estimated, but that the victory was purchased at a high price will appear clear, when it is stated, that three Russian general officers—Berg, Hamen, and Kazaticchkovsky, were numbered among the wounded. The splendid victories achieved in this quarter were, however, of inestimable value, and it was probably to the successful efforts of the Russian armies under Prince Wittgenstein, that the city of St. Petersburg owed its deliverance from that disastrous fate which now awaited the ancient capital of the empire.

Bonaparte remained at Vitepsk until he received intelligence that his reinforcements from Tilsit were advancing upon Wilna; he then resolved immediately to attack Smolensk, and with this view, Murat and Beauharnois were ordered to advance on the 13th of August, and to force the passage of the Dnieper—the Borysthenes of the Greeks. The Russian general-in-chief, aware of these movements, ordered Prince Bagration to fall back on Smolensk on the Moscow road; while, on the 14th, he himself retired to the high ground on the right bank of the river by which Smolensk is commanded. Here he learned that the advanced posts of the Russian army had suffered a severe defeat at Krasnoi, and that their columns were rapidly advancing. The garrison of Smolensk was in the mean time strengthened, and the necessary preparations made to arrest the further progress of the invaders. The communication between the garrison of Smolensk, now thirty

thousand strong, and the army under Barclay de Tolly, was fully established by three bridges; and the ancient walls of that city, although ill adapted to resist the operations of modern warfare, were mounted with cannon, that no advantage might be left unimproved. Smolensk, which formed the only favourable position for defence on the west of Moscow, was an object of great importance to the enemy, and the ardour of the Russians in its defence was increased by an order given to the army by the Emperor Alexander, to give battle to the invaders, for the purpose of saving this ancient city.

On the 16th of August, Napoleon was at the head of his army before Smolensk, and no sooner had he ascertained the strength, and reconnoitred the position of the Russians, than he immediately decided on his plan of operations. The object of the emperor was to carry the intrenched suburbs of the city, and at the same time to destroy the bridges, by which a communication was maintained between the garrison and the army on the heights. With this view, Marshal Ney was ordered to take the position on the left, inclining towards the Borysthènes; the command of the centre was confided to Marshal Davoust; and Prince Poniatowski commanded on the right; the reserves, consisting of cavalry, under Murat and Beauharnois, formed the rear; and the emperor himself remained with the guards. On the 17th, about noon, the contest began, and the fire from the Russian cannon was answered by the French with energy and effect. Poniatowski was now ordered to advance, and having succeeded in driving a body of Russians from a formidable position on the right, a battery was instantly constructed, and directed against the bridges. Animated by this success the enemy pushed forward in great numbers, and drove the Russians before them into their intrenchments at the point of the bayonet. For two hours this sanguinary and unequal contest was maintained with great firmness. Every moment the fight became more arduous, and the operations of the Russians began to be impeded by the heaps of slain with which they were surrounded. In these desperate circumstances, they retired, still fighting, into the city, and already the French were under its walls. The centre of the enemy's army now penetrated into the city, and on the left the Russians were obliged to withdraw within the ramparts. General Barclay de Tolly, perceiving that the assault of the town was likely to be attempted, reinforced the garrison with two new divisions, and two regiments of infantry of the guards. The battle continued to rage after the sun had sunk beneath the horizon. As the night advanced it was discovered that the city was on fire; the flames were seen dis-



tinctly to communicate to the principal quarters ; and in the middle of a fine summer's night, Smolensk presented to the contending armies the same spectacle that Vesuvius sometimes offers to the inhabitants of Naples. At two o'clock in the morning the French grenadiers advanced to mount the breach ; but, to their astonishment, they approached without resistance, and soon discovered that the place was entirely evacuated. All the streets were covered with the bodies of expiring Russians, over which the flames shed a melancholy glare, that filled the imagination with awe, and aggravated the horrors of the surrounding scene. When the French leader entered the city on the following morning he found it a heap of ruins, and, in an agony of disappointment, he exclaimed, " Never was a war prosecuted with such ferocity ; never did defence put on so hostile a shape against the common feelings of self-preservation. These people treat their own country as if they were its enemies."

It had hitherto been supposed that Napoleon would, for the present season, finish his conquests by taking the two towns of Vitepsk and Smolensk, which, by their position, closed the narrow passage comprised between the Borysthenes and the Dwina. His army considered these two towns as points for their repose on the approach of winter ; and if their leader had limited the operations of this campaign to fortifying Vitepsk and Smolensk ; and more especially if he had organized Poland, the whole of which had been conquered ; there is little doubt but, in the following spring, he would have forced the Russians either to subscribe to his conditions, or to hazard the destruction of both Moscow and St. Petersburg. But, dazzled by his successes, and " hurried away by a fatality," he ventured upon the grand road to Moscow, through a country every where devastated at his approach, and with the hostile army under Tschikakoff cantoned in his rear.

After the fall of Smolensk, the pursuit by the French corps under Marshal Ney was so prompt, that Baron Korff, to whom the command of the Russian rear-guard was confided, found his progress interrupted, the enemy having pre-occupied his line of march. A furious battle ensued, which lasted till midnight, when the enemy was obliged to withdraw and to leave the Russians at liberty to direct their future movements without molestation.

The Russians still continued to retreat, and on the morning of the 29th, the invaders arrived at Viasma. The retreating army, following up their determination to lay the country waste, had given up this city to the flames, and on the arrival

of the French they found the dwellings of its ten thousand inhabitants reduced to a heap of ruins.

At this period, the chief command of the Russian army was transferred from General Barclay de Tolly to Prince Kutusoff—a general grown hoary in arms, on whom the Muscovites reposed the hopes of their country, and whose arrival was hailed by the army with unbounded exultation. Kutusoff had scarcely arrived at head-quarters when he announced to his troops that no more retrograde movements were to be made by the Russians; and that he might the better defend Moscow, he chose a strong position at the village of Borodino, about twelve versts in advance of Mojaïsk. At a small distance from this village there is a deep ravine, through which a rivulet runs, and of which the Russian general availed himself for the protection of his right and centre, the command of the former of which was committed to General Barclay de Tolly, and the latter to General Benningsen, while the left, under Prince Bagration, stretched to the village of Semenovka. The general-in-chief communicated the plans which he had formed to his officers; he encouraged his soldiers by his presence and exhortations, and made every arrangement to secure success in the approaching conflict.

It was remarked, that as soon as Bonaparte was apprised of the appointment of Prince Kutusoff to the command of the Russian army, he became more cautious in his operations, and paid this silent and involuntary tribute to the genius of his antagonist. On the 30th of August, the French emperor had reached Viasma, and on the 4th of September he advanced into the vicinity of Borodino. On the 5th the reconnoitring parties of the enemy were rapidly succeeded by strong masses of infantry and cavalry, which, by advancing on the Russian left, unequivocally indicated the intention of Bonaparte to direct his efforts against that part of the army under Kutusoff, which the prince expected would be the first assailed. The rear-guard of the Russian army under Lieutenant-general Konovitzen, was still a little in front of the Russian left, where it was attacked with great impetuosity. After a short resistance, this corps was compelled to fall back on Prince Bagration's line, under cover of a redoubt which was erected on a height between two woods, where the Russians had placed a corps of nine thousand men. Napoleon, having reconnoitred this position, resolved to carry the height. Orders were accordingly given to Murat to pass the Kaluga, while Prince Poniatowski, who had marched to the right, was directed to turn the position. At four o'clock the attack commenced; and an obstinate contest ensued. The post was



abandoned and re-taken by the Russians four different times, but they were at last compelled to fall back; and to leave the fortified eminence in possession of the enemy. The whole of the 6th of September was employed in active preparations for the conflict which was expected to decide the fate of Russia.

The skill and activity of Napoleon were eminently conspicuous on this occasion. The height which his troops had carried on the 5th was now covered with a hundred pieces of artillery; three other batteries, two of which were directed against the centre, and one against the left of the Russians, were constructed; detachments of artillery were also distributed along the French line, and no less than a thousand pieces of cannon on each side, were ready to open their fire. It was obvious, that the chief efforts of the French army were to be directed against the Russian left; and every thing that military skill and enterprise could effect was done to insure success in this quarter. Nor were the dispositions of the Russian commander less judicious. Kutusoff quickly penetrated the intentions of the enemy, and strengthened his left with the *elite* of his army, which he formed into two lines, supported by cavalry and artillery. A strong body of the militia of Moscow was posted in a wood on the left, that they might act on the enemy's right and rear, should he attempt to turn the Russian flank. Strong batteries were also constructed for the protection of the centre and other parts of the army; a general battle had now become inevitable, and the combatants on each side were estimated at from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and thirty thousand.\*

The veteran hero by whom they were commanded, well knew how to avail himself of the different principles of action which guide the Russian soldiers; and he did not omit on this great occasion to touch their feelings of religious enthusiasm. The sacred emblems, saved amidst the ruins of Smolensk, were carried along the lines by the priests attached to the army, and inspired the soldiers to a degree which cannot easily be conceived by nations far removed from these vivifying superstitions. While the minds of the troops were in this state of excitement, Prince Kutusoff pronounced a speech, which, as it was delivered on the eve of one of the greatest battles fought in modern times, and as it characterises the general and his troops, is worthy of being preserved:

"BROTHERS AND FELLOW SOLDIERS!" said he, "Behold before you, in those sacred representations of the holy objects of our worship,

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\* Eighteenth Bulletin of the French army, dated Mojaïsk, September 10, 1812.

an appeal which calls aloud upon heaven to unite with man against the tyrannic troubler of the world. Not content with defacing the image of God, in the persons of millions of his creatures, this universal tyrant, this arch rebel to all laws human and divine, breaks into the sanctuary, pollutes it with blood, overthrows its altars, tramples on its rites, and exposes the ark of the Lord (consecrated in these holy insignia of our church) to all the profanations of accident, of the elements, and of unsanctified hands. Fear not then, but that the God whose altars have been so insulted by the very worm his almighty fiat has raised from the dust, fear not that He will not be with you ! that he will not stretch forth his shield over your ranks ; and with the sword of Michael fight against his enemies !

“ This is the faith in which I will fight and conquer ! This is the faith in which I would fight and fall, and still behold the final victory with my dying eyes ! Soldiers ! Do your part. Think on the burning sacrifice of your cities—think of your wives, your children, looking to you for protection—think on your emperor, your lords, regarding you as the sinews of their strength ;---and, before to-morrow’s sun sets, write your faith and your fealty on the field of your country with the life’s blood of the invader and his legions !”

The morning of the 7th of September at length appeared ; and thousands beheld the dawn for the last time. The moment was arrived when the discharge of two thousand cannon was to break the pause of expectation, and to arouse at once all the horrors of war. The opening day is thus described in the eighteenth bulletin of the French army :

“ On the 7th, at two o’clock in the morning, the Emperor Napoleon, surrounded by his marshals, appeared on the position taken up on the preceding evening. It then rained, but now the sun rose without clouds, *‘ It is the sun of Austerlitz !’* exclaimed the emperor, ‘ although but September, it is as cold as December in Moravia !’ The army received the omen. The drums beat ; and the order of the day was issued in these words :---

“ Soldiers ! Before you is the field you have so ardently desired ! The victory depends upon you. It is necessary to you. It will give you abundance, good winter quarters, and a quick return to your country. Conduct yourselves as when at Austerlitz, at Friedland, at Vitepsk, at Smolensk, and the latest posterity will cite with pride your conduct on this day. They will say---*He was in that great battle under the walls of Moscow !*”

At four o’clock in the morning the corps of Marshal Davoust and Prince Poniatowski advanced by the wood which supported the Russian left ; at six the action commenced, and the enemy experienced the advantages derived from the possession of the redoubt which he had taken on the 5th. Marshal Ney, in the mean time, bore down with great force on the Russian centre, and the Viceroy of Italy assailed the right. General as the attack seemed, the corps of Prince Bagration had to sustain the accumulated weight of nearly half the French army. The resolution of the enemy’s cavalry on his flank was conspicuous ; they charged the Russians even to the batteries, and both cavalry and infantry were mown down by the cannon. For three hours this furious attack con-



tinued without effect ; and Bonaparte, well aware of the importance of the station, ordered up reinforcements of troops under Marshal Murat and Count Caulincourt, supported by fifty additional pieces of cannon. The vigour of the onset, thus strengthened, was found irresistible, and Prince Bagration was compelled to fall back on the second line of the army, while the enemy turned against the retiring columns the guns which had just been abandoned. Prince Kutusoff, seeing the left of his army thus overpowered, ordered up to its support, from the reserve, a strong body of cavalry and grenadiers ; and at the moment when they were making a desperate effort to regain their lost position, the militia and other troops which had been posted in the wood, rushed forward, and took a dreadful vengeance on the enemy. The shock of this concentrated force obliged the French in their turn to give way, and Napoleon had the mortification to behold the choicest of his troops driven from their dearly acquired conquest with immense loss.

On the other extremity of the line, a combat scarcely less obstinate was maintained : the viceroy made repeated efforts to carry the village of Borodino, and the redoubts by which it was protected ; but his failure in all of them was complete, and he was ultimately repulsed with great loss. The Russian commander was now enabled to reinforce his centre, where the battle still raged with undiminished violence. The thunder of a thousand pieces of artillery, was answered by an equal number on the part of the French. A veil of smoke shut out the combatants from the sun, and left them no other light to pursue the work of death but the flashes which blazed from the cannon and musketry. The sabres of forty thousand dragoons met each other, clashing in the horrid gloom ; and the moving ramparts of countless bayonets, bursting through the rolling vapour, strewed the earth with heaps of slain.\* Night at last arrived, and added to the sublime horrors of the scene.

Both parties claimed the victory ;† but the impartial historian can award it to neither. The Russians failed in their object, which was, to arrest the progress of the enemy, and to preserve the ancient capital of the empire ; and the French, instead of realizing another day of Austerlitz, were obliged, at the close of the battle, to retreat for several versts, leaving

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\* Sir Robert Ker Porter's Narrative of the Russian Campaign.

† *Te Deum* was celebrated nearly at the same both in the Great Cathedral at St. Petersburg, and in the Church of Notre Dame at Paris, for the victory of Borodino.

their heroic adversary in possession of the field. The return of day presented a scene calculated to appal the stoutest heart. The carnage on both sides was immense. The Russians estimated their own loss, in killed and wounded, at 40,000 men, and that of the enemy at 60,000. The enemy, in putting in their claim to the victory, assert, that the loss of the French did not exceed ten thousand, while that of the Russians is rated at from forty to fifty thousand. "At eight o'clock in the morning," say they, "the Russian redoubts were taken, and our artillery crowned his heights. At two in the afternoon, the Russians had lost all hope; the battle was ended; the cannonade still continued; the enemy fought for retreat and safety, but no longer for victory. Never was there seen such a field of battle; out of six dead bodies there were five Russians for one Frenchman. Forty Russian generals were killed, wounded, or taken. The emperor (Napoleon) was never exposed; neither the foot nor the horse guards were engaged, or lost a single man." Such is the account given of the termination of the battle of Borodino by the French. With such contradictory statements, the present age and posterity must labour under great difficulty in arriving at a just conclusion, and in this, as in other battles of a dubious issue, the result alone must decide the validity of the conflicting claims.

The Russians lost some officers of distinction, among whom were Generals Toutchkoff and Konovitzen; and the gallant Prince Bagration afterwards died of his wounds. Of the French Generals, Augustus Caulincourt and Montbrun were numbered among the slain, and Generals Plausanne, Honard, Grouchy, Rapp, and Morand, shared the same fate. (75.)

A feeling of astonishment was universal among all those to whom the plans of the Russians were unknown, when they

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(75.) Of the French officers here mentioned, only Generals Caulincourt, (brother of the celebrated Duke of Vicenza,) Montbrun, and Morand, were killed. General Grouchy was severely wounded. That the French gained a victory at Mojaïsk, no one can doubt who considers the result and the object which each commander had in view in giving battle. The French, from the best accounts, captured fifty pieces of artillery, and many thousand prisoners, and while their loss did not exceed 20,000 in killed and wounded, that of the Russians is supposed to have exceeded 30,000. The field of battle too was gained by the French, for in contradiction to the Russian statement, the former are said in most of the private histories (to which more credit ought to be given than to the official bulletins) to have encamped on the field of battle. The Russians, it is agreed on all hands, gave battle with the hope of saving Moscow, and were unquestionably defeated in this object. Still they fought with unexampled courage and firmness, and their savage valour, strengthened by religion and love of country, was nigh baffling the skill and overpowering the intrepidity of the French troops.



learned the determination of Field-marshal Kutusoff\* to abandon Moscow to its fate—Moscow, the ancient and venerable capital of the Russians—the grand repository of their wealth, the centre of their patriotic affections. For such a city it might have been expected that even a beaten army would have continued to struggle, but that conquerors, who had shed so much blood in its defence, should willingly give up the stake for which the battle was fought, seemed wholly inexplicable. Yet no sooner did the Russian general learn that the French had been strongly reinforced, and were advancing to the gates of the ancient capital, than he marched his army through Moscow, and took up a position on the Calouga road.

To explain the extraordinary determination taken by Marshal Kutusoff, he addressed a letter to his sovereign on the 16th. The sacrifice of Moscow was, he said, a dreadful alternative to every Russian; but it was a sacrifice of a great city, for the preservation of a mighty empire. Had Moscow been defended to the last extremity, the rich provinces of Toula and Kalouga, from which the resources of the army were drawn, must have been abandoned. The army would have been ruined, and the empire might have been lost. By relinquishing Moscow, the Russian army became master of the Toula and Kalouga roads, covered those fertile provinces, maintained its communication with the corps of Tormazow and Tschikakoff, interrupted the enemy's line of operations from Smolensk to Moscow, cut off the supplies which he expected from his rear, and actually blockaded him in the capital. The occupation of Tver by General Winzingerode completed the line drawn round the enemy; and the Russian general in conclusion promised, that "the invader should soon be compelled to evacuate the capital of the Czars."

Count Rostopchin, the military governor of Moscow, had been unremitting in his labours to prepare for the defence or the evacuation of that city. Every exertion was made to equip and organize the inhabitants for the army. Orders had been issued for the removal of every thing in the capital that might be an acceptable spoil to the enemy. The archives of the empire and the treasures of the Kremlin were taken to places of safety; and the princes and nobles resident in Moscow had transported a large share of their property into the more distant provinces. The scene which imperial Moscow,

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\* The rank of Field-Marshal was conferred on Prince Kutusoff, by his sovereign, for the gallantry and skill displayed by that general in the battle of Borodino.

so recently the pride of the Russian empire, now presented, was deplorable beyond all description. Two hundred and fifty thousand human beings, of both sexes and of all ages, were driven from their homes, ignorant where they might seek protection, and exposed to the inclemency of the approaching Russian winter. The great mass of them abandoned their homes with precipitation; others whose minds were influenced by stronger impulses—and who had vowed to take vengeance on the invaders, remained in the city. The governor, having made every preparation, gave the signal for evacuating the place on the 13th of September, and placing himself at the head of forty thousand of its inhabitants, proceeded to join the grand army.\*

On the 14th, at noon, the French army appeared in front of Moscow. The advanced guard, under the command of the King of Naples, entered the gates with all the pomp and pride of conquest. The troops moved towards the Kremlin, where a body of the self-devoted citizens had stationed themselves; but the “holy gate” was instantly forced, and the “sacred fortress,” which, in confidence of superstition, was held to be impregnable, became an easy prey to the invaders†.

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\* “The circuit of Moscow has been variously stated; it may perhaps be about 36 versts, (26 miles) but this includes many void spaces. The population is, as usual exaggerated. It is decidedly greater than that of St. Petersburg---perhaps three or four times as much, judging from the concourse in the streets. The extent, in comparison with that of Petersburg, is nearly twelve to one; yet, by the master of the police, of all men the most likely to know, the population is estimated at only 250,000 fixed inhabitants. The servants and numerous retainers of the nobles, may be perhaps estimated at nearly 30,000, who are only here in winter.”---*Heber's MSS. Journal*.

† Moscow is divided into five circles, which lie one within another. The interior circle or the *Kremlin*, signifying a fortress, contains the old imperial palace, the patriarchal palace, nine cathedrals, five convents, four parish churches, the public offices, and the arsenal. The Kremlin is like nothing seen in Europe. In some parts riches and even elegance present themselves, in others barbarity and decay. Taken together, it is a jumble of magnificence and ruin. The second circle of the city is called *Kitaigorod*; in this circle are five streets, two cathedrals, eighteen parish churches, four convents, thirteen noblemen's houses, and nine public edifices. The third circle, which surrounds the former, is *Belgorod*. Though the houses in this part of the city are many of them very mean, it includes eleven convents, seven abbeys, seventy-six parish churches, and nine public edifices and areas. *Semlanoigorod*, which is the fourth circle, is surrounded, as the name imports, by ramparts of earth, and contains two convents, one hundred and three parish churches, a cloth manufactory, an artillery arsenal, magazines for provisions, and a mint. Round these divisions of the city lie the vast suburbs, or the *Sloboda*, which resemble villages, and in which are ten convents and sixty parish churches. The view of Moscow from the terrace of the Kremlin is grand beyond description. The number of magnificent buildings, the domes, the towers, and



Scarcely had the French troops entered the Kremlin, when Moscow appeared at different quarters in flames. The Governor, Rostopchin, by whose orders this sacrifice was made, had ordered the fire-engines to be removed from the city, and the invaders were too intent upon plunder to supply their place by those zealous and persevering exertions which could alone arrest the progress of the devouring element.

The entry of the Emperor Napoleon was delayed by the expectation that he should be met at the barrier by the constituted authorities, and hailed as a conqueror; but this expectation being entirely disappointed, he entered the city on the 15th in sullen silence, and took up his residence in the Kremlin. Immediately on his arrival, he directed that all the Russians who might be suspected of participating in the destruction of the city, by setting fire to its edifices, should be seized and brought to instant trial. One hundred of these unhappy persons were soon arraigned before the tribunal, and questioned as to their proceedings; but though offered a free pardon on condition of divulging the nature and extent of the conspiracy formed for the destruction of the city, they all remained silent; death had lost its terrors to them; and they received in succession the balls of the executioner with no other emotion than that which was exhibited by each in a magnanimous contest to become the first victim.

One of the buildings first consigned to the flames was that vast mercantile pile called the Exchange; numerous warehouses, containing every kind of merchandise, the productions of Europe and Asia, composed this edifice. The activity of the soldiery was never more visible—not in extinguishing the flames, that indeed was impossible, but in securing the plunder. No cry nor tumult prevailed in this scene of horror and destruction; every one found sufficient to satisfy his cupidity; and the falling roofs and exploding combustibles alone broke in upon the dreadful silence. On the morning of the 16th, a violent wind prevailed, which spread the flames in every direction. The whole extent of the capital for many versts seemed at length a sheet of flame. The immense tract of land about the river, which was formerly covered with houses, was one sea of fire; and the sky was hidden from the view by the tremendous volumes of smoke which rolled over the city.

The most heart-rending scenes now presented themselves; that portion of the population which had not abandoned the

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the spires, which fill all the prospect, make it perhaps the most novel and interesting sight in Europe.—*Crutwell's Gazetteer*, and *Dr. Clarke's Travels* in 1800.

city, had concealed themselves in the interior of the houses ; but the fire, having penetrated to almost every part of the town, forced them to quit their asylums. The aged, borne down with grief, as much as with years, could hardly follow their families, and numbers of them, lamenting the ruin of their country, expired near the houses in which they drew their first breath. Parents, absorbed in the feelings of nature, were seen emerging from their places of concealment, saving nothing but their children from the universal wreck. The streets, public buildings, and particularly the churches, were filled with these unhappy people. Neither the accents of sympathy nor the voice of lamentation were heard ; both the conqueror and conquered were equally hardened—the former from excess of fortune, the latter from excess of misery. The fire, which continued its ravages, soon reached the finest parts of the city. All those places which had been admired for the elegance of their architecture and the taste of their furniture, were buried in the flames ; many of the churches, with their beautiful steeples, resplendent as gold, disappeared ; and the hospitals, which contained more than twenty thousand wounded Russian soldiers, soon began to burn.\* This occasioned a most revolting and dreadful scene ; almost all these poor wretches perished, and a few who still lingered, were seen crawling half consumed among the smoking embers. “But how,” says the French officer from whom we quote, “shall I describe the tumultuous proceedings, when permission was granted to pillage this immense city ! Soldiers, sutlers, galley-slaves, and prostitutes, were running through the streets, penetrating into the deserted palaces, and seizing every article which could gratify their avarice. Some were covering themselves with stuffs, of the most costly fabrics ; others, without any discrimination, placed rich and costly furs upon their shoulders ; and even the galley-slaves concealed their rags under splendid court dresses ; the rest crowded into cellars, and forcing open the doors, drank the most costly wines, and carried off immense booty. This horrible pillage was not confined to deserted houses alone, but extended also to those which were inhabited. All the asylums were soon violated ; and the cries of the miserable wretches who fell under the hands of the murderer, and the shrieks and groans of young females seeking protection against the brutal outrages of a licentious soldiery, added inexpressibly to the horrors of the scene.

“Napoleon, finding himself no longer safe in Moscow, the ruin of which had now become unavoidable, left the Kremlin,

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\* Labaume's Narrative.



and established himself, with his suit, in the imperial palace of Petrovsky, four versts from the city. It now became necessary that the army should quit the ruins of Moscow, when a scene of the most dreadful confusion arose. A long line of carriages, loaded with plunder, was drawn through the streets of the capital. The soldiers, still stimulated by an ardent desire of pillage, ventured into the middle of the flames. They walked in blood, treading upon dead bodies, while burning fragments fell on their murderous heads. They would probably all have perished, had not an insupportable heat forced them at last to withdraw from the city and take refuge in the camp. During the four days that the army remained at Petrovsky, Moscow never ceased burning. In the mean time the rain fell in torrents: and the houses near the place being too few in number for the great multitude who were encamped there, it became impossible to obtain shelter, and men, horses, and carriages, bivouacked in the middle of the fields. Although it was forbidden to go into the city, the soldiers, drawn there by hope of gain, betrayed their trust, and continually returned loaded with provisions and merchandise. Thus the French camp no longer resembled an army, but a fair, where the soldiers, metamorphosed into merchants, sold the most valuable articles, at an inconsiderable price; and although encamped in the fields, and exposed to the injuries of the weather, by a singular contrast, they dined off china plates, drank out of silver vases, and possessed the richest and most elegant commodities of life, which luxury could invent. But the neighbourhood of Petrovsky at length became unhealthy and inconvenient. Napoleon returned to establish himself in the Kremlin, which had not been burnt, and the guards and staff officers received orders to re-enter the city on the 21st of September. According to the calculations of the geographical engineers, one-tenth part of the houses still remained, and these being divided among the corps of the grand army, afforded them quarters.”\*

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\* Labaume's Narrative.

## CHAPTER XIX.

**RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN:** *Napoleon, impressed with the perilous Situation of his Army, proposes to open a Negotiation for Peace—Repeated Rejection of these Overtures—Moscow abandoned by the French—Battle of Touratino—Retreat of the French Armies—Advance of the Russian Auxiliary Corps from the North and South to close in upon the Enemy and cut off his Retreat—Battle of Malo-Jaroslavitz—Battle of Viasma—The Winter sets in—Its Effects on the French army—Passage of the Vofe—Arrival at Smolensk—Battles of Krasnoi—Junction of all the Russian armies—Dreadful Passage of the Beresina—Capture of the Bavarian Auxiliaries under General Wrede—Arrival of Napoleon at Molodetschno—The Twenty-ninth Bulletin of the French Army—The Emperor Napoleon abandons his Army and repairs to Paris—Disorganization of the French Army—Ruin and Dispersion—Defection of the Prussians under General D'Yorck—Surrender of the Prussian Fortresses, garrisoned by French Troops, to the Russians under Wittgenstein—Permission granted by the Russians to Prince Schwartzemberg to retire with the Wreck of his Army into Austrian Galicia—Result of the Campaign.*

THE French Emperor was now awakened from his vision of conquest, and all the horrors of his situation at once opened to his view. His soldiers became turbulent and clamorous; they demanded from their leader that peace which he had promised to dictate in the Russian capital. Napoleon soon perceived that peace alone could afford hope to himself and his followers; but he was yet unwilling to stoop from the attitude of conquest, and to implore the forbearance of those whom he had so deeply injured. His dignity seemed still to require that he should be addressed as a conqueror; and he was, no doubt, aware, that if he talked of peace, the weakness of his situation, and the extent of his fears, would be exposed to the enemy. He waited therefore in anxious expectation for proposals from Russia; he trusted to his erroneous impression of the character of the Russian monarch and people; but all the hopes resting on this foundation were disappointed. The fatal delay, which he required as a sacrifice to his pride, was increasing his difficulties every moment; his stores were exhausted, his supplies intercepted, and already his troops were becoming the victims of famine and disease. At this moment the energetic proclamation issued by the Emperor Alexander on the entrance of the enemy into Moscow, was distributed through the Russian empire, and reached the French camp; this memorable, and almost prophetic document, was expressed in these terms:—

“Moscow was entered by the enemy on the 3d of September, O. S. (the 15th, N. S.) At this intelligence it might be expected that consternation would appear in every countenance; but far from us be such



pusillanimous despondency ! Rather, let us swear to redouble our perseverance and our resolution ; let us hope that, fighting in a just cause, we shall hurl back upon the enemy all the evil with which he seeks to overwhelm us. Moscow indeed is occupied by French troops ; but it has not become theirs in consequence of their having destroyed our armies. The commander-in-chief, in concert with the most distinguished of our generals, has deemed it wisest to bend for a moment to necessity. He recoils, only to give additional force to the weight with which he will fall on our enemy. Thus will the short triumph of the French leader lead to his inevitable destruction.

“ We know that it is painful to every true heart in Russia, to see the desolators of their country in the ancient capital of the empire. But its walls alone have been suffered to fall into his hands. Deserted by its inhabitants, and dispossessed of its treasures, it offers a tomb, rather than a dwelling-place, to the ruthless invader, who would there plant a new throne on the ruins of the empire.

“ This proud devastator of kingdoms, on his entrance into Moscow, hoped to become the arbiter of our fates, and to prescribe peace to us upon his own terms. But the expectation is fallacious. He finds in Moscow, not only no means for domination, but no means of existence. Our forces, already surrounding Moscow, and to which every day is bringing accession, will occupy all the roads, and destroy every detachment the enemy may send forth in search of provisions. Thus will he be fatally convinced of his error, in calculating that the possession of Moscow would be the conquest of the empire ; and necessity will at last oblige him to fly from famine, through the closing ranks of our intrepid army.

“ Behold the state of the enemy. He has entered Russia at the head of an army of three hundred thousand men. But whence do they come ? Have they any natural union with his aggrandizement ? No ; the greater number of them are of different nations, who serve him, not from personal attachment, not for the honour of their native land, but from a base and shameful fear. The disorganizing principle, in such a mixture of people, has been already proved. One half of the invader’s army, thus made up of troops that have no natural bond of union, has been destroyed ; some part, by the valour of the soldiers ; another, by desertion, sickness, and famine ; and the miserable remainder is at Moscow.

“ Without doubt the bold, or rather, it should be called, rash enterprise of penetrating into the bosom of Russia ; nay, of occupying its ancient capital ; feeds the pride of the supposed conqueror : but **IT IS THE END WHICH CROWNS ALL !**

“ He has not yet penetrated into a country where one of his actions has diffused terror, or brought a single Russian to his feet. Russia clings to the parental throne of a sovereign, who stretches over her the guardian arms of affection : she is not accustomed to the yoke of oppression : she will not endure subjection to a foreign power. She will never surrender the treasure of her laws, her religion, and her independence ; and we will shed all our blood in their defence ! This principle is ardent and universal ; and is manifested in the prompt and voluntary organization of the people under the sacred banner of patriotism. Protected by such an Ægis, who is it that yields to degrading apprehension ? Is there an individual in the empire so abject as to despond, when vengeance is breathed by every order of the state ? When the enemy, deprived of all his resources, and exhausting his strength from day to day, sees himself in the midst of a powerful nation, encircled by her armies ; one of which menaces him in front, and the other three watch to intercept the arrival of succours, and to prevent his escape ? Is this an object of alarm to any true-born Russian ? When Spain has broken her bonds, and advances to threaten the integrity of the French empire ! When the greatest part of Europe, degraded and despoiled by the French Ruler,

serves him with a revolting heart, and fixing her eyes upon us, awaits with impatience the signal for universal freedom! When even France herself wishes in vain, and dares not anticipate an end to the bloody war whose only motive is boundless ambition! When the oppressed world looks to us for an example and a stimulus, shall we shrink from the high commission? No; we bow before the hand that anoints us to be the leaders of the nations in the cause of freedom and of virtue.

"Surely the afflictions of the human race have at length reached their utmost point! We have only to look around us on this spot, to behold the calamities of war, and the cruelties of ambition, in their extremest horrors. But we brave them for our liberties; we brave them for mankind. We feel the blessed consciousness of acting right, and that immortal honour must be the meed of a nation who, by enduring the evils of a ruthless war, and determinately resisting their perpetrator, compels a durable peace, not only for itself, but for the unhappy countries the tyrant had forced to fight in his cause! It is noble, it is worthy a great people, thus to return good for evil.

"All-powerful God! The cause for which we fight, is it not just? Look down then with an eye of mercy upon thy sacred church; Preserve the strength and constancy of thy people! May they triumph over their adversary and thine! May they be instruments in thy hand for his destruction! and, in rescuing themselves, may they rescue the liberty and the independence of nations and of kings!

(Signed)

"ALEXANDER."

This proclamation, which tended to rouse the patriotic feelings of the army and the people to the highest state of enthusiasm, sufficiently shewed the determination of the Russian government. The pride of Napoleon was humbled; he was at last compelled to give way to circumstances, and to sue for peace to those over whom but a few days before he affected to exercise the rights of conquest. General Lauriston, a favourite diplomatist of the French Emperor, was now sent with a flag of truce to the Russian head-quarters. After expressing the anxiety of his sovereign to prevent the further effusion of blood, he announced his readiness to treat with the Russian court. The answer of Prince Kutusoff was resolute; "as to the effusion of blood," said he, "there is not a Russian who is not ready to sacrifice his life in this contest, and no terms can be entered into while an enemy remains upon the Russian territory."

The discontent of the French army now became more alarming than before, and Bonaparte affected to believe that Kutusoff had exceeded his powers, and that as soon as the overture for peace should reach the Emperor Alexander negotiations would be opened. Count Lauriston was accordingly despatched a second time to the Russian head-quarters, to demand, that if Prince Kutusoff would not listen to negotiation, he would forward a letter from Napoleon to the Emperor Alexander. "I will do that," replied Kutusoff, "provided the word *peace* be not expressed in the letter. I would not be a party in such an insult to my sovereign, as to forward



to him, what he would instantly order to be destroyed in his presence. You already know the only terms on which offers of peace will be attended to. His imperial majesty will keep firm to his resolves, and we shall stand steadfast in ours to support the independence of his empire." This contemptuous rejection of Bonaparte's second offer exasperated him to the highest degree ; but such was the desperate situation to which he was reduced, that Lauriston was ordered to repair a third time to the Russian camp with proposals for an armistice, and with an offer that the French would totally evacuate Moscow, and take up a position in the neighbourhood, where the terms of a treaty might be afterwards arranged. The Russians however were not to be diverted from their purpose ; they had their enemies in their power ; and having every thing to gain, and nothing to lose, by the continuance of the contest ; the general-in-chief replied :—" It is not a time for us either to grant an armistice, or to enter into negotiations ; the French indeed have proclaimed the campaign terminated at Moscow, but on our part it is only just opening."

Thus were extinguished all the hopes which had for a while sustained the drooping spirits of Napoleon and his army. The desire of vengeance was the first impulse of his mind ; he determined that Moscow should bear lasting marks of his resentment, and that whatever of her magnificence yet remained should be sacrificed to his disappointed hopes. When a retreat was first determined upon it was the intention of the French Emperor to place a garrison in the Kremlin, and to retain military possession of Moscow. With this view he employed the troops in fortifying the palace ; but when the full extent of the perils to which he was exposed presented themselves, he abandoned this project, and gave orders that the fortress should be destroyed. In assigning the reasons for taking these measures, his followers were told that the Kremlin had not sufficient natural strength to be defended by a garrison of less than twenty thousand men ; that so large a body of troops could not be spared without forfeiting advantages of greater moment ; and that Moscow, now a heap of ruins, was not worth the sacrifice. The official report of the French army gave an exulting account of the success of this grand enterprise—" All the adjoining buildings," says this report, " have been emptied with great care, and the Kremlin, being judiciously mined, at two o'clock in the morning of the 23d of October it was blown into the air by the Duke of Treviso. The arsenal, the barracks, the magazines, all have been destroyed. This ancient capital, from which is dated the foundation of the empire, this first palace of the czars, exists no more !" This, however, is a very erroneous account of the

mischief inflicted by the enemy ; such was doubtless his intention ; but the activity of the Russian corps, in the neighbourhood of Moscow, arrested the hand of the destroyer, and saved the principal part of this venerable edifice.

About the middle of October, General Winzingerode received intelligence that the enemy's force still remaining in Moscow was very much reduced ; and on the 19th of that month, this general observed that the corps under Mortier, stationed on the Mojaisk road, had fallen back from the capital. The Russians, encouraged by these movements, gradually approached without opposition to the walls of the city. They were at length, however, assailed by a strong body of French infantry and cavalry, and must have been cut to pieces, had not the opportune arrival of General Iliovaskoy repulsed the enemy, and rescued them from their perilous situation. Winzingerode was thus enabled to draw his forces round Moscow ; and on the 22d he passed the barriers of that city, overthrew the enemy, and drove them under the guns of the citadel. At this moment the Russian general, accompanied by his aide-de-camp, rode forward to the French lines, carrying a flag of truce, to intimate that further resistance must be unavailing, and to propose to the enemy a capitulation. The French answered, as the Russians assert, by making the general and his aide-de-camp prisoners.\* This singular violation of the usages of war animated the Russians with resistless fury ; and on the morning of the 23d of October, when the first mine was about to be sprung which was to level the Kremlin to the ground, they marched forward under General Iliovaskoy, and seized the incendiaries with the torches in their hands. In this way the Kremlin was saved ; and the French having on the same day finally evacuated Moscow, the inhabitants, with Rostopchin at their head, returned to their desolated city, where every effort was made to mitigate sufferings which no human power could altogether relieve.†

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\* General Winzingerode, who is a Hessian by birth, was conducted to Verreia, and taken before Bonaparte, who charged him with being a traitor, and threatened to send him back to his country to meet the fate merited by his infamy. The general repelled the charge of treason, and replied with the utmost firmness, that he feared not death, from whatever quarter it might come. The baron, and his aide-de-camp, Captain Narishkin, were however ordered to Hesse under an escort of gens d'armes ; but the carriage breaking down at Minsk, they were rescued by a body of Cossacks and restored to the Russian army.

† "Of 4,000 houses, built with stone, which were in Moscow, not more than two hundred remain. It has been said a fourth remained, because in that calculation 800 churches were comprehended, some of which are damaged. Of 8,000 houses of wood nearly 500 remain."—*Twenty-sixth Bulletin of the French army, dated Borovsk, October 23d, 1812.*



About the 16th of October Napoleon made preparations for his retreat from Moscow. The conflagration of that city, he had now discovered, rendered it no longer a desirable or proper military station ; it must therefore be abandoned, but not with an intention of flying from Russia ; a stronger position, and an untouched and fertile country, was to be sought, in which the army having recruited itself, the campaign might be re-opened in the spring with renewed vigour and fresh triumphs. But the difficulty of fixing on a line of retreat was extreme ; if possible, the route by which the army had advanced to Moscow was to be avoided ; over that country had already passed two large armies ; the Russians had laid it so completely waste, that the French, when advancing, had found the roads almost impassable, and the country on all sides was completely stripped of provisions and accommodations. Nothing therefore but dire necessity could compel Bonaparte to retreat by this route. If he chose one more to the south, it would not only lead him along roads little injured, but through a rich and fertile country ; and though necessarily circuitous, yet if he could accomplish his retreat in this direction, he would in the end arrive much sooner in a friendly country than if he marched by Smolensk.

Having decided, if possible, to penetrate by the route of Kalouga and Toula, it was necessary, as a preliminary step, to drive back the Russian grand army, which occupied and defended the Kalouga road. Marshal Kutusoff, aware of the intention of the French, and having received information that a strong reinforcement was marching from Smolensk to assist in extricating Napoleon from the perilous situation in which he was placed, resolved to attack Murat, who commanded the advanced-guard. This division of the army, which consisted of forty-five thousand men, was attacked and defeated at Touratino, on the 18th of October, with a loss of thirty-eight pieces of cannon, two thousand slain, and fifteen hundred prisoners. Among the slain were General Derie, who was piked by a Cossack, and twelve other field-officers. On the side of the Russians, General Baggavout fell, being struck with a cannon ball at the beginning of the action, and General Benningsen was severely wounded.

While these events occurred in the neighbourhood of Moscow, some affairs of considerable moment, and materially influencing the result of the campaign, took place in other parts of the Russian dominions. The army of General Steingel, after having obtained important advantages over the enemy in the neighbourhood of Riga, advanced along the left bank of the Dwina, and on the 10th of October came in close communica-

tion with a part of General Wittgenstein's corps near Drissa. The plans and operations of these generals were combined with so much judgment, that while the former attacked the corps of Marshal Macdonald, the latter fell upon the division under St. Cyr. General Steingel succeeded in driving the army to which he was opposed, into the vicinity of Polotsk ; and Count Wittgenstein, on the 18th of October, after a sanguinary engagement of twelve hours, compelled the enemy to seek safety in his intrenchments. On the following day these intrenchments were assailed and carried by storm, and the enemy, who was now driven to the necessity of quitting the city, hastened to join the corps of Marshal Victor, which was on its march to reinforce the grand army. During the engagements of the 18th and 19th the enemy lost two thousand prisoners, exclusive of the killed and wounded, among the latter of whom was General St. Cyr.

In the month of September, the army of the Danube had united with the Russian force under General Tormazow, in the neighbourhood of Sloutzk ; while the enemy had again overrun those parts of Volhynia, which he had for a time abandoned. The Polish division under Dombrowski, once more communicated with those of Renier and Schwartzenberg ; and several affairs, important only for the gallantry displayed on both sides, occurred between their detached parties and those of the Russians. When Renier and Schwartzenberg were apprised of the junction of Tormazow with the army of the Danube, they determined to retire ; but they were actively pursued in their retreat until their arrival at Bialystock, about the middle of October. At this juncture, Admiral Tschikakoff received orders from the commander-in-chief to hasten towards Minsk, for the purpose of co-operating with Wittgenstein, and on the 1st of November he arrived in that city. Such were the arrangements made in this quarter, for the purpose of cutting off the retreat of the invaders, who had now begun their flight through the Russian territories.

On the 18th of October, the French corps in the neighbourhood of Moscow assembled, and on the following day the grand army quitted that city, taking the great road to Kalouga ; but it had already become obvious that this movement was only a false manœuvre, to conceal from the Russians the project of retreating on Smolensk and Vitepsk. In the rear of the army was a long train of carriages loaded with the spoils of Moscow, which, in three or four ranks, extended for several leagues ; these were succeeded by ammunition waggons filled with trophies, and Turkish or Persian drape-



ries, torn from the palaces of the Czars ; and lastly followed the celebrated cross of St. Ivan, held in such high veneration by the members of the Greek Church. The cohorts of Xerxes had not more baggage.

On the 22d the French army had advanced to Borovsk. After the battle of the 18th, Marshal Kutusoff had resumed his position at Touratino, that he might direct the movements of his armies according to the intelligence which he should receive of the enemy ; while the Hetman, reinforced by twenty-five newly raised regiments from the banks of the Don, scoured the country in all directions, and harrassed the march of the invaders. During the night of the 23d, the sixth Russian corps, under General Doctorow, arrived at Malo-Jaroslavitz, and took possession of the heights which command that place. Here a sanguinary battle took place on the following day, in which the French claim the victory. "At day-break the battle commenced ; at which time the Russian army appeared quite entire, and took a position behind the town. The French divisions Delzon, Broussier, and Pino, under the Viceroy of Italy, were successively engaged. The town was taken and retaken not less than eleven times during the day, and was completely burnt to ashes ; but at ten o'clock at night the Russians were finally driven from the heights, and retreated so precipitately that they were obliged to throw twenty pieces of cannon into the river. General Delson fell pierced by three balls, and General Levie shared the same fate. The loss on the side of the Russians was very severe ; it amounted to from six to seven thousand."\* On the following morning Napoleon arrived on the field, and he soon perceived, that whatever glory the battle of Malo-Jaroslavitz had shed on the French arms, "two battles more, contested like this, would leave their leader without an army."† He also discovered that after the engagement the Russians had out-flanked him ; and that he had now no alternative left but to gain the road to Mojaisk, and to cross that country which the retreating Russians and the advancing French armies had two months before reduced to a desert.

From the commencement of the campaign, the son of the Hetman Platoff, mounted on a superb white charger from the Ukraine, was the faithful companion of his father, and always at the head of the Cossacks. This gallant youth was the idol of his family, and the hope of the warlike nation who would one day have been under his command. But in a des-

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\* Twenty-seventh Bulletin of the French army.

† Labaume's Narrative.

perate charge of cavalry, which took place near Vereia, at the commencement of the retreat of the French army, between Prince Poniatowski and the Cossack chief, the Poles and the Cossacks, animated by a mutual hatred, fought with fury, and the young warrior received a mortal wound in the heat of the battle, from a Hulan Pole, which terminated his career of glory, and destroyed the hopes of his family.\*

With the battle of Malo-Jaroslavitz the sun of Napoleon's Russian victories set, never more to rise. A scene of horrors now commenced to which no parallel can be found in history. Flight, disgrace, fatigue, famine and pestilence,—misery, in short, in all the various aspects it can assume, was before the French soldier. Napoleon and his generals could no longer close their eyes to the disasters that were approaching; yet a thousand efforts were made to conceal them from their followers, and to animate the drooping spirits of the soldiers by hopes of plenty and repose, which were never to be realized. So sensible was the French Emperor of the overwhelming difficulties of his situation, that he already meditated his own escape; already did he cease to command men who were no longer entitled to the name of soldiers, among whom discipline no longer existed, and military subordination was forgotten, unless when it was called forth by despair. To his generals he in a great measure consigned the direction of this unhappy multitude, and surrounded by a few of his favourite generals, and accompanied by his guards, he began to retire towards Smolensk, from the indignant view of thousands of wretched beings, whose

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\* The character of the Cossacks has been misunderstood; instead of forming the most barbarous, they may be ranked among the most polished subjects of the Russian government. The appearance, character, and habits of the natives of the Don, are thus delineated by a modern English traveller:—"There is something extremely martial, and even intimidating, in the first appearance of a Cossack. His dignified and majestic look; his elevated brows, and dark mustachios; his tall helmet of black wool, terminated by a crimson sack, with its plume, laced festoon, and white cockade; his upright posture; the ease and elegance of his gait; give him an air of great importance. A quiet life seems quite unsuited to the disposition of the Cossacks. They loiter about, have no employment to interest them; and, passionately fond of war, seem distressed by the indolence of peace. There is no nation (I will not except my own) more cleanly in their person and apparel than the Cossacks. Polished in their manners, instructed in their minds, hospitable, generous, disinterested in their hearts, humane and tender to the poor, good husbands, good fathers, good wives, good mothers, virtuous daughters, valiant and dutiful sons; such are the natives of Tscherchaskoy. In conversation the Cossack is a gentleman, for he is well-informed, free from prejudice, open, sincere and upright.—Place him by the side of a Russian---what a contrast!"—*Dr. Clarke*



bones were doomed to blanch on the inhospitable plains of the north.

Marshal Kutusoff, who had ordered his troops to advance, moved with one part of the army on Krasnoi, and directed General Milloradowitch to move in a parallel direction. The Cossacks and light troops maintained, as usual, their harrassing and destructive warfare, breaking down the bridges in the enemy's line of march, and contributing essentially to those dreadful disasters, which form the conclusion of this memorable campaign. Scarcely had the French troops, worn out by a day's march along broken and deep roads, during which they were either actually fighting, or constantly on the alert, laid down on the ground to obtain a little repose, when the Cossacks rushed into their camp; and before the men could prepare for resistance or defence, many were killed, all were thrown into confusion and dismay, and their artillery and stores frequently formed the trophies of the assailants, whose vigilance was never suffered to slumber. Platoff, the celebrated leader of the Cossacks, received intelligence on the 30th of October, that a large convoy strongly escorted, was on its way towards Smolensk. On the 31st he came up with this convoy near the monastery of Kolotsk, and began a spirited attack upon the left flank. The enemy, paralyzed by the danger of the situation, shewed at first no disposition to resist; and the Cossacks having pressed on with their wonted impetuosity, great slaughter ensued. Two entire battalions of French were cut to pieces in this affair; and the object of the victors was attained by the desperate resolution of the fugitives, who, to prevent the convoy from falling into the hands of the Russians, blew up the whole of the waggons.

Straggling parties of the enemy, rendered frantic by suffering, frequently broke off from the main army in quest of sustenance; but such were the activity and zeal of the warriors by whom they were beset, that these marauders generally paid the forfeit of their lives for their temerity. Platoff himself, whose recent loss seemed only to inflame his zeal, gives the following description of the state of the enemy about this period: "The retreat of the French," says he, "is a flight without example, abandoning every thing that demands carriage, even to the sick and wounded. The traces of their career are marked with every species of horror; at every step are seen the dying and the dead, not merely those who have died in battle, but the victims of famine and fatigue. In two days, even in sight of my division, their despair has blown up one hundred ammunition waggons, while the sudden movement of my troops has compelled them to leave untouched al-

most an equal number." "Their fugitives," he adds, "we destroy wherever we meet them; and when they attempt to make a stand, the brave sons of the Don, assisted by their artillery and their chasseurs, soon relieve the empire of hundreds of its invaders."

When the French army reached the neighbourhood of Viasma on the 3d of November, they came in contact with General Milloradowitch, to whom had been confided the command of nearly one half the Russian army. A line of battle was instantly formed by the rear-guard of the French army, under the Viceroy of Italy and Marshals Ney and Davoust. The impetuosity with which these disorganized corps were assailed by the Russians was so irresistible, that in spite of the insulated acts of bravery to which despair had aroused the enemy, the contest was not long sustained. The Russian infantry charged into the town with drums beating and colours flying, and made a passage for the rest of the troops over the dead bodies of the enemy. In the heat of the engagement the town was set on fire, and all the houses that had escaped the first conflagration were destroyed; two thousand prisoners were taken, and twenty-five pieces of cannon, while the road was every where covered with the horses and baggage of the retreating army. While the viceroy made a hasty retreat to Doukhovistchina, Davoust and Ney took the road to Dorogoboui, and the stragglers and fugitives scattered themselves along the banks of the Dnieper. "Men and horses, worn out with fatigue, could scarcely drag themselves along; and, as soon as the last fell exhausted, the soldiers eagerly divided the carcases among themselves, and hastened to broil on the coals that food, which, during many days had constituted their only nourishment. Suffering yet more from cold than from hunger, they abandoned their ranks to warm themselves by fires hastily kindled; but when they wished to rise to depart, their frost-bitten limbs refused their office, a partial insensibility crept over them, and many of them preferred falling into the hands of the enemy to making the necessary efforts to continue their journey."\*

On the 5th of November, Milloradowitch had driven the enemy forty versts beyond Viasma: and while his right was menaced by Platoff, his left was pressed upon by the main Russian army under Kutusoff, who directed his march upon Elnia. The march of the retreating army was however continued to Smolensk, from which they were within three days' march, with renovated spirits, from an expectation that the

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\* Labaume's Narrative.



supplies accumulated in that place would terminate their privations and re-establish the organization of the army ; when, on the 6th of November, the atmosphere, which had hitherto been clear, became clouded by dark and cold vapours. The sun, obscured by thick mists, disappeared from their sight, and snow, falling in large flakes, obscured the day, and confounded the earth with the sky. The wind, blowing furiously, howled dreadfully through the forests, while the country around, as far as the eye could reach, presented, unbroken, one wild and savage appearance. The soldiers, vainly struggling with the snow and the tempest, which rushed upon them with the force of a whirlwind, could no longer distinguish the road, and falling into the ditches, many of them there found their graves. Others pressed on towards the end of their journey, scarcely able to drag themselves along, without food, badly clothed, and shivering with cold ; becoming selfish through despair, they afforded neither succour, nor even the glance of pity, to those who, worn out with fatigue and disease, expired around them. How many unfortunate beings, on that dreadful day, died of cold and famine ! The rigours of the frost seized on their benumbed limbs, and penetrated through their whole frame. Stretched on the road, only the heaps of snow which covered them could be distinguished, and which, at almost every step, formed small elevations, like so many newly-filled graves. At the same time, vast flights of ravens abandoned the plain to take refuge in the neighbouring forests ; and troops of dogs, which had followed the army from Moscow, and lived solely on mangled remains, howled around as if they would hasten the period when the soldiers were to become their prey.

“ From that day the army lost its courage and its military attitude. The soldier no longer obeyed his officer, and the officer separated himself from his general. The regiments, disbanded, marched in disorder. Searching for food, they spread themselves over the plain, burning and destroying whatever fell in their way. The horses fell by thousands. The cannon and the waggons, which were now abandoned, served only to obstruct the way ; and no sooner did the soldiers separate themselves from their corps, than they were assailed by a population eager to avenge the horrors of which they had been the victims. The Cossacks came to the succour of the peasants, and drove back to the great road, already filled with the dying and dead, those of the stragglers who escaped from the carnage. Such was the situation of the army when it arrived at Doroghoboui. This town, small as it was, would have given new life to the unfortunate troops, if Napo-

leon had not been so far blinded by the fury of his rage, as to forget that his soldiers would be the first to suffer by the devastation which he caused to be made. Doroghoboui had been burnt, its magazines pillaged, and the brandy, with which they were filled, poured into the streets, while the rest of the army was perishing for want of cordials. The few houses that remained were occupied exclusively by a small number of generals and staff officers ; and the soldiers which yet survived to face the enemy, were exposed to all the rigours of the season.

“ When Napoleon quitted Moscow, it was his intention to re-unite his troops between Vitepsk and Smolensk, and to make the Dnieper and the Dwina the grand line of his operations. The 6th and 7th of November having destroyed the third part of his army, he alleged this cause, and the inclemency of the wihter, as the reasons for abandoning his original design. But the true motive which induced him to change his plan, was the intelligence which he received at Smolensk on the 10th of November, that Wittgenstein, having forced the Dwina, had taken Vitepsk, and that the army of Moldavia, united to that of Volhÿnia, having driven before it the corps of Prince Schwartzenberg, was taking a position on the Beresina, with the design of joining Wittgenstein, and effectually cutting off the retreat of the French army. This manœuvre of the Russians was so well known, and appeared so natural, that the report soon spread through the French troops, that it was the intention of the enemy to take Napoleon alive, and to put the whole of his army to the sword ; wishing, by this severe chastisement, to give to Europe an example of the punishment which they deserve who disturb the world with unjust wars.”\*

On the 7th, Platoff and the light cavalry were despatched in pursuit of Beauharnois, who was pushing for Vitepsk, by the way of Doukhovistchina, with the fourth corps consisting of four divisions. On coming up with the enemy, near the village of Zezelia, the Hetman directed both these corps to be turned at the same time, while with a chosen squadron he bore down himself upon the centre. Discomfited at every point, the division of Beauharnois fled in two parties, one towards Smolensk, and the other towards the Voïpe. The viceroy, who had despatched General Poitevin forward in the night with a body of engineers, to construct a bridge for the passage of the army over the Voïpe, found, to his extreme consternation, that a sudden rise in the water had swept away the bridge, at the

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\* Labaume's Narrative.



moment when it was nearly finished. The Cossacks, apprised of this disaster, did not fail to advance in great strength; and the viceroy, seeing that it was necessary that some officer of rank should set an example of courage, ordered Colonel Del-fanti to place himself at the head of the royal guard, and to force the Voïe. In obedience to this order, the colonel, rushing into the river at the head of the grenadiers, made his way through the masses of ice that floated down its stream. The viceroy next followed with his staff, and on his arrival at the opposite bank, gave the necessary orders to facilitate the passage of the army. The waggons now began to file off; the first passed over with much difficulty; and after them a few pieces of artillery; but as the channel was far below the level of the ground, and the banks were steep and covered with ice, the only practicable point was at a place where steps had been dug to descend to the river. The cannon, all passing in the same track, formed indentions so deep, that it soon became impossible to drag them out. Thus the only accessible ford was soon choked up, and rendered utterly impassable for the rest of the artillery and baggage. Notwithstanding the efforts of the rear guard, the Russians still continued to advance. The river was only half-frozen; and as the waggons could no longer make any progress, it became necessary for those who had no horses, to throw themselves into the stream. A vast number of provision waggons, carts, and *drouschki*, were abandoned, and the artillery-men, on the report that the enemy was fast approaching, spiked a hundred pieces of cannon. The cries of those who were passing the river, the consternation of others who were preparing to descend, and who, with their horses, were every moment seen overwhelmed by the current, the despair of the women, the cries of the children, and the terror even of the soldiers, rendered this passage so horrible, that the very recollection of it yet terrifies those who witnessed and survived the scene. On the 7th the loss of the French amounted to fifteen hundred killed, and three thousand five hundred taken prisoners; on the 8th, in the words of Platoff, "the Cossacks killed a great many, but made few prisoners." The night of that day was truly dreadful. "To form some idea of it," says an eye witness, "the reader must picture to himself an army encamped on the bare snow, in the midst of a Russian winter, closely pursued by the enemy, and having neither cavalry nor artillery to oppose him. The soldiers, without shoes, and almost without clothes, were enfeebled by famine and fatigue. Sitting on their knapsacks, they slept on their knees. From this benumbing posture they rose but to broil some slices of horse-flesh, or to melt a few mor-

sels of ice. Often they had no wood, and to find fuel they destroyed the houses in which their generals lodged; sometimes, when they awoke in the morning, the village which they had seen the night before had disappeared; and towns, which to-day were untouched, would form on the morrow one vast conflagration.”\* The Russians, habituated to the climate, and supplied with every necessary, scarcely felt the severity of the season; while the French and Italians, born in more genial climes, and unprepared for the intense rigour of a northern winter, sunk under its severity.†

Napoleon reached Smolensk in the night of the 9th of November, and on the 10th, the first instance occurred during the campaign of the surrender of a French corps without firing a gun. Ignorant of the movements of the Russians, General Augereau had advanced from Mohilow, on the Kalouga road, to secure the communication between Krasnoi and Smolensk, when the force under his command, while in separate bodies, was attacked with so much vigour by three partisan corps, detached by Count Orlov Dennisow, that the French general, with sixty officers, and two thousand men, laid down their arms.

On the approach of the main army to Smolensk the most flattering hopes again presented themselves; here abundance was to succeed want, and repose to solace the exhausted. But what was the grief of the soldiers to learn, in the very suburbs of the city, that all the provisions were consumed, and that famine prevailed even in the garrison. Thus Smolensk, which they had hoped would terminate their misfortunes, cruelly deceived their hopes, and became the witness of the most profound despair. The soldiers, who could not find a shelter, encamped in the middle of the streets, and numbers of them were found dead round the fires which they had kindled. The hospitals, the churches, and such of the public buildings as still existed, were unable to contain the sick, who presented themselves by thousands. On the 14th a cry suddenly arose of—“Rise, they pillage the magazines;” and it was soon found that soldiers, dying of hunger, and no longer

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\* Labaume’s Narrative.

† The guard of honour of Italy, composed of young men, selected from the most illustrious families in that country, was in the course of the campaign entirely annihilated. Their education and habits ill-suited them to submit to the menial and degrading offices by which others gained a scanty morsel, and prolonged a wretched existence: of three hundred and fifty, of which this corps on its entrance into Russia consisted, all, except five, had perished before they reached Smolensk!—*Labauine.*



able to wait the dilatory distribution of provisions, had, in spite of the guard, forced the gates of the magazines, and began to pillage their scanty contents. Incapable of bearing up against so many distresses, Napoleon, for the first time, held a grand council, on the 14th of November, at which all the generals of division, and marshals of the empire, assisted. As soon as the council broke up, the author of all their miseries, after burning part of his equipage, immediately departed in his carriage, accompanied by his chasseurs, and by the Polish lancers of the guard.

On the 15th the order was given to continue the march from Smolensk; and now a spectacle the most horrible was presented to view; for three leagues the road was entirely covered with cannon and ammunition-waggon, which they had merely time to spike or to blow up. Horses, in the agonies of death, were seen at every step; and sometimes whole teams, sinking under their labours, fell together. From time to time trees were seen, at the foot of which the soldiers had attempted to light fires, but the poor wretches had perished ere they could accomplish their object. These horrors, far from exciting the sensibility, only hardened the hearts of the survivors. The cruelty which could not be exercised on the enemy was extended to their companions. The best friends no longer recognised each other. Every one chose to save the plunder of Moscow, rather than the life of his comrade. On all sides, the groans of the dying, and the lamentable cries of the abandoned, were heard. But every one was insensible to their sufferings, or if he approached those who were on the point of expiring, it was to plunder, not to assist them.\*

Prince Kutusoff, perceiving that Napoleon designed to make a movement upon Krasnoi, pushed forward a strong body of troops on the 16th, in order to intercept his advance: the French, aware of their danger, drew together strong bodies of troops under the command of Marshal Davoust, and marched without interruption into the vicinity of Krasnoi. Here the Russians suddenly attacked them at all points, and with their artillery, which had been placed in ambush, made dreadful ravages in the hostile ranks. The French fought desperately until night, when they were completely routed, and the whole division was either slain or dispersed among the woods on the banks of the Dnieper; their loss in killed was immense; two generals, fifty-eight superior officers, and upwards of nine thousand soldiers, with seventy pieces of artillery, three standards, and the marshal's staff of Davoust, fell

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\* Labaume's Narrative.

into the hands of the victors.\* This defeat annihilated the first corps of the French army: though the division was commanded by Davoust, Napoleon was on the field of battle, and was personally exposed to the most imminent danger, from which he was alone rescued by the bravery of his guards.

This engagement was only a prelude to one more fatal. On the following day, Marshal Ney, anxious to retrieve the falling fortunes of his master, but totally ignorant of the events of the preceding day, was advancing from Smolensk towards Krasnoi, with the rear-guard of the French army. The Russian commander-in-chief, determining to cut off this division from the rest of the hostile forces, strongly reinforced General Milloradowitch. About three o'clock in the afternoon, the approach of the French was discovered, and a herald was despatched to inform them that the imperial guard had sustained a signal defeat on the preceding day, and to summon them to surrender. This summons the French marshal treated with contempt, and immediately prepared for action. Under cover of a thick fog, he advanced to the very foot of the hill on which the Russians were encamped, when suddenly their batteries were unmasked, and such was the effect of the tremendous discharge of forty pieces of cannon, and the whole musketry of the line, that a flag of truce was sent to the Russian camp, and at midnight, nearly twelve thousand French soldiers laid down their arms. (76.) On this day, twenty-seven

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\* The *baton* is used by the field-m Marshals of France on days of ceremony alone, and this capture adds no glory to the Russians; in the present instance, the staff of Davoust was, no doubt, found in a baggage waggon that had been abandoned.—*Labaume*.

(76.) The circumstance of Marshal Ney's having sent a flag of truce to the Russian army, with a proposal to surrender, is uniformly denied by all the French writers, and discredited even by the Germans. The following account of this engagement is given by Bourgeois, in his *Tableau de la Campagne de Moscou*: "Marshal Ney, who commanded the rear-guard, having quitted Smolensk, put himself in motion to follow us, and encountered the Russian army at Krasnoi. We had expected to hear no more of him, and in fact his division was supposed to be completely lost; but he did not suffer himself to be intimidated by superior numbers; and in this critical situation displayed so much energy and courage, and manœuvred with so much skill, that contrary to the general expectation, he succeeded in disconcerting the enemy by his boldness, in deceiving him by his marches, and finally in resisting every effort to overcome him." p. 134. A similar account of this affair is given by a German writer, whose narrative is translated into French, under the title of "*Campagnes de Bonaparte en 1812*," &c. and by the author of the life of Marshal Ney, to which we have before referred. The following extract from that work presents a lively and interesting picture of this engagement. And gives a favourable idea of the skill and courage of the unfortunate Marshal: "The Russians believing that Ney would not be able to make head against the forces that surrounded him,



pieces of cannon were taken, together with immense booty. Favoured by the darkness of the night, Marshal Ney fled across the Dnieper, accompanied by a few hundred fugitives, who were actively pursued by clouds of Cossacks.

During these important transactions, General Wittgenstein was actively and successfully engaged on the Dwina. After the capture of Polotsk, this general proceeded towards Vitepsk, in prosecution of his design of cutting off Bonaparte's communication with the west of Europe. On the 8th this city was carried by storm; and the French Emperor, finding his progress impeded by the forward movements of the gallant Wittgenstein, ordered Marshals Victor and Oudinot to drive him across the Dwina. On the 14th the Russian general was attacked, but so masterly were his manœuvres on that day, that the French were obliged to retire to Senno, with the loss of four cannon, two standards, sixty-seven officers, and three thousand soldiers. A fine trait of military spirit is noticed in the Russian account of this affair:—a battalion of newly raised militia having received orders to fall back, peremptorily refused, saying—"the emperor has not sent us to retire, but to advance, and beat the enemy, which we are willing to do."

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summoned him to surrender. The bearer of the flag was received with considerable roughness, and the only answer the Marshal thought proper to give, was, that he was not a man to capitulate, and that he knew very well how to cut his way sword in hand. After having vainly endeavoured to force a passage, after losing his artillery, his baggage, and half his army, at the moment the Russians expected to see him lay down his arms, he suddenly threw himself on their right, and by a series of skilful manœuvres, succeeded in gaining the other bank of the Borysthenes. This new route he traversed for three days without any communication with the main army, and in a state of constant annoyance from a large body of Cossacks, who believing it impossible that so bold a step could succeed, redoubled their exertions to make him surrender. During this retreat, which was certainly one of the most brilliant operations of the campaign, every thing that talent or courage could do, was effected by Marshal Ney. Insulated with his feeble army in the midst of an hostile and unknown country, he marched his troops in squares, and thus rendered fruitless the continual efforts made to cut him off. His cool and calculating valour never abandoned him. At the moment of passing the Borysthenes the anxiety of his soldiers was at the height; they looked every where for their leader, expecting to find in his countenance marks of despondency, which would confirm their fears and give encouragement to their uneasiness to display itself. They found him lying upon the shore, holding a map in his hand, and calmly considering the route it was proper to take. So much tranquillity in the midst of the most imminent danger, revived the courage of the soldiers, and restored the hopes which had now completely abandoned them."—"When he learned the critical situation of the Marshal, Bonaparte is said to have repeated more than once that he would give two millions to ransom his intrepid lieutenant." p. 66.

The Russians have divided the retreat of the French into three epochs, which, besides the constant increase of their misfortunes, have each a peculiar character. The first ended at the battle of Krasnoi ; the second, at the passage of the Beresina ; and the third, at the Niemen. At the conclusion of the first period, at which we are now arrived, the Russians had already taken forty thousand men, twenty-seven generals, five hundred pieces of cannon, thirty-one standards, and, besides the immense baggage of the French army, all the plunder of Moscow, that had not been destroyed. If to these losses are added forty thousand men, dead of fatigue or famine, or killed in the different battles, it will be found that the army, which quitted Moscow with a force amounting to one hundred and ten thousand men, was reduced to thirty thousand, including the imperial guard, of whom not more than eight thousand combatants survived. The cavalry was almost extinct.\* In this situation the soldiers formed mournful presages of what they had yet to endure, since they were scarcely half way to the Niemen, and had three rivers to cross, and two mountains to climb.

The 18th of November was rendered memorable in the history of this campaign, by the arrival of Colonel Czernicheff from the army of the Danube at the head-quarters of Count Wittgenstein, after one of the most extraordinary marches on record. The corps under Czernicheff had to encounter on every day's march numerous bands of the enemy ; but these he either eluded or overcame, frequently seizing their convoys, and destroying the escorts by which they were accompanied. In other respects, the march of Czernicheff was such as Russian troops only could have accomplished ; he had many rivers to cross, and had no leisure to construct bridges, but he and his troops, even at that inclement season, plunged into the streams, and gained the opposite shores. On his arrival he brought to Count Wittgenstein the welcome intelligence of the flight of the Austrian and Saxon auxiliaries, the utter ruin of the French army, and the rapid advance of the Russians. A few days afterwards the general aide-de-camp, Kutusoff, also arrived, and announced to the count, that he was in communication with Platoff, and with the main army ; in fact, that the whole force of the Russian empire was now in full communication, and that the circle was thus completely around the remains of the French armies.

Napoleon, finding his situation perilous in the extreme, was hastening by forced marches with the remnant of his army

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\* Labaume's Narrative.



from Orcha towards the Beresina, hoping to effect his retreat to the Vistula by the way of Minsk, in which, by his orders, stores of all kinds had been accumulated. But, in the mean time, Admiral Tschikakoff occupied that town, and detached his advanced-guard, under Count Lambert, to Borisov ; on the 21st, this general attacked the *tetes-du-pont* on the Beresina, guarded by the Polish general Dombrowski, and after carrying the works by storm, and taking three thousand prisoners, destroyed the bridge of Borisov. Thus disappointed in his expectation of crossing the Beresina, Bonaparte, with the remainder of the army of Moscow, which, having been joined by the skeletons of Victor and Oudinot's corps, and by the different detachments that had been left on the Dnieper, now amounted to about seventy thousand men, proceeded towards Minsk, along the right bank of the Beresina. On his rear and flank was the grand army, under Prince Kutusoff ; on his right was Count Wittgenstein, who had been joined by the northern corps ; and in front, at Borisov, was the victorious division under Admiral Tschikakoff.

During the 25th Napoleon manœuvred to deceive the vigilance of the Russians, and by stratagem obtained possession of the village of Studzianca, where the Beresina is 40 toises or 80 English yards wide. Here, in the presence, and in the face of the opposition of the Russians, he constructed two bridges, one for cavalry, and the other for the passage of the infantry. Over these bridges Marshal Oudinot passed to attack the troops which resisted the advance of the French army. Napoleon, having, with the assistance of his guard, forced his way through the immense crowd which now lined the banks of the Beresina, crossed that river about three o'clock in the afternoon of the 27th of November, taking the route towards Zembin. A large proportion of the French army, paralyzed by their sufferings, and insensible of their approaching danger, passed the night of the 27th on the left bank of the Beresina.

On the morning of the 28th, Count Wittgenstein arrived with the first division of the Russian army in the neighbourhood of Studzianca, and opened a dreadful cannonade upon the fugitives, who were pressing in such crowds over the bridges as completely to choke up the passage. To add to the confusion and horrors of the scene, about eight o'clock in the morning the bridge for carriages and cavalry broke down, and the baggage and artillery, now advancing towards the bridge intended for the infantry, a scene of horror and contention arose exceeding all description. Numbers perished by the hands of their comrades, but a greater number were suffocated

at the head of the bridge, and the bodies of men and horses so choked every avenue, that it was necessary to climb over mountains of dead bodies to arrive at the river. Some, buried in these horrible heaps, still breathed, and struggling with the agonies of death, caught hold of those who mounted over them. During this contention the multitude, which followed like a furious wave, swept away, and increased the number of victims.

The French division of Parthonneaux, which formed the rear-guard of the army, having received orders to return, left a brigade to burn the bridge. These troops, having lost their way, wandered more than three leagues in a wrong direction. In the middle of a dismal night, and pierced with cold, they mistook the forces of the Russians for those of their own army, and ran to join their comrades; when seeing themselves surrounded, and without the least hope of escape, they were forced to surrender.

While the troops under Marshal Victor were engaged on the left bank of the river, those under Marshal Oudinot were attacked on the right. Soldiers, who had before been wandering in confusion, fell into the ranks, and the battle was maintained with great obstinacy. Oudinot, who could only obtain the victory at the price of his own blood, was wounded at the beginning of the action, and being obliged to quit the field, the command devolved on Marshal Ney. The marshal having rallied his troops, the battle re-commenced with great fury, and several pieces of cannon, and four thousand prisoners, were taken by the French. But it was in vain that they captured prisoners whom they could not retain; they fought not for victory, but for life.

In the heat of the engagement, many balls struck the miserable crowds which were yet pressing to cross the bridge of the Beresina; some shells burst in the midst of them; and terror and despair took possession of every heart. The women and children, who had escaped so many disasters, seemed to have been preserved only to meet here a death the most deplorable. The artillery, the baggage-waggons, the cavalry, and the infantry, all pressed on to escape the cannon and musketry in their rear, each endeavouring to gain the opposite bank by passing before the other. The strong made their way by casting the weak into the river, or trampled under foot the maimed and the sick that interrupted their passage. Hundreds were crushed to death by the wheels of the cannon; others, hoping to save themselves by swimming, were frozen in the middle of the river, or perished by placing themselves on pieces of ice, which, over-weighted, sunk in the stream; and



thousands of victims, deprived of hope, threw themselves into the Beresina, and perished in the waves. The division of Girard made its way by force, through all the obstacles that retarded its march: and climbing over the mountains of dead bodies that obstructed the way, gained the other side; thither the Russians were pressing to follow them, when they hastened to effect their escape by setting fire to the bridge. At this moment the unhappy beings still on the left side of the Beresina, abandoned themselves to absolute despair. Crowds upon crowds still pressed towards the burning bridge, choking up the passage amid bursting flames, scorched and frozen at the same instant, till at length the whole sunk with a tremendous crash into the bosom of the Beresina.

On the frightful night of the 28th, the elements let loose seemed to conspire to afflict universal nature, and to chastise the ambition and crimes of men. The conquerors and the conquered were alike overwhelmed with suffering. Between the 25th and the 29th of November, upwards of twenty thousand French soldiers fell into the hands of the Russians; two hundred pieces of cannon were abandoned, and the passage of the Beresina was, in its consequences, more terrible than the most sanguinary battle.\*

After the passage of the Beresina, Bonaparte, finding Minsk already occupied by the Russians, was compelled to take the more circuitous route of Wilna; and in order to cover his retreat, the wretched fugitives who formed the wreck of his once stupendous army, were collected near Kamen. This movement had been anticipated by the enterprising Wittgenstein, who, having despatched Count Kutusoff, the general aide-de-camp, by a more distant route, proceeded himself on the enemy's right flank to intercept his retreat. Both these plans were crowned with complete success: the whole body of the Bavarians, under General Wrede, which formed the remains of the 6th corps, and were on their march to join the main French army, were taken in detail by Count Kutusoff; and Napoleon, finding himself cut off from Vileika, abandoned his project of advancing to Wilna in that direction, and took the road by Molodetschino. Here, however, he was exposed to the attacks of Tschikakoff, whose force, impatient to give the final blow to the retreating army, was hovering on his flank. On the 29th they bore down upon the French; who, notwithstanding the efforts of the commanding officers to re-animate their exhausted and dispirited troops, were at length obliged to retreat in disorder. Early in the morning of the same day,

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\* Labaume's Narrative.

two thousand Cossacks fell upon the advanced-guard of the 4th corps of the French army, with their usual "*Hourra!*" and slaughtered great numbers of them in the streets of Kamen. On the 1st of December, the retreating army arrived at Ilija, and on the 2d at Molodetschino. At this place Napoleon, who was still with the army, wrote that bulletin, which may be considered as the French official account of the retreat from the Moskwa to the Wilia, and which made France and her allies a large family of mourners. A document more important never issued from the pen of a military commander, and the historian would ill discharge his duty to the present age and to posterity, who should neglect to place upon record so extraordinary a production. This memorable communication was thus expressed :

## TWENTY-NINTH BULLETIN.

*" Molodetschino, Dec. 3, 1812.*

" To the 6th of November the weather was fine, and the movement of the army was executed with the greatest success. The cold weather began on the 7th ; from that moment we every night lost several hundred horses, in consequence of bivouacking. Arrived at Smolensk, we had already lost many cavalry and artillery horses. The Russian army, from Volhynia, was opposed to our right : our right left the Minsk line of operations, and took for the pivot of its operations the Warsaw line. On the 9th, the emperor was informed at Smolensk of this change in the line of operations, and conceived what the enemy would do. However hard it appeared to him to put himself in movement during so cruel a season, the new state of things demanded it. He expected to arrive at Minsk, or at least upon the Beresina, before the enemy ; on the 13th he quitted Smolensk ; on the 16th he slept at Krasnoi. The cold, which began on the 7th, suddenly increased ; and on the 14th, 15th, and 16th, the thermometer was 16 and 18 degrees below the freezing point. The roads were covered with ice ; the cavalry, artillery, and baggage horses, perished every night, not only by hundreds, but by thousands, particularly the German and French horses. In a few days, more than 30,000 horses perished ; our cavalry were on foot : our artillery and our baggage were without conveyance. It was necessary to abandon and destroy a great part of our cannon, ammunition and provisions. This army, so fine on the 6th, was very different on the 14th, —almost without cavalry, without artillery, without transports. Without cavalry, we could not reconnoitre a quarter of a league's distance ; without artillery, we could not risk a battle, and firmly await it ; it was requisite to march, in order not to be constrained to a battle, which the want of ammunition prevented us from desiring ; it was requisite to occupy a certain space, not to be turned, and that too without cavalry, which led and connected the columns. This difficulty, joined to the cold which suddenly came on, rendered our situation miserable. Those men, whom nature had not sufficiently steeled to be above all the chances of fate and fortune, appeared shook, lost their gaiety, their good humour, and dreamed but of misfortunes and catastrophes ; those whom she has created superior to every thing, preserved their gaiety, and their ordinary manners, and saw fresh glory in the different difficulties to be surmounted.

" The enemy, who saw upon the roads traces of that frightful calamity which had overtaken the French army, endeavoured to take advan-



tage of it. He surrounded all the columns with his Cossacks, who carried off, like the Arabs of the desert, the trains and carriages which separated. This contemptible cavalry, which only make a noise, and are not capable of penetrating through a company of voltigeurs, rendered themselves formidable by favour of circumstances. Nevertheless, the enemy had to repent of all the serious attempts which they wished to undertake : they were overthrown by the viceroy, before whom they were placed, and lost many men.

“ The Duke of Elchingen, with 3,000 men, had blown up the ramparts of Smolensk : he was surrounded, and found himself in a critical position, but he extricated himself from it with that intrepidity by which he is distinguished. After having kept the enemy at a distance from him during the whole of the 18th, and constantly repulsed him, at night he made a movement on the right, passed the Borysthènes, and deceived all the calculations of the enemy. On the 19th, the army passed the Borysthènes at Orcha ; and the Russian army, being fatigued, and having lost a great number of men, ceased from its attempts. The army of Volhynia had inclined, on the 16th, upon Minsk, and marched upon Borisov. General Dombrowski defended the bridge-head of Borisov with 3,000 men. On the 23d he was forced, and obliged to evacuate this position. The enemy then passed the Beresina, marching upon Bobr ; the division Lambert formed the advanced-guard. The second corps, commanded by the Duke of Reggio, which was at Tacherein, had received orders to march upon Borisov, to secure the army the passage of the Beresina. On the 24th, the Duke of Reggio met the division Lambert, four leagues from Borisov, attacked and defeated it, took 2,000 prisoners, six pieces of cannon, 500 baggage waggons of the army of Volhynia, and threw the enemy on the right bank of the Beresina. General Berkeim, with the 4th cuirassiers, distinguished himself by a fine charge. The enemy could only secure his safety by burning the bridge, which is more than 300 toises in length. Nevertheless, the enemy occupied all the passages of the Beresina : this river is forty toises wide, and had much floating ice on it, but its banks are covered with marshes 300 toises long, which present great obstacles in clearing it. The enemy’s general had placed his four divisions at the different debouches, where he presumed the French army would attempt to pass. On the 26th, at break of day, the emperor, after having deceived the enemy by different movements made during the day of the 25th, marched upon the village of Studzianca, and caused, in spite of an enemy’s division, and in its presence, two bridges to be thrown over the river. The Duke of Reggio passed, attacked the enemy, and led him, fighting, two hours. The enemy retired upon the *tete-du-pont* of Borisov. General Legrand, an officer of the first-rate merit, was badly, but not dangerously, wounded. During the whole of the 26th and 27th, the army passed.

“ The Duke of Belluno, commanding the 9th corps, had received orders to follow the movement of the Duke of Reggio, to form the rear-guard, and keep in check the Russian army from the Dwina, which followed him. Parthonneaux’s division formed the rear-guard of this corps.

“ On the 27th, at noon, the Duke of Belluno arrived with two divisions at the bridge of Studzianca. Parthonneaux’s division set out at night from Borisov. A brigade of this division, which formed the rear-guard, and which was charged with burning the bridge, marched at seven in the evening, and arrived between ten and eleven o’clock ; it sought its first brigade and its general, who had departed two hours before, and which it had not met with in its route. Its researches were in vain ; some uneasiness was then conceived. All we have since been able to learn is, that the first brigade set out at five o’clock, missed its way at six, went to the right in place of proceeding to the left, and marched

two or three leagues in this direction; that during the night, and benumbed with cold, it rallied at seeing the enemy's fires, which it mistook for the French army. Thus surrounded, it was taken. This cruel mistake must have caused us a loss of 2,000 infantry, 300 cavalry, and three pieces of artillery. Reports state, that the general of division was not with his column, and had marched alone.

"All the army having passed, on the morning of the 28th the Duke of Belluno guarded the *tete-du-pont* upon the left bank: the Duke of Reggio, and behind him all the army, was upon the right bank. Borisov having been evacuated, the armies of the Dwina and Volhynia communicated; they planned an attack on the 28th, at break of day. The Duke of Reggio caused the emperor to be informed that he was attacked. Half an hour afterwards, the Duke of Belluno was on the left bank. The Duke of Elchingen immediately followed the Duke of Reggio, and the Duke of Treviso the Duke of Elchingen. The battle became warm. The enemy wishing to turn our right, General Doumère, commanding the 5th division of cuirassiers, which made part of the 2d corps that remained on the Dwina, ordered a charge of cavalry, by the 4th and 5th regiments of cuirassiers, at the moment when the legion of the Vistula was engaged in the woods, to pierce the centre of the enemy. The enemy was defeated and put to the rout, together with his cavalry, which came to the assistance of his infantry. Six thousand prisoners, two standards, and six pieces of cannon, fell into our hands. On his side, the Duke of Belluno vigorously charged the enemy, defeated him, took from five to six hundred prisoners, and did not suffer him to advance within reach of the cannon of the bridge. General Fournier made a fine charge of cavalry. In the battle of the Beresina, the army of Volhynia suffered much. The Duke of Reggio was wounded, but his wound is not dangerous. He received a ball in his side.

"The next day (the 29th) we remained on the field of battle. We had to make our choice between two routes—that to Minsk, and that to Wilna. The road to Minsk led through the middle of a forest, and of uncultivated marshes, where it was impossible for the army to subsist itself. On the other hand, the road to Wilna led through a very fine country. The army being without cavalry, deficient in ammunition, and horribly fatigued by fifty days' march, carrying in its train all the sick and wounded of so many battles, stood greatly in need of getting to its magazines.

"On the 30th, the head-quarters were at Pletchinichou; on the 1st of December at Slaike; and on the 3d, at Molodetschino, where the army received the first convoys from Wilna. All the wounded officers and soldiers, and whatever else could be of embarrassment, with the baggage, &c. were sent off to Wilna.

"To say that the army stands in need of re-establishing its discipline, of refreshing itself, of remounting its cavalry, completing its artillery, and its *materiel*,—this is the result of the *expose* which has just been made. Its repose is of the first necessity. The *materiel* and the horses are coming in; General Boureier has already more than 20,000 remount horses in different depots.

"The artillery has already repaired its losses. The generals, officers, and soldiers, have suffered greatly from want. Numbers have lost their baggage by the loss of their horses, and several by the effect of the Cossacks' ambushes. The Cossacks have taken numbers of isolated persons, of geographical engineers, who were taking positions, and of wounded officers, who were marching without precaution, preferring running the risk, to marching slowly, and going with the convoy.

"The reports of the general officers commanding the different corps, will make known what officers and soldiers have chiefly distinguished themselves, and the details of these memorable events.

"In all these movements the emperor has been continually marching



in the middle of his guards—the cavalry commanded by the Duke of Istria, and the infantry commanded by the Duke of Dantzic. His majesty has been well satisfied with the fine spirit shown by his guards. They have always been ready to show themselves wherever their presence was needful: but circumstances have always been such that their appearance alone was sufficient, and that they never were in a situation which required them to charge. The Prince of Neufchatel, the grand marshal, the grand equerry, and all the aides-de-camp and military officers of the household, have always accompanied his majesty. Our cavalry was dismounted to such a degree, that it was necessary to collect the officers, who had still a horse remaining, in order to form four companies of 150 men each.

“The generals there performed the functions of captains, and the colonels those of subalterns. This sacred squadron, commanded by General Grouchy, and under the orders of the king of Naples, did not lose sight of the emperor in all those movements. The health of his majesty was never better.”

Napoleon, alarmed by so many disasters, and apprehensive of the consequences which the appearance of the “Twenty-ninth bulletin of the Grand Army,” might produce in France, now determined to abandon the miserable remains of his army for the purpose of repairing to Paris. Quitting Molodetschino at midnight, on the 3d of December, he proceeded to Smorghoni, where he called together the chiefs of his army, and after having appointed the King of Naples his lieutenant-general, took his departure from that place *incognito* on the 4th, accompanied by and under the name of the Duke of Vicenza. On his route to the French capital, he travelled in a single sledge, passing rapidly from Wilna through Warsaw to Dresden; whence he pursued his journey through Leipzig and Mentz, and arrived in Paris at midnight on the 18th of December.

The presence of the emperor had kept the chiefs in some degree to their duty; but when the fact of his departure became known, many of the officers, unrestrained by shame, abandoned the remains of the regiments committed to their command. Till that time, some armed soldiers, conducted by their officers, still rallied round the standard which they had sworn never to forsake; but from the moment they were deprived of their chiefs, unheard of calamities reduced their numbers. The division Loison, which had arrived from Königsberg, and the Neapolitans from Wilna, having been obliged to encamp in cold twenty-two degrees below the freezing point, were almost annihilated, and out of six thousand men, of which each division was composed, only some feeble battalions remained, who, on their junction with the main army, ran on the road in a state of distraction, or fell down without being able to rise again. Those who could support the fatigue of marching, prolonged their griefs; but if, weary

of life, they wished to terminate their existence, it was only necessary to stand still, and the frost would become their executioner. The roads, in every direction, presented at every step, brave officers, covered with rags, supported upon sticks, their hair and beards stiffened by the ice; these warriors, who, but a short time before, were the terror of their enemies, and the conquerors of two-thirds of Europe, could now scarcely obtain a look of pity from soldiers whom they had formerly commanded. Misfortune having equalized conditions, every thing was confounded. The colonel who had no food, was obliged to beg from a private soldier. Thus the man who possessed provisions, although he were a servant, was surrounded by a crowd of courtiers, who, to obtain food, threw aside their rank and distinction, and condescended to caress him.

On the 7th, the French army, no longer dignified by the term *grand*, advanced to Joupranoui, and on the 8th to Ochmiana. The route was still covered with soldiers, so deplorably reduced that the Russians disdained to make them prisoners. Some had lost the sense of hearing, others their speech, and many, by excessive hunger and cold, were reduced to a state of frantic stupidity, which made them roast dead bodies for nourishment, or consume their own hands and arms.\* Suffering had driven many mad, who threw themselves into the fires and perished in the flames; and every day's march presented a repetition of these horrible scenes.

Wilna, which was entered by the French on the 10th, was carried by the Russians on the 11th, and their advance was so rapid, that in the hurry of passing through that city it was neither plundered nor set on fire; this was the more remarkable, as in the whole line of march between Moscow and the Niemen, Wilna was the only town that escaped pillage and devastation. By the capture of Wilna the ruin and dispersion of the French army were completed; the soldiers, no longer held together by any bond of union, fled in every direction into the forests, and over distant wastes, to escape the sabres and pikes of their enemies, who divided themselves into several columns, which acted simultaneously in different directions. On the 14th the Russians advanced to Kowno, the place at which the French crossed the Neimen in triumph six months before. But how changed the circumstances of the contending armies!

In Courland, Marshal Macdonald had maintained himself, with the Prussian contingent, and a body of French troops; where, by some unaccountable casualty or omission, he was

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\* Russian Official Report, dated December 2, 1812.



not apprised of the disastrous condition of the grand army until the 16th of December, when he took immediate steps for abandoning Königsberg and the line of the Niemen. On the 28th of December, Count Wittgenstein, having made a rapid march by cross roads into East Prussia, advanced upon Tilsit, where Macdonald was then stationed. Here the Russian light cavalry immediately prepared to surround him, while General Diebitch cut off the communication with the Prussian corps under the command of General D'Yorck. On the following day the Prussian general entered into a negotiation with General Diebitch, and on the 30th a convention was mutually signed, by which it was agreed, that the Prussian force, eighteen thousand strong, including the corps of Massenbach, with sixty pieces of cannon, should retire unmolested into their own dominions. Marshal Macdonald, whose force was, by the defection of General D'Yorck, reduced to six thousand men, was closely pursued by Wittgenstein; on the night of the 1st of January, 1813, his army was still further reduced by the loss of upwards of eight hundred men, and his whole corps must have been cut off, had not the attention of the Russians been arrested by the approach of the garrison from Dantzic. On the 4th Memel capitulated, with two Prussian battalions. At the same time the Austrians retired towards Warsaw, which place they shortly after evacuated, and withdrew into Austrian Galicia without molestation from the Russians. On the 5th Colonel Rudiger was engaged in making the requisite arrangements for investing Königsberg; and at two o'clock in the morning of the 6th, four regiments of Cossacks forced the gates of the city, and completely routed the enemy, making thirteen hundred prisoners. Macdonald had attempted the defence of this fortress with the remains of his corps, consisting of two thousand five hundred men, to whom were added fifteen hundred of the guards, and nearly two thousand refugees from the different corps; but this force being found inadequate, Königsberg was abandoned to its victorious assailants; and the French armies, consisting of small fragments of divisions, in a state of destitution and disorganization, thought only of reaching Dantzic, Marienberg, Marienwerder, Thorn, and other fortified places, which were still garrisoned by French troops.

At the close of the year 1812, the King of Naples arrived at Marienwerder, where he was engaged in collecting together all who remained of the 4th corps of the army. With great exertions he so far succeeded as to muster eight hundred men, the unfortunate remains of forty-eight thousand warriors from

Italy,\* who were the victims, less of the arms of the enemy than of the fatal imprudence of a chief, who, not satisfied with having subjugated the larger portion of Europe, ventured to brave the elements, and to invade the deserts of Russia.

On the 12th of January Marienwerder was surprised by Admiral Tschikakoff, and carried by storm, when the Viceroy of Italy escaped only by the fleetness of his horse. On the following day the victorious Platoff took Marienberg, and with his Cossacks cleared the whole of the right bank of the Nogat. Such was the terror with which this "contemptible cavalry"† impressed the French fugitives, that at the mere cry of—"Cossacks," hundreds surrendered; and on the Dantzie road, upwards of eight thousand prisoners, many of them the mere phantoms of men, were taken.

It is extremely difficult to form an estimate of the loss of the French in this dreadful campaign; from the evacuation of Moscow to the abandonment of Königsberg, they left in the hands of the conquerors forty-six generals, upwards of fifteen hundred officers, and one hundred thousand soldiers; besides thirteen hundred and fifty pieces of cannon.‡ Of the number of slain, or of those who perished by famine and the rigours of the climate, no return has ever been published, but it is probable, that of nearly four hundred thousand troops, engaged in this frantic expedition, not fifty thousand, including the Prussian and the Austrian contingents, escaped out of Russia. The first general of the age, at the head of one of the finest and best appointed armies that ever took the field, placing in their leader the most unbounded confidence, was seen flying, beaten, disgraced, and bereft of men, baggage, cannon, horses, in a word of every thing.§ No war, ancient or modern, has

\* Labaume, himself an officer in the 4th corps.

† Twenty-ninth Bulletin.

‡ Russian Official Accounts.

§ Out of 100,000 horses scarcely one survived; and not one single piece of cannon was carried by the fugitives across the barrier stream.

#### ITINERARY

OF THE ADVANCE AND RETREAT OF THE FRENCH ARMY IN THE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN.

##### ADVANCE.

June 24, 1812,	crossed the Niemen.	Leagues.
28, —	advanced to Wilna,	26
July 12, —	to Smorghoni,	18
20, —	to the Beresina,	34
27, —	to Vitepsk,	32
29, —	to Sourai,	10
Aug. 19, —	to Smolensk,	32
27, —	to Doroghoboui,	28
Sept. 1, —	to Viasma,	25
5, —	to Borodino,	30
14, —	to Moscow,	28



exhibited such destruction and misery; more indeed have fallen in the course of a campaign, but no army ever perished with such lingering and varied misery. Intoxicated by past successes, Napoleon expected that he had only on this, as on former occasions, to strike deeply into the heart of the invaded country, and that victory would hover round the wings of his eagles. But the constancy of the Russian government, the devoted patriotism of the people, the valour of the Russian army, and above all, the rigours of the season, consummated the ruin of the legions of an ambitious chief, who, like Sesostriis, the oldest conqueror on record, had thus sacrificed in one expedition, of friends and foes, soldiers and peaceable inhabitants, nearly one million of his species. For events at all analogous to these, we must go back to the days of Xerxes, or to the page of sacred history. The presumptuous prophecy of the conqueror of Austerlitz and Friedland was accomplished; with this difference only, that it was not Alexander, but Napoleon, who was "hurried away by a fatality," and whose "destinies were fulfilled."

The achievements of 1812 elevated the Russian arms to the highest degree of military renown, and the Emperor Alexander, penetrated by those feelings of admiration with which all Europe was impressed, thus addressed the gallant defenders of their country, at the close of the campaign:—

"SOLDIERS!—"That year is gone! That memorable and glorious year, in which you have levelled with the dust the pride of our insolent invader! That year is gone; but your heroic deeds remain. Time cannot efface their remembrance: they are present with ourselves—they will live in the memory of posterity.

"The deliverance of your country from a host of confederate powers, leagued against her very existence, has been purchased by your blood. You have acquired a right to the gratitude of Russia, and to the veneration of foreign realms. You have proved to mankind, by your fidelity, your valour, and your perseverance, that against hearts filled with love to God, and loyalty to their sovereign, the efforts of the most formidable enemy are but as the furious waves of the sea breaking upon an im-

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RETREAT.			
Oct. 19,	Left Moscow.		<i>Leagues.</i>
23,	retreated to Borovsk,	.	18
24,	———— to Malo-Jaroslavitz,	.	14
31,	———— to Ghiat,	.	29
Nov. 3,	———— to Viasma,	.	15
15,	———— to Smolensk,	.	44
16,	———— to Krasnoi,	.	12
27,	———— to the Beresina,	.	45
Dec. 2,	———— to Molodetschino,	.	23
9,	———— to Wilna,	.	29
12,	———— to Kowno,	.	26

—255

Constituting a route of 518 French leagues; or, 1,400 English miles.







Map  
of the  
**FRENCH EMPIRE,**  
according to  
*Marshal Berthier's*  
**Chart**  
published by authority  
in 1804

The limits of the present Kingdom of France the 11th & 12th Septemr by lines thus by lines thus and the extent of the Empire in 1807  
The limits of the present Kingdom of France the 11th & 12th Septemr by lines thus by lines thus and the extent of the Empire in 1807  
The limits of the present Kingdom of France the 11th & 12th Septemr by lines thus by lines thus and the extent of the Empire in 1807

British Miles  
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100  
French Leagues  
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12



moveable rock : after all the tumults, they leave but the confused sound of their own overthrow.

"Soldiers! Eager to distinguish by some peculiar mark all who have participated in these immortal exploits, we have caused silver medals to be struck, and to receive the benediction of our Holy Church. They bear the date of the memorable year 1812! Suspended to a blue ribbon, they will decorate those manly breasts which have been the bucklers of their country. Each individual of the Russian army is worthy to wear these honourable testimonies, the reward of valour and of constancy.

"You have all shared the same hardships and the same dangers. You have all had but one soul. This ennobling conviction should make you proud of these equal military honours. They will every where proclaim you—faithful sons of Russia! Sons, upon whom God the Father bestows his paternal blessing.

"May your enemies ever tremble, when they behold these insignia! May they know that beneath this medal glows an imperishable valour! Imperishable, because it is not founded upon ambition or impiety, but on the immutable bases of patriotism and religion!

(Signed)

"ALEXANDER."

## CHAPTER XX.

**BRITISH HISTORY:** *Observations on the declining Power of France—Meeting of Parliament—Parliamentary Pledge to support the Government in the War with America—Sir Samuel Romilly's continued Exertions to ameliorate the Criminal Code—Motion of Sir Francis Burdett to provide against any Interruption in the Exercise of the Royal Functions—Case of the Princess of Wales stated—Her Appeal to the House of Commons through the Medium of the Speaker—Complete Justification of her Honour and Character, followed by Expressions of National Sympathy towards her Royal Highness—The Views of the Friends of Catholic Emancipation developed in a Bill brought into Parliament by Mr. Grattan—Failure of that Measure—The Benefits of the Toleration Act extended to Unitarians—New Measure of Finance—Taxes—Stipendiary Curates' Bill—Important Appeal Cause regarding Scottish Marriages—Renewal of the East India Company's Charter with certain Modifications.*

AMONG the striking examples of vicissitude in human affairs presented by history, it would be difficult to produce any one more extraordinary in its circumstances, or more important in its effects, than that exhibited in the year 1813. The preceding year, indeed, which witnessed the discomfiture of a mighty attempt to ruin one empire by the accumulated force of another, followed by prodigious loss to the assailing power, closed with a prospect of great changes in the relative state of Europe; but the extent to which these changes actually proceeded could scarcely have been contemplated by the most sagacious or sanguine political speculators. That the wide and unlimited schemes of ambition by which the French Emperor was urged to annex remote provinces to his overgrown dominions, and to trample upon the rights of other states, must, at no remote period, be crushed by their own vastness, might



have been predicted from the undeviating course of events in the records of mankind : but that the wheel of fortune should revolve with so much rapidity, was a thing not to have been foreseen. In 1812, France led against Russia, along with her native and associated troops, the contingents of her allies, Austria, Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, and the Rhenish confederates. In 1813, all these powers, Saxony alone excepted, were leagued against her, and, in conjunction with Russia, displayed hostile banners upon French ground on one frontier, while another frontier, protected by the strong barrier of the Pyrenees, was forced by the combined army of England and her peninsular allies. Well might the astonished author of these reverses, in the frankness of emotion, exclaim : " All Europe was with us a year ago : all Europe is now against us." He did not, however, yield to the adverse storm, without exertions worthy of his former fame. He fell indeed, but it was the fall of a giant. The annihilation of one mighty host, was speedily followed by the creation of another, equal apparently in strength and appointment ; and the tide of war had its flux and reflux, subordinate to the grand movement which swept away the colossal superstructure.

The domestic history of the year exhibits a remarkable state of tranquillity : partly from the improved prospects with regard to trade and manufacture, and partly from the cheering influence of a bountiful harvest. In parliament, the great events on the continent holding every one in a state of expectation, and inducing almost an universal acquiescence in the expediency of the vigorous prosecution of the war ; opposition became dormant ; and unprecedented sums of money were voted for subsidies and other military purposes, with scarcely a dissentient voice. The ministry, strengthened only by the influence of prosperity, remained firm in their seats. Public credit stood high, and heavy loans were negotiated without difficulty. Peace, at all times desirable, was little insisted upon, it being the general impression that it must be conquered to be enjoyed.

The new parliament assembled on Tuesday, the 24th of November, 1812 ; and the Right Honourable Charles Abbot, who, during four successive parliaments, had presided over the proceedings of the house of commons, with distinguished dignity and undeviating impartiality, was again called to the chair of that assembly by unanimous consent. On the 30th, the session of parliament was opened in form, on which day, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, attended by the great officers of state, repaired to the house of peers, and having ascended the throne, commenced his speech by expressing the deepest concern at the continuance of his majesty's la-

mented indisposition, and the diminished hopes of his ultimate recovery. His royal highness next adverted to the successes in the peninsula under Lord Wellington, and expressed his confident reliance on the determination of parliament to continue to afford every aid that might be necessary in support of the important contest, which had given to Europe the example of persevering and successful resistance to the power of France. The restoration of peace and friendship between this country and the courts of St. Petersburg and Stockholm was next announced by his royal highness, who spoke in the highest terms of admiration of the resistance made by Russia to the arms of her invaders. His royal highness then informed parliament that a supplementary treaty had been entered into with his Sicilian Majesty, and new measures concerted for the active co-operation of that island in the common cause. With regard to the declaration of war by the United States of America, he observed, that it was made under circumstances which might have afforded a reasonable expectation, that the amicable relations between the two countries would not be long interrupted, but the conduct and pretensions of the American government had hitherto prevented the conclusion of any pacific arrangement. In conclusion, the speech recommended an early consideration of a provision for the effectual government of the provinces of India, in consequence of the approaching expiration of the Charter of the East India Company; it adverted to the success of the means employed for suppressing the spirit of outrage and insubordination which had appeared in some parts of this country, and expressed a hope that atrocities so repugnant to the British character would never recur; and closed with the usual declaration of confidence in the wisdom of parliament, and in the loyalty of the people.

The usual complimentary address on the speech from the throne was moved in the house of peers by Lord Longford, seconded by Lord Rolle; and in the commons by Lord Clive, seconded by Mr. Hart Davis, and carried in both houses without a division.

One of the first acts of the new parliament was to grant a sum not exceeding two hundred thousand pounds, for the relief of such parts of the inhabitants of the empire of Russia as had suffered "in their persons and property, in consequence of the unprovoked and atrocious invasion of that country by the Ruler of France."\*

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\* Message of the Prince Regent, presented to Parliament December 17, 1812.



On the meeting of parliament after the Christmas recess, the papers relative to the discussions with America, together with the declaration of the prince regent relative to the causes and origin of the war with that country,\* were produced by his majesty's ministers; these documents, which gave rise to very animated debates, called from both houses addresses to his royal highness the prince regent, assuring him, "that while parliament deeply regretted the failure of his royal highness to preserve the relations of peace and amity between this country and the United States, they entirely approved of the resistance which had been opposed to the unjustifiable pretensions of the American government; that, impressed with these sentiments, and fully convinced of the justice of the war in which his majesty's government had been compelled to engage, his royal highness might rely upon their most zealous and cordial support in every measure necessary for prosecuting the war with vigour, and for bringing the contest to a safe and honourable termination." This address, which was moved in the house of commons by Lord Castlereagh, and in the lords by Earl Bathurst, was carried in both those assemblies without a division.

Sir Samuel Romilly, with that perseverance in his endeavours to ameliorate the criminal law of the country, which has conferred upon this enlightened statesman so much honour, introduced into the house of commons, on the 17th of February, a bill, which had twice passed that assembly, but which had on both occasions been rejected by the upper house of parliament. This was a bill for the purpose of repealing the act of the 10th and 11th of King William, which made it a capital offence to steal property to the amount of five shillings, privately, in a dwelling-house, shop, or warehouse. The principle upon which he founded this bill was, he said, precisely the same as that which he had before stated—namely, the inexpediency of suffering penal laws to exist which are not intended to be executed. A demonstration of which was to be found in the returns of the criminal court of London and Middlesex during the years 1805, 6, 7, 8, and 9; from which it appeared that the number of persons committed for offences of this nature amounted to one hundred and eighty-eight, of whom only eighteen had been convicted, and and not one executed. This was a pretty strong proof that the law had become obsolete, and that there was no intention to enforce its execution. The consequence was, that where some punishment was deserved, none was inflicted, and owing

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\* See Vol. III. Chap. XVII. Page 380.

to the undue severity of the law, the offender escaped with impunity.\*

The next bill which he proposed to introduce, related to a part of the punishment for the crime of high treason, which was not at present carried into execution. The sentence for that crime, as the law now stood, was, that the criminal should be dragged upon a hurdle to the place of execution ; that he should be hanged by the neck, but cut down before he was dead ; and that his bowels should be then taken out and burned before his face.† As to that part of the sentence which related to embowelling, it was never executed now ; but this omission was owing to accident, or to the mercy of the executioner, not to the discretion of the judge.

These bills, with a third, to take away the corruption of blood as a consequence of attainder of high treason or felony, were allowed to be brought in, and the first passed through the house of commons, but was thrown out by the peers. The other two bills were both lost in the lower house of parliament.

On the 23d of February, a subject was brought forward in the house of commons by Sir Francis Burdett, which if not of present political importance, touched upon a curious and interesting point of the constitution, and appears to have made a more serious impression than was at first expected. The honourable baronet, in his introductory speech, said, that it appeared to him that violent incroachments had been made on the true principles of the constitution, by those measures which had been adopted in consequence of the unfortunate malady of his majesty. The first of these was in 1788, when it had been determined that the heir apparent to the crown had no more right to the government of the nation than any other subject. The steps taken at this period were justified on the plea of necessity ; but in his opinion there were two principles which governed the whole of this question : 1st, That the powers and prerogatives annexed by the common law to the crown descend by hereditary succession, and not by

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\* On this subject Mr. Burke has well observed--"The question is, whether, in a well constituted commonwealth, it is wise to retain laws not put in force? A penal law not ordinarily executed, must be deficient in justice or wisdom, or both. But we are told that we must trust to the operation of manners to relax the law ; on the contrary, the law ought to be always in unison with the manners, and corroborative of them, otherwise the effect of both will be lessened. Our passions ought not to be right, and our reason, of which law is the organ, wrong."

† Harrison, one of the regicides, executed in the reign of Charles II. held a conversation with his executioner after his bowels were taken out.



election : 2d, That its powers are never suspended ;\* for if the functions of royalty were for any time to cease, one of the three branches of the constitution would be abrogated, and a dissolution of legal government would ensue. Both these principles, he thought, were unnecessarily and unwarrantably departed from at the period referred to. In 1810, this mischievous precedent was followed ; the usurpation was renewed, and a fiction was resorted to, creating a phantom of royalty, in order to elect and appoint an executive magistrate. As a further usurpation of power, restrictions were placed upon the person selected to possess some of the prerogatives of the crown, all of which were bestowed by the law for the benefit of the people. His object was, to prevent on future occasions this lawless assumption of authority, and to destroy that pretence of necessity, which in fact never existed, because many legal remedies remained. He did not mean to tie down the house to any distinct proposition, but simply to provide against any interruption in the exercise of the royal authority in the event of the death of the prince regent during the continuance of his majesty's malady ; he, however, did not hesitate to state, that in his view, it would be right to give to the regent powers as uncontrolled as those belonging to the king himself. Further, he should propose that the powers now exercised by the prince regent, should, in case of the death or disability of his royal highness, be exercised by the heir to the crown, the Princess Charlotte of Wales. He concluded with moving, " that leave be given to bring in a bill to provide against any interruption of the exercise of the royal authority, in the event of the death of his royal highness the prince regent, during the continuance of his majesty's malady."

It was contended, in opposition to this motion, that the consideration of such a topic was at present unnecessary, and that it might safely be left to the two houses of parliament to provide for such cases when they should occur. As to the right in the heir of the crown to exercise the royal authority in the event of an interruption of the regal functions, that was a question which might now be considered as at rest, since no doubts had been raised concerning it during the progress of the last regency bill.† It appeared, that the honourable baronet's object was to destroy the discretionary power of parliament upon the subject, and that he preferred the determination of the question on the hereditary principle. Whichever

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\* On the principle of "The king is dead---long live the king."

† Mr. Bathurst.

way it was determined, there was a balance of inconveniences ; but the reason why it was better that it should rest in the discretion of parliament was, that this body felt it to be its first duty to take care that the royal power should be returned undiminished into the hands of its legitimate possessor, as soon as the incapacity of exercising it was removed ; whereas upon the hereditary principle, the royal power being immediately and fully transferred to the regent, there was not the same security for its resumption.\* In reply to these objections it was urged, that there was only one life between us and the recurrence of former difficulties, and that the most proper time for a parliamentary arrangement on a great constitutional subject of this nature, was such a time as the present, when party heats were so much allayed, and when there was no danger of reviving the animosities to which former discussions had given birth.† On a division of the house there appeared for the motion seventy-three, against it two hundred and thirty-eight voices.

During the present year no subject of a domestic nature fixed upon the public mind with so much force as the discords and alienation which had for years subsisted between the prince regent and his illustrious consort. The original cause of these dissensions it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to trace, except to the vague and unsatisfactory source of incompatibility of inclinations ; but that they originated at a period so early as the first year of the residence of the Princess of Wales in this country, and that they were of such a nature as almost to dissolve the marriage contract, is clear from a correspondence which took place between those illustrious personages in the year 1796. The marriage of the Prince and Princess of Wales was solemnized on the 8th of April, 1795 ; the date of the birth of their only child was the 7th of January following ; and in the month of April, in the same year, a message from the prince was conveyed to the Princess of Wales, through the medium of Lord Cholmondeley, informing her that the intercourse between herself and the prince was in future to be of the most restrictive nature—in fact, that a separation as to all conjugal relations was, from that time, and for ever, to take place. In this arrangement the princess expressed her acquiescence, but she considered the subject of too important a nature to rest merely on verbal communication, and in compliance with her request, the pleasure of his royal highness was communicated to her in writing.‡

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\* Lord Castlereagh.

† Mr. Brand and Mr. Whitbread.

‡ Letter of the Prince to the Princess of Wales, dated April 30, 1796.



In the year 1805, while the Prince and Princess of Wales were living in a state of separation, the Duke of Sussex informed the prince, that Sir John Douglas had made known to him some circumstances respecting the behaviour of the Princess of Wales, which, in the opinion of the duke, it was of the highest importance the prince should hear, as they might, if true, not only affect the honour and peace of mind of his royal highness, but also the succession to the throne. Sir John and Lady Douglas, having made a formal declaration of the charges they thought proper to advance against the Princess of Wales, this declaration was submitted by the prince to Lord Thurlow, who gave it as his opinion that his royal highness had no alternative but to submit the matter to the king. In consequence of this opinion, and some further examinations which took place, the declarations of William and Sarah Lampert, servants to Sir John Douglas; William Cole, Robert and Sarah Bidgood, Francis Lloyd, and Sir John and Lady Douglas; were laid before his majesty; who thereupon issued a warrant, dated the 29th of May, 1806, directing and authorising Lord Erskine, as lord chancellor; Lord Grenville, as first lord of the treasury; Earl Spencer, as one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state; and Lord Ellenborough, as chief justice of the court of king's bench; to inquire "into the truth of the said allegations, and to report to him thereon."

The commissioners so appointed first examined on oath the principal informants, Sir John Douglas, and Charlotte his wife; who both positively swore, the former, to his having observed the fact of the pregnancy of her royal highness; and the latter, not only that she had observed it, but that her royal highness had made not the least scruple of talking about it with her, and describing the stratagems she meant to resort to in order to avoid detection. It was further deposed by Lady Douglas, that in the course of the year 1802, the princess was secretly delivered of a female child, which had been brought up in her own house; and under her own inspection! On this part of the inquiry, the commissioners, in their report to his majesty, declared, that there is no foundation whatever for believing that the child now living with the princess, is the child of her royal highness, or that she was delivered of any child in the year 1802; nor had any thing appeared to them that could warrant the belief that she was pregnant in that year, or at any other period within the compass of their inquiries. That child was, beyond all doubt, born in the Brownlow-Street Hospital, on the 11th day of July, 1802, of

the body of Sophia Austin, and was first brought to the princess's house in the month of November following.

But the commissioners did not feel themselves at liberty to close their report here. Besides the allegation of the pregnancy and delivery of the princess, those declarations, on the whole of which his majesty had been pleased to command them to inquire and report, contained other particulars respecting the conduct of her royal highness, such as must necessarily give occasion to very unfavourable impressions. From the various depositions and proofs annexed to this report, particularly from the examination of Robert Bidgood, William Cole, Frances Lloyd, and Mrs. Lisle,\* "it would," the commissioners said, "be perceived, that several strong circumstances of this description, had been positively sworn to by witnesses, who could not, in their judgment, be suspected of any unfavourable bias, and whose veracity, in this respect, they had no ground to question; "it appears therefore," continued the commissioners, "that as on the one hand, the facts of pregnancy and delivery are, to our minds, satisfactorily disproved; so on the other we think, that the circumstances to which we now refer, particularly those stated to have passed between her royal highness and Captain Manby, must be credited, until they shall receive some decisive contradiction; and if true, are justly entitled to the most serious consideration."†

Immediately on the receipt of a copy of this report, the Princess of Wales addressed a letter to his majesty on the subject; in which, in the face of the Almighty, she assured his majesty, not only of her innocence as to the weightier parts of the charge preferred against her by her enemies, but of her freedom from all the indecours and improprieties which had been imputed to her by the lords commissioners, upon the evidence of persons who spoke as falsely as Sir John and Lady Douglas themselves.‡

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\* In the depositions of Bidgood and Cole it was stated, that certain levities, of a nature unbecoming her rank and station, and incompatible with the character of a virtuous woman, had been practised by the Princess of Wales, in the years 1802-3; and that Sir Sidney Smith, Mr. Lawrence, the portrait painter, and Captain Manby, of the ship *Africaine*, had been admitted to her house on a footing that warranted suspicion of criminal intercourse. Frances Lloyd spoke less distinctly to the same fact; and Mrs. Lisle, a lady of the princess's household, whose evidence was principally relied upon, deposed, that the behaviour of the princess towards Captain Manby, who often visited at Montague-House, was a flirting conduct, and such as, in the witness's opinion, did not become a married woman.

† Report of the Lord Commissioners, dated July 14, 1806.

‡ Letter of the Princess of Wales to the King, dated August 12, 1806.



On the 17th of August she again wrote to the king, having in the mean time consulted with her legal advisers, requesting that she might have authenticated copies of the report, and of the declarations and depositions on which it proceeded, a request with which his majesty was graciously pleased to comply.

Having received these papers, the Princess of Wales submitted them to her legal advisers, the principal of whom were Lord Eldon, Mr. Perceval, and Sir Thomas Plomer, and on the 2d of October she transmitted to his majesty an elaborate letter, containing her observations on the charges against her, and the evidence on which they rested. This letter is drawn up with uncommon ability ; and while it displays a considerable portion of acuteness and penetration, such as might have been expected from the legal experience and talents of her counsel, contains many passages distinguished by that dignified solemnity and pathetic tone of remonstrance and feeling, which could only have proceeded from the person most interested in the subject.

After stating that the extravagance of the malice of Sir John and Lady Douglas had defeated itself, she states that there still remained imputations "strongly sanctioned and countenanced by the report," respecting which she could not remain silent without incurring the most fatal consequences to her honour and character. Against the substance of the proceeding itself, and the manner in which it was conducted, she considered herself bound to protest. The report proceeded upon *ex parte* examination, without affording her an opportunity of explaining or defending her conduct, or without the lords commissioners even hearing one word which she should urge in her own defence. For more than two years, she had been informed, her conduct had been made the subject of investigation ; but the cause of this she did not learn till the investigation had actually taken place, and then she found that the charge against her was high treason, committed in the infamous crime of adultery.

Her royal highness dwells with great force of argument on the extreme improbability of Lady Douglas's accusation respecting her pregnancy. But as the commissioners most unequivocally and decidedly acquit her of that charge, she proceeds to examine the evidence of those witnesses, who, in the opinion of the commissioners, were particularly deserving of credit, namely, W. Cole, R. Bidgood, F. Lloyd, and Mrs. Lisle. Having replied to the evidence of Cole, Bidgood, and Lloyd, who had lived with his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales before he married, and were appointed by him to stations

about her royal highness, and shown, to the conviction of every unprejudiced mind, that their testimony was either false in fact, or erroneous in conclusion, she proceeds to observe upon the evidence of Mrs. Lisle. What is exactly meant by flirting conduct, "it is difficult," says the princess, "with any precision to ascertain. How many women are there, most virtuous, most truly modest, incapable of any thing impure, vicious, or immoral, in deed or thought, who, from greater vivacity of spirits, from less natural reserve, from the want of caution, which the very consciousness of innocence betrays into, conduct themselves in a manner which a woman of a graver character, of more reserved disposition, but not with one particle of superior virtue, thinks too incautious, too unreserved, too familiar; and which, if forced upon her oath to give her opinion upon it, she might feel herself, as an honest woman, bound to say, in that opinion, was flirting."

The other allegations of the different witnesses, are all then examined in their order, and rebutted with success; and the Princess of Wales, in concluding her letter to the king, thus expresses herself: "Oh! sire, to be unfortunate, and scarcely to feel at liberty to lament; to be cruelly used, and to feel it almost an offence and a duty to be silent—is a hard lot; but use has in some degree inured me to it. Before my spirit had been yet all lowered by my misfortunes, I should have been disposed to have met such a charge with the contempt, which, I trust, by this time, your majesty thinks due to it; I should have been disposed to defy my enemies to the utmost; and to have scorned to answer any thing but a legal charge, before a competent tribunal; but in my present misfortunes such force of mind is gone. I ought, perhaps, so far to be thankful to them for their wholesome lessons of humility. I have, therefore, entered into this long detail, to endeavour to remove, at the first possible opportunity, any unfavourable impressions; to rescue myself from the dangers which the continuance of these suspicions might occasion, and to preserve to me your majesty's good opinion, in whose kindness, hitherto, I have found infinite consolation, and to whose justice, under all circumstances, I can confidently appeal. . . . At all events, I trust your majesty will restore me to the blessing of your gracious presence, and confirm to me, by your own gracious words, your satisfactory conviction of my innocence."

Nine weeks having elapsed after this letter was sent to his majesty without any reply, the princess again wrote, expressing her anxiety, and her wish to learn whether she might be admitted to the royal presence.\* In reply to which her royal

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\* Letter to the King, dated Montague-House, December 8, 1806.



highness was informed, that her vindication had been referred to his majesty's confidential servants, who had given it as their opinion, "that it was no longer necessary for his majesty to decline receiving the princess into his royal presence;" but at the same time, "his majesty could not forbear to express, in the conclusion of the business, his desire and expectation, that such a conduct might be in future observed by the princess, as may fully justify those marks of paternal regard and affection, which the king always wishes to shew to every part of his royal family."\*

The Princess of Wales no sooner received this communication, than she named a day, on which, if agreeable to his majesty, she would have the happiness to throw herself in filial duty and affection at his majesty's feet. The day, however, was at first postponed by his majesty, who afterwards informed the princess, that at the request of the Prince of Wales, he declined to see her until her vindication had been examined by the lawyers of the prince, and until the prince had been enabled to submit the statement which he proposed to make thereon.

The princess remonstrated in strong terms against the unparalleled injustice and cruelty of this interposition of the Prince of Wales, at such a time, and under such circumstances; and trusted that his majesty would recall his determination not to see her till the prince's answer respecting her vindication was received. She particularly dwelt on the circumstance, that the judgment of his majesty's confidential servants was appealed from by the prince, whom, from this time, she must consider as assuming the character of her accuser. If the prince was allowed to interfere once, he might interfere again, so as to prevent for ever the arrival of that hour which was to prove to the world the innocence of her royal highness. Reverting again to the nature of the evidence, her royal highness says—"There may have been circumstances, manifesting a degree of condescension and familiarity in my behaviour and conduct, which, in the opinion of many, may be considered as not sufficiently guarded, dignified, and reserved. Circumstances, however, which my foreign education, and foreign habits, misled me to think, in the humble and retired situation in which it was my fate to live, and where I had no relation, no equal, no friend to advise me, were wholly free from offence. But when they have been dragged forward from the scenes of private life, in a grave proceeding, on a charge of high treason and adultery, they seem to derive a colour and

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\* Letter of the King to the Princess of Wales, dated January 28, 1807.

character from the nature of the charge which they are brought forward to support. And I cannot but believe that they have been used for no other purpose than to afford a cover to screen from view the injustice of that charge; that they have been taken advantage of, to let down my accusers more gently, and to deprive me of that full acquittal on the report of the four lords, which my innocence of all offence most justly intitled me to receive. Whatever opinion, however, may be formed of any part of my conduct, it must, in justice, be formed with reference to the situation in which I am placed; if I am judged of as Princess of Wales, with reference to the high rank of that station, I must be judged as Princess of Wales, banished from the prince, unprotected by the support and the countenance which belong to that station; and if I am judged of in my private character, as a married woman, I must be judged of as a wife banished from her husband, and living in a widowed seclusion from him and retirement from the world.”\*

After a lapse of three weeks, during which time it does not appear that any reply, either private or official, was made to the letter of the princess, her royal highness informed his majesty, that having received no command to wait upon his majesty, and no intimation of his pleasure, she was reduced to the necessity, in vindication of her character, to resort to the publication of the proceedings upon the inquiry into her conduct, and that the publication alluded to would not be withheld beyond the following Monday.† To avoid coming to this painful extremity, she had taken every step in her power except that which would be abandoning her character to utter infamy, and her station in life to no uncertain danger, and possibly to no very distant destruction.

This letter was dated the 5th of March, within two days of which time a resolution was taken to call Mr. Perceval and his friends to his majesty’s councils. As soon as the ministerial arrangements could be completed, a minute of council was made, dated April 22, 1807, wherein it was humbly submitted to his majesty, “that it was essentially necessary, in justice to her royal highness the Princess of Wales, and for the honour and interest of his majesty’s illustrious family, that

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\* Letter to the King, dated from Montague-House, Feb. 16, 1807.

† All the principal documents connected with this subject, comprehending the report of the lords commissioners, the letters of the Princess of Wales to his Majesty, and the depositions both criminatory and exculpatory, had already been printed under the superintendence of Mr. Perceval, in a volume quaintly styled “The Book.” This instrument, dexterously wielded, contributed to place Mr. Perceval and his friends in the cabinet, and was generally supposed to have had its influence in enabling them to retain their situations after the appointment of the regency government.



her royal highness should be admitted, with as little delay as possible, into his majesty's presence ; and that she should be received in a manner due to her rank and station, in his majesty's court and family."

Notwithstanding this advice, it does not appear that the Princess of Wales was ever restored to complete favour either at court or in the royal family ; and to aggravate the difficulty and embarrassment of her situation, her intercourse with her daughter became subject to great restraint. Nothing, however, occurred, that is publicly and officially known, till the month of January, 1813. At this time the princess was so much debarred from the society of her daughter, that she determined to write to the prince regent on the subject ; but to her surprise, though her former friends now held the office of ministers, she found great difficulty in getting her letter conveyed to the prince, and though it was transmitted to ministers on the 14th, it was not till the 23d that it was read to his royal highness. In this letter she dwelt with great force upon the injustice of widening the separation between mother and daughter, which she considered as not only cutting her off from one of the few domestic enjoyments which she still retained, but as giving countenance to those calumnious reports which had been proved to be totally unfounded. " That her love for her mother, with whom, by his majesty's wise and gracious arrangements, she passed the years of her infancy and childhood, never can be extinguished, I well know," says the princess, " and the knowledge of it forms the greatest blessing of my existence. But let me implore your royal highness to reflect, how inevitably all attempts to abate her attachment by forcibly separating us, if they succeed, must injure my child's principles—if they fail, must destroy her happiness.

In consequence of this letter, which, soon after it was sent, appeared in one of the daily journals, the prince regent thought proper to direct, that the letter of the Princess of Wales, and the whole of the documents relating to the investigation of 1806, (inappropriately called the ' delicate investigation,') should be referred to the members of his majesty's privy council, for their consideration, and that they should report to his royal highness their " opinion, whether, under all the circumstances of the case, it was fit and proper that the intercourse between the Princess of Wales and her daughter, the Princess Charlotte, should continue to be subject to regulations and restriction." In virtue of this appointment, the members of the privy council assembled on the 23d of February, when they reported to the prince regent, that, in their

opinion, "it was highly fit and proper, that the intercourse between her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, and her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte, should continue to be subject to regulation and restraint."

The Princess of Wales now felt herself imperiously called upon to take some public and decisive step for the protection of her own honour and character. Accordingly, on the 1st of March, her royal highness addressed a letter to the speaker of the house of commons, in which she complains that the tendency of this report, a copy of which had been transmitted to her by Lord Sidmouth, was to cast aspersions upon her honour and character. Thus assailed by a secret tribunal, before which she could not be heard in her own defence, she was compelled to throw herself upon the house and upon the justice of parliament, and to require that the fullest investigation might be instituted into the whole of her conduct during her residence in this country. "The Princess of Wales," adds the letter to the speaker, "fears no scrutiny, however strict, provided she is tried by impartial judges, known to the constitution, and in the fair and open manner the law of the land requires. Her only desire is, that she may be either declared to be innocent, or proved to be guilty."

On the 5th of March, Mr. C. Johnstone, after avowing that he had had no concert with, or authority from the Princess of Wales, submitted to the house of commons a motion for an address to the prince regent, requesting him to order that a copy of the report made to his majesty on the 14th of July, 1806, by the Lord Chancellor Erskine, Lord Grenville, and Lord Ellenborough, touching the conduct of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, be laid before the house, with a view to an inquiry, now, while the witnesses on both sides were still living, into all the allegations, facts, and circumstances, appertaining to that investigation; a proceeding, which, in his opinion, was due to the honour of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, the safety of the throne, and the tranquillity of the country.

Lord Castlereagh, in opposing the motion, said, the house could not suppose that the papers called for by the honourable mover, were at all necessary to remove any apprehension as to the successor to the throne of these kingdoms. The innocence of the Princess of Wales of the charge brought against her by Lady Douglas had been completely established on the report of the members of two successive administrations; and if a prosecution had not been instituted against her accusers, it did not arise from any doubt in the minds of the law officers, as to the punishment that would be brought down upon the



degraded and guilty heads of Sir John and Lady Douglas, but from a wish to avoid bringing such subjects before the public.

It was asserted on the other hand, that if the motion went off, and nothing was said on the subject of the letter of the Princess of Wales to the Speaker, the house would not do justice towards her royal highness. All that had been said by the honourable mover of this measure, and much more, had been said by Lord Eldon, Mr. Perceval, and Sir Thomas Plomer, who were in fact the authors of the letter written by the Princess of Wales to the king, in 1806; and yet the members of the present cabinet, Lord Castlereagh and Lord Eldon being of the number, bring forward this very proceeding of 1806, which had been so strongly condemned, and so completely exploded, by themselves and their friends, and upon such a ground proceed to an investigation in 1813. It was due to the memory of Mr. Perceval to state, that to his dying day, he always publicly proclaimed the innocence of the princess; but as to her surviving friends of 1806-7, they were now the Prince Regent's ministers, and they were now mute—mute of malice. Was her royal highness not entitled to the common courtesy belonging to her sex? Had she attempted more than had been done in the brutal reign of Henry VIII. by the unfortunate Anne Bullen, who, like the princess, asked to be declared innocent, or proved guilty.\* The report of 1807 not only acquitted her royal highness, but went further, and advised his majesty to receive her, with as little delay as possible, in a manner due to her rank and station, in his majesty's court and in his family. With such a document in existence, why was it necessary now to ransack the evidence of 1806, and to rake together the documents of that period, to found a report upon what regulations were necessary to govern the intercourse between the princess and her daughter? All proceedings like these contributed to pull down royalty. The regent ought not to lay the flattering unction to his soul, and think his conduct would bear him harmless through all these transactions; no man could have a sister in the situation the princess was placed in, without saying she was extremely ill treated.† The most complete defiance on the part of the Princess of Wales had been thrown out, in the presence of those persons who had the fullest opportunity of inquiry, and whose duty it was to inquire into every part of her conduct—who have the means of searching her very heart. So completely did she now appear acquitted of all possible imputation or blame, even by the persons from whom the aspersions

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\* Mr. Whitbread.

† Mr. Stuart Wortley.

were, by the world, supposed, in the last report, to have been thrown upon her, that it was now unnecessary to press the matter to a division. Her innocence was acknowledged entire—complete. To such restrictions as the prince regent, in his capacity of father of the Princess Charlotte, or by the advice of his ministers, might think proper to impose upon her intercourse with her daughter, she must submit. It was her lot. But she had the satisfaction of knowing that her reputation henceforward was, by the confession of all, without imputation or reproach.\* The words and meaning of the cabinet report in 1807, conveyed a complete, satisfactory, and unlimited acquittal.†

This subject, which was terminated in the house of commons in a manner so favourable to the honour and character of the Princess of Wales, was calculated to excite a deep and general interest; and perhaps there scarcely ever was a subject on which the nation was so nearly agreed. Even those who believed that the conduct of her royal highness had not been perfectly free from blame, were decidedly of opinion that she had been most unfairly and harshly treated, not only in the original report, but in almost all the subsequent stages of the proceedings; while the great majority, who had not a doubt of her complete innocence, was disposed to consider her as the intended victim of a flagitious and profligate conspiracy. In a very short time nothing was talked of but the hardships of her case; and as the British nation is never slow to commiserate the cause of the afflicted, and to support the persecuted, the Princess of Wales, more particularly as a female—a deserted wife—and the mother of the future sovereign of these realms, obtained a liberal portion of British sympathy and support. As soon as her innocence was proclaimed, even by the ministers of the prince regent, to be completely established, addresses of congratulation poured in upon her from all quarters of the kingdom, and if popular favour could have supplied the place of domestic happiness, the wounds which had so long been inflicted upon her lacerated feelings would have been healed.

At the close of the parliamentary session in the summer of the last year, the house of commons, by a majority of more than two to one, had agreed to a resolution for taking into consideration the affairs of the catholics of Ireland early in the next session; while the house of lords had rejected a motion for a similar resolution by a majority of one voice only. From that period great activity had been displayed by both

\* Mr. Whitbread.

† Mr. Canning.



parties in promoting their respective views ; and the tables of both houses of parliament were, soon after the commencement of the session, crowded with petitions on the subject.—The tenor of the great majority of these petitions was unfavourable to the catholic claims ; and it soon became manifest that the friends to emancipation would have to encounter a formidable resistance.

After some preliminary proceedings, Mr. Grattan, on the 30th of April, presented to the house his bill “to provide for the removal of the civil and military disqualifications under which his majesty’s roman catholic subjects now labour,” and the second reading of the bill was fixed for the 11th of May. This bill was of considerable length, but its most important provisions are contained in the following abridgment :—

After a preamble, declaring the inviolable establishment of the protestant succession to the crown, and the protestant national churches of England, Ireland, and Scotland, and the expediency of communicating to his majesty’s roman catholic subjects the blessings of our free constitution, in order to put an end to all religious jealousies, and unite all the inhabitants of these islands in defence of their common liberties and government, the bill provides, that it shall be lawful for persons professing the roman catholic religion to sit and vote in either house of parliament, upon taking a declaration and oath instead of the oaths of allegiance, abjuration, and supremacy, and the declarations against transubstantiation and the invocation of saints. The oath, which is of great length, contains a promise of allegiance to the king ; of supporting the protestant succession to the crown ; a renunciation of belief in the temporal jurisdiction of the pope, or any foreign potentate in these kingdoms, and of the validity of excommunication by the pope, or council, to depose princes ; a declaration that no act in itself immoral can be justified on pretence that it is for the good of the church, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power ; and that no sin can be forgiven at the will of the pope, or any priest, without sincere repentance ; a declaration that the infallibility of the pope is not an article of the roman catholic church ; a disavowal of any intention to subvert or disturb the present church establishment ; and a promise to make known all conspiracies, &c. for such a purpose ; and, finally, an attestation that this oath is taken in the plain sense of the words, without equivocation or reservation, and that no power or authority can dispense with or annul it.

It is further enacted, that on taking the above oath and declaration, it shall be lawful for roman catholics to vote for members of parliament when duly qualified ; also to hold and exercise all civil and military offices, or places of trust or profit, with the following exceptions, namely, the officers of lord high chancellor, lord keeper or lord commissioner of the great seal of Great Britain, or lord-lieutenant, lord-deputy, or other chief governor or governors of Ireland ; also to be a member of any lay body corporate, and to hold any civil office or place of trust therein. A proviso is subjoined, that nothing in this act shall extend to the repeal of any laws in force for establishing the uniformity of public worship in the episcopal church of England and Ireland ; or to make any change in the ecclesiastical judicature of the realm ; or to enable a roman catholic to present to any ecclesiastical benefice whatsoever ; or to make it lawful for him to advise the crown as to the disposal of any preferment in the protestant churches of England, Ireland, or Scotland.

It is further enacted, that every person now exercising, or who shall

hereafter exercise, any spiritual function belonging to the roman catholic religion, besides the oath and declaration above-mentioned, shall take a specified oath, the tenour of which is, that the person will never consent to the appointment of any bishop or vicar-apostolic, but such as he shall deem to be of unimpeachable loyalty and peaceable conduct ; that he will have no correspondence or communication with the Pope or See of Rome, or with any tribunal established by their authority, or with any person authorised by them, tending to disturb the established protestant churches of these kingdoms ; or any correspondence at all with such persons or tribunals, on any matter not purely ecclesiastical. A further enactment prohibits any person born out of the united kingdom, except such as are born of British or Irish parents, from exercising any episcopal functions in it ; and also requires a certain term of residence within the united kingdom before such functions can be exercised.

On the 13th of May the bill was read a second time and committed for the following day. This bill, as amended by the committee, contained a number of new clauses, the principal scope of which was to place a *veto* on the appointment of catholic bishops in the hands of the king, by the appointment of two separate commissions, one for Great Britain, and the other for Ireland, consisting of roman catholic ecclesiastics, exercising episcopal functions, lay roman catholic peers or commoners, and privy counsellors, the principal secretary of state being of the number, to which board of commissioners the name of every person of the roman catholic religion proposing to assume the functions of a bishop or dean should be notified, and the board should report to his majesty, or to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, whether they know or believe any thing which tends to impeach the loyalty or peaceable conduct of such person ; after which it shall be lawful for his majesty, or the lord-lieutenant, to approve or disapprove of the said person ; and any one exercising the above functions after disapprobation, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour. To the same board was also to be confided the inspection of all bulls and dispensations from the See of Rome.

On the 24th of May a call of the house took place for the purpose of giving to this measure all the consideration demanded by its importance, on which occasion the speaker concluded an elaborate and eloquent speech by moving, that the first clause of the bill intended to confer upon roman catholics the privilege " to sit and vote in either house of parliament," should be omitted. This clause was, by both parties, regarded as of the most fundamental consequence ; and while the dangers of its admission were exhibited in the most glowing colours by one party, the evils to be expected from leaving the catholics in a state of dissatisfaction, and of disappointing their ardent expectations, were as forcibly insisted upon by the other. At length the decisive trial of strength took place, and the division of the house proved that the opinions of its



members were nearly balanced, there being for the clause two hundred and forty-seven voices, against it two hundred and fifty-one, leaving a majority of four against the catholics sitting in parliament. On the numbers being declared, Mr. Ponsoby said, that as the bill, without this clause, was neither worthy of the acceptance of the catholics, nor of the farther support of the friends of concession, he should move that the chairman do now leave the chair, which was carried without a division, and thus the bill was abandoned. But Mr. Grattan, undismayed by defeat, and resolved to persevere in a cause which in the opinion of some of the first statesmen of this age and nation, involved the essential interests of the united kingdom, and the permanent tranquillity of the empire, gave notice that he should early in the next session move for leave to bring in a bill for the relief of his majesty's roman catholic subjects in Ireland.

In the discussion on the catholic emancipation bill, though several members had manifested an intention to support all those exclusions from place and power, which the existing laws have enjoined against separatists from the established church, yet the most extensive and liberal principles of toleration were generally professed. Hence, probably, the time was chosen for an attempt to relieve from the pains and penalties still legally impending over them, those christians who impugn the doctrine of the trinity, and to extend to them the benefits of the toleration act. Under these impressions, Mr. William Smith moved for leave to bring in a bill for this purpose. As the law stood, he said, persons who in conversation or writing denied the existence of any of the persons of the trinity, were disabled on conviction from holding any office, civil, ecclesiastical, or military; and if a second time convicted, they were disabled to sue or prosecute in any action or information, or to be the guardian of any child, and were liable to imprisonment for three years. The object of the honourable gentleman was to bring in a bill for the repeal of these laws; and a bill was accordingly introduced, with the approbation of his majesty's ministers, and the general concurrence of the house, and passed through its respective stages in the commons. On the third reading of the bill in the lords, on the 30th of July, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Chester, each said a few words, not with any intention of opposing the progress of the measure, but merely to affirm that the bill had not been called for by any attempt to inflict penalties upon, or to impede the worship of the Unitarians. The bill was then read a third time, and having obtained the royal assent, became a part of the law of the land.

The prodigious increase of the public expenditure,\* and the diminution of the several sources of the revenue, in consequence of the rigorous measures taken by the enemy to shut out British commerce from the continent of Europe, combined with the loss of the American market, occasioned a general

## \* FINANCES.

PUBLIC INCOME of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1813.

<i>Branches of Revenue.</i>	<i>Gross Receipts.</i>			<i>Paid into the Excheq.</i>		
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Customs, - - -	10,023,870	12	10	8,296,289	19	7
Excise, - - -	19,476,849	2	2½	17,800,248	5	1½
Stamps, - - -	5,428,811	10	6	5,313,986	0	7½
Land & Assessed Taxes,	7,444,782	13	5	7,373,157	5	10½
Post-Office, - -	1,820,761	1	4	1,534,608	1	0½
Miscel. Permanent Tax,	87,406	8	1	90,604	2	10½
Hered. Revenue, -	83,815	19	2½	106,662	10	9½
Extraord. Resources,						
War Taxes { Customs, -	3,262,360	9	11½	2,948,330	4	1½
{ Excise, - - -	5,235,572	18	9	5,204,754	4	9½
{ Property Tax,	13,140,232	16	0½	13,368,606	8	3½
Miscel. Income, -	4,431,216	0	0½	4,406,861	12	4½
Loans, including } £4,350,000 for the } Service of Ireland, }	29,268,586	16	8	29,268,586	16	8
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>£99,704,266</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>0½</b>	<b>£95,712,695</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>2½</b>

*Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, }  
24th March, 1813.*

(Signed)  
RICH. WHARTON.

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1813.

<i>Heads of Expenditure.</i>	<i>Sums.</i>		
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Interest, - - - - -	22,890,912	0	5½
Charge of Management, - - - - -	233,705	12	5½
Reduction of National Debt, - - - - -	13,510,865	10	11½
Interest on Exchequer Bills, - - - - -	1,835,369	2	3
Civil List, - - - - -	1,635,601	10	10
Civil Government of Scotland, - - - - -	112,748	2	7
Payments in anticipation, &c. - - - - -	582,675	8	8½
Navy, - - - - -	20,500,339	7	0
Ordnance, - - - - -	4,252,409	15	11
Army, - - - - -	15,382,049	15	4
Extraordinary Services, - - - - -	14,920,841	0	0
Ireland, - - - - -	2,888,500	0	0
Miscellaneous Services, - - - - -	1,779,089	3	9½
Deductions for Sums forming no part of the Ex- } penditure of Great Britain, - - - - - }	100,525,106	10	3½
	2,975,375	3	0

**Grand Total** £97,549,731 7 3½

*Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, }  
25th March, 1812.*

(Signed)  
RICH. WHARTON.



opinion that some new financial measure must be resorted to for the purpose of preventing the necessity of imposing fresh taxes. That taxation had nearly attained to the *ne plus ultra*, was admitted by the chancellor of the exchequer himself, who thought, that "to raise new taxes to the amount of nine millions, the sum now to be provided, would be felt as a heavy burthen in addition to the great exertions already made by the people." In submitting his new plan of finance to the consideration of the house of commons, Mr. Vansittart said, that further measures might be taken for promoting and facilitating the redemption of the land tax. For the completion of this part of his plans he chiefly relied upon the simplification of the mode of the redemption of the land tax, and on creating facilities for its purchase by freeing it from troublesome formalities. He should propose, that upon a simple notice given to the collector, by any person desirous of redeeming his land tax, the collector might be allowed to charge his tax double or treble, as might be agreed upon, for a certain number of years respectively, at the close of which the process of redemption should terminate; and that the produce of such tax should be annually applied to the redemption of the national debt. In the second place, he should propose, that on all loans hereafter to be contracted, there should be a provision made for discharging the debt. There was a third proposition to which he wished to call the attention of the house: it was his intention to submit a measure for the repeal of part of the act of 1802, regarding the sinking fund. The sinking fund should be sacredly supported to a certain amount; but he believed it might be shown that its enormous increase, by throwing into the market immense sums of money at one time, would produce effects similar to those of a national bankruptcy. When the establishment of the sinking fund was proposed by Mr. Pitt, in 1786, the national debt amounted to nearly two hundred and forty millions—a sum of which few then living ever hoped to see the redemption, but which, by the steady perseverance of parliament, in this important measure, had already been redeemed; while, within the same period, two hundred millions of war taxes had been paid by the unexampled exertions of the country. Having entered into various other statements, he said, by the plan now proposed, a gradual and equitable reduction of the debt might be provided for with great and immediate advantage to the public; it would only be necessary to enact, that the debt first contracted should be deemed first to be paid off, whether purchased by the sinking fund originally provided for its redemption, or

not. In order, however, effectually to secure the means of redeeming all future loans within forty-five years, and to preserve a proper proportion between the sinking fund and the unredeemed debt, it would be expedient to enact, that whenever the sum borrowed in any year should exceed the sum to be paid off, a sinking fund should be provided for the excess of loan, equal to one half of its interest ; and for the remainder of the loan, or for the whole, if not exceeding the amount to be redeemed within the year, a sinking fund of one per cent. conformable to the act of 1792. This arrangement involved the repeal of those provisions of the act of 1802, under which the whole sinking fund then existing was directed to accumulate at compound interest. Till the complete redemption of the debt which then remained unredeemed, it would be proper to make good to the sinking fund the annual sum of 870,000*l.* which would have been appropriated to the different sums provided for in 1802, if that consolidation had not taken place, and if those sums had been accompanied by the usual redeeming fund of one per cent. If this plan were adopted, no fresh taxes would be required for four years, except about one million for the year 1813. After this developement of the new plan of finance, the chancellor of the exchequer read the resolutions grounded upon it, which he proposed to submit to the committee, and which were ultimately passed without any essential alterations.

In submitting to the house the proposed ways and means for the year, in case his plan with respect to the sinking fund should be adopted, the chancellor of the exchequer stated, that the sum to be raised was 1,136,000*l.* for which he meant to provide by an additional duty on tobacco, in lieu of the proposed auction duty of last year ; additional duties on the consolidated customs, with some exceptions ; an additional duty of thirteen-pence per bottle on French wines ; an increased duty of two-thirds on goods imported from France and her dependencies ; an increase generally of one half the present amount of the war duties on exports ; and an additional duty of one penny per lb. on the export of foreign hides. These resolutions, which proposed taxes as little burthensome as possible, were agreed to with expressions of satisfaction.

The non-residence of the parochial clergy, and the necessitous and degraded condition of numbers of those who were appointed to perform their duty, had long been a subject of scandal and regret to the friends of the establishment, and various plans had been proposed for removing these evils. That of augmenting the stipends of curates, and making them bear some proportion to the livings, was one of the most obvious ;



and a bill for this purpose was accordingly introduced into parliament this session by the Earl of Harrowby.\*

To this bill it was objected, that it would operate oppressively by the generality of its enactments; that it would destroy the subordination of ranks, so necessary to the well-being of the ecclesiastical government; that the curate would be at variance with the incumbent, and that a collision between the inferior and the higher orders of the clergy would be perpetually occurring.† The non-residence of the clergy, it was said, was attributable to the want of houses, the poverty of the benefices, and pluralities; evils which would be augmented by this bill, which might be regarded as a bill of confiscation and forfeiture of the smaller livings; and which, by reducing their value, would make them subject to be purchased by a fund, which was busily employed in buying up livings, with a view of filling them with persons holding doctrines most injurious to the church and to sound christianity.‡

The advocates of the bill did not consider the property of the church as private property belonging to individuals, but as belonging to the church as a whole. Much had been said about the poverty of the church, but it was rich enough, and the only defect was in the unequal distribution of its revenues. One of its indispensable duties was to provide a resident clergyman for every parish in the kingdom, which was the principle of the present bill, and its provisions were well calculated to produce that effect.§

This bill, which was warmly contested in all its stages, was at its third reading carried in the house of lords, on the 21st of May, by a majority of thirty-seven to twenty-two voices, and was in the course of the session passed into a law.

Two days previous to the third reading of the stipendiary curates' bill, an important appeal case regarding the Scottish law of marriages was heard in the house of lords, *M'Adam v. Adam*. Mr. M'Adam, a gentleman of very large fortune

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\* By the provisions of this bill, non-resident incumbents are required to have a resident curate, to whom the bishop is required to assign a salary proportioned to the gross value of the benefice, namely, the salary to be allowed by the incumbent to his curate in no case to be less than 80*l.* per annum, or the whole value of the benefice if that be less than 80*l.*; nor less than 100*l.* or the whole value of the benefice in parishes the population of which amounts to 300 persons; nor less than 120*l.* or the whole value of living, in parishes with a population of 500 persons; nor less than 150*l.* or the whole amount in parishes with a population of 1,000 persons; and when the benefice exceeds 400*l.* clear annual value, though the population be less than 300 persons, the bishop of the diocese has a power to appoint to the stipendiary curate a salary of 100*l.* per annum.

† The Bishops of London and Worcester.

‡ Lord Ellenborough.

§ Lord Redesdale.

in Ayrshire, kept a mistress in his house for many years, and had children by her. One morning he called the servants into the room where he and his mistress were at breakfast, and taking her by the hand, declared, in their presence, that she was his wife. The same day he shot himself. The question therefore was, whether this was a valid marriage, and consequently the children legitimate? and upon the decision of this question depended the succession to a real estate of 10,000*l.* per annum. The result was, that the marriage was pronounced to be valid; by which decision it may be considered as finally established, that by the law of Scotland as it at present stands, a mere verbal declaration of marriage, by the parties themselves, deliberately made, in the presence of witnesses, constitutes a valid marriage, provable by the testimony of the witnesses without any writing or any other ceremony civil or ecclesiastical.

The most momentous and permanently interesting question which came before parliament during the season of 1812, was that which related to the renewal of the charter of the East India Company. This question, at all times important, from the magnitude and extension of the subject it embraced, became peculiarly so at the period when it was brought under discussion, both on account of the existing circumstances of the mother country, and the embarrassment of the affairs of the East India Company. The trade and commerce of Britain had suffered very considerably by the exclusion of our produce and manufactures from the continent of Europe, and from the United States of America. The capital of our merchants was consuming itself idly and unprofitably in immense stocks of goods, for which they could find no purchasers; the manufacturers were reduced to a state of great distress; and as a natural and unavoidable consequence, the national taxes had diminished in their produce, while the increased parish rates pressed heavily even upon those who stood themselves in need of parochial relief. Under such circumstances it was not to be wondered at that the East India market was looked forward to with anxious expectation, and that the merchants and manufacturers became deeply interested in their opposition to the renewal of the exclusive charter of the East India Company. Nor were the circumstances of the company less calculated to give importance to the subject now to be brought under the consideration of parliament: for many years the public affairs of the company had gone on so ill, that they had contracted a debt of nearly thirty millions sterling, which was continually increasing, though the company were dividing annually an interest upon their capital of upwards of ten per



cent. But there were other reasons of a more general nature which operated with some persons in their objections to the renewal of the charter. Monopolies they held must be injurious to the community, and probably not very profitable to those in whose favour they were granted, for it is the effect of monopoly, not only to injure those whom it excludes, but very frequently even to be prejudicial to those on whom it is bestowed.

All the out-ports, debarred from a participation in the East India trade, and many of the manufacturing districts, concurred in the resolution, of urging what they regarded as the just claims of all citizens, to share in the public advantages ; while the company itself, and the bodies connected with it by a common interest, prepared to take measures against the menaced attack. This subject was brought before parliament as early as the session of 1811, but it was not till the present session that government was prepared to bring forward their final arrangements for the future government of India.

On the 22d of March, Lord Castlereagh rose in his place in the house of commons, to discharge a duty unprecedented in any other state. The house had to provide for the happiness, comfort, and government of a body of men, exceeding in a three-fold amount, the population of the parent state. The term of the existing charter of the East India Company would expire in May, 1814, and in renewing the charter, his majesty's ministers had to consider three propositions—Whether the existing government in India should be allowed to continue in its present state—whether an entire change should take place in the system—or whether a middle course should be adopted.

With respect to the first, he was strongly impressed with the conviction, that the present system could not with propriety be persevered in by the legislature. There was no reason for tying up, during the period of another charter, the commerce of the country from half the habitable globe, by placing it under the administration of the company alone, and excluding all other persons except foreigners. The commercial sphere was become too extended for the limited powers of a chartered company, and it was the duty of parliament not to consign the private trade to the control of their shipping system. The other alternative, of abolishing the present system, he was certainly not disposed to admit, unless all arrangements between the company and the public should appear impracticable. Dismissing then the two extremes of the question, he should proceed to state those modifications of the existing system which were to be subject to certain resolutions to be laid be-

fore the committee. After explaining the nature and purpose of these resolutions they were handed to the chairman of the committee and read : They opened with a declaration,

That it is expedient that all the privileges, authorities, and immunities granted to the East India Company, shall continue and be in force for the further term of twenty years, except as far as the same may hereinafter be modified and repealed. The second resolution provides, that the present restraints on the commercial intercourse with China, and the company's exclusive trade in tea, shall be continued. The third and fourth contain a permission to any of his majesty's subjects to export to, and import from, all ports within the limits of the company's charter, China excepted, such goods, wares, &c. as are allowed by law. The fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth, provide that warehouses at the said ports be deemed safe for the purposes of the revenue ; that the vessels in which goods are imported and exported, be of the burthen of at least three hundred and fifty tons ; and that on approaching port they notify their arrival by a manifesto. The ninth contains regulations as to the importation and sale of silk and hair goods. The tenth regulates the application of the company's revenues : 1. To the payment of the troops and support of the forts. 2. To liquidate the debts on bills of exchange. 3. Other debts except bond debts. 4. To pay a dividend of ten per cent. and a contingent half per cent. 5. To liquidate the bond debts until they amount to ten millions in India and three millions in England. 6. The surplus profits to be divided in the ratio of five-sixths to government and one sixth to the company, and a provision for paying the capital stock. The eleventh resolution regards the employment of India shipping ; the twelfth makes provision for the support and return of Lascars brought to England in private vessels ; the thirteenth grants pensions and gratuities by the company ; the fourteenth regards the appointments to the different presidencies ; and the fifteenth places the church establishment in the British territories in India, under the superintendence of a bishop and three archdeacons.

On a question of so much importance, it was deemed necessary to hear evidence at the bar ; and on the 30th of March the examination of witnesses commenced at the bar of the house of commons, before a committee of the whole house. Warren Hastings, Esq. was the first witness called, and the mass of facts and opinions produced by the different witnesses, constituted a body of evidence sufficient to fill a volume. The individuals examined were principally those who had occupied high stations in India ; and the general tendency of their evidence was certainly against opening the trade, and decidedly against allowing missionaries to repair to the east for the purpose of proselyting the natives to the christian faith. On the 31st of May, when the evidence had been gone through in the two houses of parliament, Lord Castlereagh moved his first resolution, which, after a long and animated debate, was agreed to without a division. The second and third resolutions were carried in the same way. The 11th resolution, regarding the employment of India built ships, was withdrawn at the request of Lord Castlereagh. The subject continued before the two houses of parliament till the 22d of June. The ardent zeal for religion, which is a prominent feature of



the present time, had now displayed itself in a great number of petitions to parliament, from different places and various religious communities in the island, praying that, in the new arrangements for the government of India, provision should be made for the instruction of the natives in the principles of the christian faith: and so much attention had been paid to these applications, that an addition was made to the 13th resolution to the effect—"that such measures ought to be adopted as might tend to the introduction of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement, among the natives of the British dominions in India; and that, in furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities should be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to, and remaining in, India, for the purpose of accomplishing these benevolent designs."

Lord Castlereagh said it was not intended to encourage an unrestrained resort of persons to India for religious purposes; but that a certain number of persons, under the cognizance of the court of directors, who were again controlled by the board of commissioners, were to be allowed to proceed to the British possessions as missionaries. A long debate ensued, in which Mr. Wilberforce particularly distinguished himself as the advocate of the resolution, and which terminated in a division of the house, when there appeared for the resolution eighty-nine, and against it thirty-six voices. On the clause providing that twenty thousand troops should be maintained in India, being read, Lord Castlereagh said, that our territory in the east had trebled in extent since the year 1793, and that it was in consequence requisite to increase the military establishment. All the resolutions, with the alterations specified above, were ultimately passed, and a bill grounded upon them came to its third reading in the house of commons on the 13th of July. In the the lords the progress of the bill was much more silent than the commons; few members seemed to interest themselves in its provisions after they had stated their opinions generally at its first introduction. At the close of the session this highly important measure passed into a law, and the path taken by government in forming the resolutions on which the bill was grounded, although, perhaps, not perfectly satisfactorily to any party, was, on whole, the course dictated by wisdom and enlightened policy.

When the question respecting the renewal of the charter was first agitated, the directors and proprietors of the East India Company assumed high ground, and seemed disposed not to accept of a new charter, unless it were granted them on their own terms; but when they witnessed the firmness of government, and perceived that the nation was against their







C. Goodman Sculp.

*The Duke of Wellington*

exclusive pretensions, their tone changed, and they congratulated each other on the attainment of a charter, that in some respects had exceeded their most sanguine expectations.\* Some years must necessarily elapse before the real and permanent effects of opening the trade to India, either in a political or commercial point of view, or as they will operate on the situation and character of the natives, can be clearly and accurately ascertained. In all great political and commercial changes, much confusion and partial evil must at first result; it requires a considerable time to elapse before every thing adjusts itself to the new order of things; and till this adjustment takes place, any judgment that is formed must be rash, premature, and unjust.

## CHAPTER XXI.

*SPANISH CAMPAIGN: Plan of Operations—Relative Force of the Contending Armies—Advance of the Allies—Madrid finally abandoned by the French—Battle of Vittoria—The Invading Army driven across the Spanish Frontier—Operations on the Eastern Coast of Spain—under General Sir John Murray—under Lord William Bentinck—Marshal Soult appointed Lieutenant-General of the French Army—Unsuccessful Effort to relieve the Fortresses of St. Sebastian and Pampluna—Battle of the Pyrenees—Fall of St. Sebastian—of Pampluna—Invasion of France by the Army under Lord Wellington.*

AT no period since the breaking out of the Spanish revolution in 1808, had the prospect of expelling the French from the peninsula assumed so bright an aspect as at the commencement of the campaign of 1813. Bonaparte, from the dreadful reverses he had sustained in Russia, and from the consequences of these reverses with which he was still threatened, had been compelled to withdraw from Spain, not merely a considerable portion of his best troops, but also some of his most able and experienced generals; and the corps which were left, knowing, though probably imperfectly, the reasons which had induced the emperor to diminish their numbers at so critical a period, could not take the field with that confidence which often secures the success it anticipates. These circumstances, so unfavourable to the enemy, operated greatly to the advantage of the allies. The army under Lord Wellington, fully acquainted with all the disasters suffered by the French in the northern campaign of 1812, and knowing that their own victories and achievements were cited in order to

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\* Speech of Mr R. Thornton, at a General Court held at the India House, July 21, 1813.



encourage the German and the Russian soldiers, felt themselves called upon by every sentiment of duty and honour to sustain the renown they had acquired.

Lord Wellington, whose active mind was never unoccupied, had spent the early months of the year in organizing his army ; and in making such arrangements as would accelerate and secure the completion of a plan, which had for its ultimate object the expulsion of the enemy from the territory of Spain. With this view he divided his force into three parts : the centre, composed chiefly of light troops, he commanded in person ; and his lordship soon proved that the vigour with which the campaign was meant to be prosecuted, would compensate for the advanced season at which it was commenced. The command of the right was confided to Sir Rowland Hill, who was appointed to move in a parallel direction with the commander-in-chief, on the left bank of the Douro ; and these movements were to be made subservient to the advance of the main body of the army under Sir Thomas Graham. The objects and immediate end of the plan formed by Lord Wellington were, first to drive the enemy before him to the Pyrenees, and thence into France ; secondly, by flank movements, to bring them to action ; and thirdly, to destroy their depots and magazines at Valladolid, Burgos, Vittoria, Tolosa, and Irun, and to clear the provinces of Biscay, Navarre, and Arragon.

Having disclosed the grand feature of the campaign, it may be proper to advert to the numerical strength of the hostile armies. The British army had received a strong reinforcement of twenty thousand men after the battle of Salamanca, and discipline had been restored by strict regulations, and enforced during the period of repose. The disposable troops, at the opening of the campaign, were estimated at about eighty thousand British and Portuguese, with upwards of forty thousand Spanish regulars, besides a considerable guerilla force, which was hourly increasing. On the left of the combined British and Portuguese force, the Spanish Galician army was destined to manœuvre, and to act with Sir Thomas Graham, if circumstances should demand their co-operation ; and on their right, the troops of Castanos, Don Carlos d'España, and other Spanish generals, were posted. Of the numerical strength which the enemy were at this time enabled to oppose to Lord Wellington, it is difficult to form an estimate. From the cause already assigned, it is probable that their armies of the north, the centre, Portugal, and the south, which distinctive appellations they still very inappropriately retained, did not exceed sixty thousand men, of whom

the relative numbers of cavalry and infantry were in about the same proportion as in the allied army. If, however, the French were much lower in numbers than the allies, and still more inferior to them in respect to general and moral feeling, they had greatly the advantage in point of position. In this respect the enemy was indeed formidable. He was supported by fortresses and fastnesses, all along the line of his retreat, beginning with Zamora and Toro, and thence extending through the vallies of the Pisuerga and Arlanzon, to Burgos, Pancorvo, and Miranda. From the strength of these positions, and the extreme activity which the French had displayed in repairing the fortifications of Burgos, it was expected that the progress of the allies at the beginning of the campaign would be slow, harrassing, and difficult; but from some cause not explained, and certainly not easily conjectured, the enemy resolved to abandon all their strong positions.

On the 24th of May, the advanced guard of the allies moved from Ciudad Rodrigo on Salamanca, and on the 26th that city was occupied by General Fane, who pursued the rear guard of the French, and took two hundred prisoners, near Huerta. On the 27th and 28th, Lord Wellington assigned cantonments to General Hill's column between the Tormes and the Douro, and repaired in person to Miranda de Douro, where he arrived on the 29th with the column under the orders of General Graham. On the 1st of June the English hussars entered Zamora, and on the following day entered Toro.

The French force on the Douro being unable to arrest the rapid advance of the allies, their army at Madrid was placed in a very critical situation. To remain in the centre of the kingdom was to expose this portion of the army to the danger of being cut off from the high road leading to the French frontier; it was therefore determined to abandon the capital without a struggle, and on the 27th of May, all the French troops in Madrid and on the Tagus, began their retreat in the direction of the Douro, which river they crossed on the 3d of June.

On the 13th Lord Wellington arrived at Burgos, where the French, who were rapidly retreating before him, had blown up the inner walls of the castle with so much precipitancy, that thirty of the garrison perished by the explosion. From Burgos they continued their flight on the main road to the Ebro, with the intention of placing that river between themselves and the advancing army. Lord Wellington, aware of this intention, ordered Sir Thomas Graham to make a movement on the left, towards the upper part of the Ebro;



and this operation was performed with so much celerity and success, that on the 15th he arrived at the bridge of Arrano, and on the following day the main army crossed that river at Quintana, in the neighbourhood of Frias.

The passage of the Ebro having been thus fortunately accomplished, the British general directed his march to Vittoria, which city the French had made their central depot in the frontier provinces. Here Joseph Bonaparte, having Marshal Jourdan as his major-general, had taken up a position in front of the city. On the 20th the two armies were in presence of each other. The French had their left wing stationed on the heights between Arunez and Puebla d'Arlanzon, their centre on a height which commanded the valley of Zadora, and their right wing resting upon Vittoria. Lord Wellington, having determined to dislodge the enemy from these positions, commenced the attack on the following day by a successful movement made on the part of Sir Rowland Hill, who at the beginning of the action drove the enemy from the important heights of Puebla, and took possession of Subijana de Alava. The French generals soon became sensible of the importance of the position they had lost, and Joseph Bonaparte and Marshal Jourdan repaired in person to encourage the troops to regain the village of Subijana ; but all their efforts proved unavailing, and after an arduous contest, Sir Rowland Hill remained master both of the village and the heights. During this conflict the Hon. Lieutenant-colonel Cadogan, an officer of distinguished zeal and tried gallantry, fell at the head of his regiment, and General Murillo was seriously wounded, but refused to quit the field.

The difficulties of the country retarded for some time the advance of the columns of the allies ; and it was not till a late hour in the day that the commander-in-chief learned, that the column composed of the 3d and 7th divisions, under the command of the Earl of Dalhousie, had arrived at their station. The 4th and light divisions passed the Zadora immediately after Sir Rowland Hill had obtained possession of Subijana de Alava, the former at the bridge of Nauclaus, and the latter at the bridge of Tres Puentes ; while the 3d division, under Sir Thomas Picton, crossed the bridge higher up the river, and was followed by the 7th, under the Earl of Dalhousie. These four divisions, forming the centre of the allied army, were destined to attack the heights on which the right of the enemy's centre was placed ; while Sir Rowland Hill should move forward from Subijana to the attack of the left. The enemy, having weakened his line to strengthen his detachment on the hills, abandoned his position in the valley, and commenced

his retreat in the direction of Vittoria, towards which city the allied troops continued to advance in good order, notwithstanding the difficulty of the ground.

In the mean time, Sir Thomas Graham, who commanded the left of the army, consisting of the 1st and 5th divisions, and Generals Pack and Bradford's brigades of infantry, with the brigades of cavalry under Generals Bock and Anson, moved forward from Margina towards Vittoria, accompanied by the Spanish division under Colonel Longa and General Giron. The enemy, with a division of infantry, and a body of cavalry, advanced on the great road from Vittoria to Bilboa, resting their right on the strong heights which cover the village of Gamarra Major, and occupying the *tetes de pont* to the bridges over the Zadora at Gamarra and Abechucho. It now became necessary that the position of the enemy should be turned, and General Pack, with his Portuguese brigade, and Colonel Longa, with the Spanish division, were directed to turn and gain the heights, supported by Major-general Anson's brigade of light dragoons, and the 5th division of infantry, under the command of Major-general Oswald, to whom the command of all these troops was confided. In the execution of this service, which was performed with great gallantry and success, the whole of the Spanish and Portuguese force behaved most admirably; but the 4th and 8th caçadores particularly distinguished themselves. No sooner were the heights in possession of the allies, than the village of Gamarra Major was stormed and carried by the 5th brigade, under Brigadier-general Robinson; which advanced to the charge in columns of battalions, under a heavy fire of artillery and musketry, without firing a shot, and after storming the place, captured three pieces of cannon.

Sir Thomas Graham, supported by General Bradford's brigade of Portuguese infantry, now proceeded to attack the village of Abechucho, with the first division, by forming a strong battery against it, consisting of Doubourdieu's brigade, and Captain Romsey's troop of horse artillery, under the cover of whose fire Colonel Walkett's brigade advanced to the attack of the village, which was carried at the point of the bayonet, the light battalion having charged and taken three guns and a howitzer on the bridge. During the operations at Abechucho, the enemy made the most vigorous efforts to repossess themselves of the village of Gamarra Major, but they were gallantly repulsed by the troops of the 5th division, under the command of General Oswald, and at length, finding all their endeavours unavailing, they desisted from the attack. The enemy had still two divisions of infantry in reserve on the



heights to the left of the Zadora, and it was found impossible for the allies to cross the bridges until the troops which had moved upon his centre and left had driven this reserved corps through Vittoria. This service having been admirably performed, the enemy gave way in every direction, and the whole of the allied army was brought into communication, and co-operated in the pursuit.

The movements of the troops under Sir Thomas Graham having, by the occupation of Gamarra and Abechicho, intercepted the enemy's retreat by the high road to France, the vanquished army was obliged to turn to the road towards Pampluna; but even in this direction the fugitives were unable to hold any position for a sufficient length of time to allow their baggage and artillery to be drawn off, and so complete was their rout and dismay, that they were enabled to carry off only one solitary gun, and one howitzer. The trophies of this decisive victory were numerous and splendid: one hundred and fifty-one pieces of cannon, and four hundred and fifteen ammunition waggons, were captured. The costly and sumptuous appendages of the fugitive king's household, the baton or staff of Marshal Jourdan, and, in a word, the whole *materiel* of the discomfited army, fell into the hands of the victors. The total loss sustained by the allied armies on this memorable day, was seven hundred and forty killed, and four thousand one hundred and seventy wounded. The loss of the enemy is not stated in Lord Wellington's despatches, but the number of killed and wounded has been estimated at from six to ten thousand. The prisoners were few; night favoured the escape of the vanquished, and the rich booty, which every where presented itself on the field of glory, induced the victors, like so many Atalantas, to stop in their way to gather the golden harvest.

The joy and congratulation with which the intelligence of the victory of Vittoria was received in England, cannot be described. Every man was sensible that this victory bore, on its very front, more decisive marks of usefulness, as well as of glory, than any of the former victories which Lord Wellington had gained. Many of his former triumphs had been obtained at a great cost of blood, without any permanent advantage; but the victory of Vittoria presented a happy and glorious contrast to some of the barren victories of former campaigns; the rout of the enemy was complete, extensive, and signal; each successive day proved its magnitude and importance; the enemy had lost all his artillery, which, with a French army, is of a value inestimable; but above all, the moral effect of this achievement transcended all Lord Wellington's previous

victories. The British government and people displayed their sense of his high deserts in the most marked and gratifying manner; the marshal's staff captured on the occasion had been sent over to the prince regent, who in return created Lord Wellington a field-marshal; and the Spanish government, as a proof of their sense of obligation for his services, elevated him to the rank of Duke of Vittoria.\*

The victory of Vittoria was followed up with that promptitude and decision which marks the character of the British general. Little time was lost in pursuing the fugitive army, and investing the strong fortresses, which now formed the last hold of the enemy in Spain. General Clausel, ignorant of the defeat of his countrymen, had approached Vittoria with part of the army of the north; but no sooner had he ascertained the result of the action of the 21st of June, than he retired precipitately towards Logrono, and remained in the neighbourhood of that place till the afternoon of the 25th: Lord Wellington, having sent a division of light troops towards Roncesvalles, in pursuit of the army under Joseph Bonaparte, moved a large force towards Logrono and Tudela, in hopes of intercepting the retreat of General Clausel. The French general, having crossed the Ebro in front of Tudela, marched towards Saragossa, and after leaving a detachment of troops under General Paris, passed by a circuitous route through Jaca across the Pyrenees. Mina, the guerilla chief, followed General Paris, with his usual activity, and took from him two pieces of cannon, and three hundred prisoners, while Sir Rowland Hill moved through the mountains to the head of the Bidassoa, over which river the enemy had retired into France.

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\* LETTER FROM THE PRINCE REGENT TO LORD WELLINGTON.

*"Carlton-House, July 3, 1813.*

"MY DEAR LORD,—Your glorious conduct is beyond all human praise, and far above my reward; I know no language the world affords worthy to express it. I feel I have nothing left to say, but devoutly to offer up my prayers of gratitude to Providence, that it has, in its omnipotent bounty, blessed my country and myself with such a general. You have sent me, among the trophies of your unrivalled fame, the staff of a French marshal, and I send you in return that of England. The British army will hail it with enthusiasm, while the whole universe will acknowledge those valorous efforts which have so imperiously called for it. That uninterrupted health, and still increasing laurels, may continue to crown you through a glorious and long career of life, are the never ceasing and most ardent wishes of

"My dear Lord,

"Your most sincere and faithful friend,

*"The Marquis of Wellington."*

*"G. P. R."*



While these events took place on the right of the allied army, General Graham, with the left wing, composed chiefly of Spaniards and Portuguese, was not inactive. The French now found it necessary to evacuate all their stations in Biscay, except Santona and St. Sebastian, and uniting their garrisons to the division of the army of the north, stationed at Bilboa, they assembled a force more considerable than had at first been expected. The first effort of this force was made at the junction of the road from Pampluna to Bayonne, where they posted themselves on a hill commanding the two roads, with a determination to maintain that position. A vigorous attack, commanded by Colonel Williams, however, quickly dislodged them from the eminence, and obliged them to retreat into Tolosa. The last stand made by the enemy was on the Bidassoa, which river, rising in the Pyrenean mountains, and falling into the Bay of Biscay at Fontarabia, forms the line of demarkation between France and Spain ; but a brigade of the Spanish army of Galicia, under the command of General Castanos, forced him over the bridge, and obliged him to abandon the peninsula in this quarter.

Though the right and left wings of the French army were now withdrawn into France, three divisions of the centre, under General Gazan, remained in the fertile valley of Bastan, where, under cover of the strong positions with which they were surrounded, they hoped still to maintain a footing in Spain. But here again their expectations were disappointed ; on the 4th, 5th, and 7th of July, they were dislodged from all their posts by two brigades of British, and two of Portuguese infantry, under Sir Rowland Hill, and compelled, after an arduous contest, to cross the Spanish frontier.

The plan formed by Lord Wellington for the operations of the peninsular campaign of 1813, was not merely confined to the movements of the main army in the north of Spain, but embraced the operations of the "expeditionary army" in the east, under Sir John Murray, which had been so long cooped up in Alicant, but which was now free, and destined to act against Suchet in Catalonia. In the general plan of the campaign, the army of Sir John Murray was to act with the Spanish army, for the purpose of keeping Marshal Suchet in check, and to make an assault, and if possible, to possess itself of Tarragona. The troops in the east remained in a state of inactivity till the middle of April, when the Anglo-Sicilian army, under Sir John Murray, left Alicant and advanced to Castella, while General Elio took post at Yesla and Villena. Suchet, who soon discovered that the different corps to which he was opposed were not in a state of proper combi-

nation, collected his whole disposable force, and on the 11th of April attacked Villena with so much success, that the garrison, consisting of one thousand men, were obliged to surrender at discretion. Having thus succeeded against the Spaniards, he proceeded to the attack of the British positions, and on the 12th, at noon, assailed their advanced posts at Biar. The resistance made to the assailants was vigorously maintained for five hours against superior force, and the British troops at length fell back upon the main body only in compliance with the orders of their general. Suchet, undismayed by this reception, proceeded, on the following day, to attack the position at Castella, where the British were concentrated. After having displayed all his cavalry, he advanced a corps of two thousand infantry, with a view of forcing the left of the line, which was covered by the van-guard of General Whittingham ; but the troops whom he encountered at this point, received the attack with so much steadiness that they allowed the enemy to approach to the very point of their bayonets, when they charged the French column, and killed, wounded, or made prisoners, a large portion of the assailants. The result of this attempt upon the English lines obliged Suchet to change his plan of operations into a series of movements, and finally to retreat for his camp at St. Phelipe. Sir John Murray immediately ordered nine battalions of infantry and one thousand cavalry, with ten pieces of artillery, to pursue the fugitives, and the loss inflicted upon the enemy's retreating columns was very severe. In this action Suchet made his first experiment on the valour of British troops, and the result served to convince him that he had no longer to contend with those depositories of panic to which he had hitherto been so frequently opposed.

Soon after the battle of Castella, Lord Wellington transmitted instructions to Sir John Murray, dated the 14th of April, directing him to embark his troops at Alicant, and to effect a landing in Catalonia, for the purpose of undertaking the siege of Tarragona, in concert with a British squadron stationed off this part of the coast of Spain, under the command of Admiral Hollowell, a most active and enterprising officer. On the 2d of June the fleet destined for this expedition anchored to the eastward of the Point of Salon ; on the 3d, soon after sun-rise, the debarkation of the troops commenced ; and in the course of that day the whole of the infantry, with some field pieces, were landed. Tarragona was immediately reconnoitred and invested, the point of attack was decided upon, and a place fixed upon for the depot of artillery stores. Between the 4th and 11th, five batteries were constructed, and the fire was kept up



with great spirit. During the latter day, Major Thackaray, the chief officer of engineers, having reported that he was now perfectly prepared to push the siege with vigour, the fire on the *Fuerte Reale* was increased, and it was decided to storm that work during the night. The intelligence, however, which General Murray received late in the evening, of the approach of Marshal Suchet, and of the march of a French column from Barcelona, prevented him from carrying his intention into execution, and determined him to raise the siege and re-embark his troops.

General Murray, in defence of his conduct for raising the siege, stated, that very large French armies were advancing to the relief of the place, and that Marshal Suchet, after leaving twenty thousand men to garrison the cities of Valencia and Catalonia, had still under his command a disposable force of twenty-four thousand veteran troops. To oppose this army the British general stated that he had about thirteen thousand men under his immediate command, exclusive of the force under General Copons, which amounted to eight thousand five hundred men, without pay, without discipline, without a single piece of cannon, without the means of subsistence, and totally incapable of acting in the field. The allied army therefore consisted of twenty-one thousand five hundred men, of whom four thousand five hundred only were British and German troops, and the remainder Sicilians, Calabrese, and Spaniards, the armies of the allies being moreover greatly inferior in point of cavalry to the enemy.

The embarkation of the troops, which was completed on the 17th, was made with so much precipitation, that the guns in the most advanced batteries of the allies were abandoned, and the conduct of Sir John Murray became exposed to severe animadversion. But after a most ample investigation of the conduct of this officer before a court of military inquiry, he was acquitted of all the charges brought against him, except that by which he was accused of having "unnecessarily abandoned a considerable quantity of artillery and stores, which he might have embarked in safety." This part of his conduct was, however, ascribed merely to "an error of judgment;" and nothing followed upon the decision, as the case did not appear to the prince regent to call for the admonition pointed out by the court.

Lord William Bentinck, on whom the command of the Anglo-Sicilian army now devolved, did not attempt, in the first instance, to renew the expedition against Tarragona; but, joining himself to the Spanish armies under the Duc del Parque, Elio, and Villacampa, proceeded, in concert with

them, to attack the French forces in Valencia. What resistance Suchet might have made under more favourable circumstances, it is impossible to say, but the triumphant passage of the Ebro by Lord Wellington left him no alternative but retreat. On the 5th of July he evacuated Valencia, and retired towards the Ebro, leaving garrisons in Peniscola, Murviedro, and Denia. The French having retired upon Barcelona, the allies blockaded Tortosa, and prepared to renew the siege of Tarragona. Suchet, having formed a determination to make an effort to relieve this city, united to his army all the troops which could be spared from Barcelona, and the neighbouring garrisons, and by this means assembled a force of nearly twenty-five thousand men. With these troops he forced his way into Tarragona; but instead of attempting to preserve the place, he addressed himself with great diligence to the destruction of the works, and having accomplished that duty, he withdrew the garrison, and again retired towards Barcelona.

Early in the month of September, the allied army undertook a forward movement, encouraged by the belief that a very considerable part of the French forces in the principality of Catalonia had been recently withdrawn. Under this persuasion, Lord William Bentinck established his army on the road to Barcelona, extending to the Lobregat mountains. The advance, under General Sarsfield, was placed in the pass of Ordal, a post of great strength, that commanded the communication between Barcelona and Tarragona. At this juncture intelligence arrived that Suchet was collecting his army, and that twelve thousand men had already united at Molino del Rey. At midnight, on the 22d of September, the French made their threatened attack upon the pass of Ordal, with numbers so greatly superior, that the Spanish corps was driven from all its positions, surrounded, and forced to save itself by dispersion among the mountains, leaving a considerable number of prisoners and four pieces of cannon in the hands of the enemy. The British army, finding themselves unequal to withstand the victorious force of the enemy, immediately broke up, and set out in full retreat, closely pursued by the enemy, towards Tarragona. The cavalry, however, though far inferior in numbers, covered the retiring army with so much gallantry, that Lord William Bentinck arrived in front of Tarragona without sustaining any considerable loss. It being now judged expedient that the great effort against France should be made on the side of the western Pyrenees, the third Spanish army was despatched to co-operate with Lord Wellington, and the remainder of the allied troops, in



the east of the peninsula, continued to act merely on the defensive.

The grand operations in the north of Spain were still prosecuted with the most brilliant success, under the eye of Lord Wellington. Bonaparte, while occupied with the great contest which he was about to wage on the banks of the Elbe, had in some measure neglected the operations of which the peninsula of Spain and Portugal was the theatre. He had recalled thence many of his generals, and even Marshal Soult, who had so long held a distinguished command in Spain, was employed in the German campaign. But now, when, in one short month, the grand army of the invader had been driven across the frontier barrier, and when the finest provinces of France were laid open to invasion, alarm seized the French Emperor, and he perceived that this contest, which, even under the most urgent pressure of other wars, could not be disregarded. Of the immense levies which were at this time raising in France, a portion was destined to fill up the exhausted ranks of the army stationed at the foot of the Pyrenean mountains, within the French frontier; and Marshal Soult, whose talents appeared equal to such an exigency, hastened from Germany to resume the chief command, under the flattering title of "*Lieutenant de l'Empereur.*" This general, in all his campaigns, especially in the south-west of Spain, had evinced more talents than any other of Bonaparte's generals; he was not only more active and energetic, but his activity and energy were accompanied and directed by more method and order; resting on more clear and comprehensive views; and rising in exact proportion to the dangers and difficulties with which he was surrounded. Such an officer might have preserved Spain if it could have been preserved; but he was called to the office when things had become desperate; and destined to command troops dispirited and weakened by repeated defeats, against an army animated by victory, and led on by a general who had never known defeat.

Before the British army could be safely employed in more decisive operations against the enemy, it became necessary to reduce the fortresses of St. Sebastian and Pampluna. These places were rendered strong both by art and nature, especially St. Sebastian, which, from the skill and labour expended upon its fortifications, was not inferior in strength to any place in the peninsula, with the single exception of Gibraltar. Lord Wellington was at this moment by no means free from difficulties: he had to maintain and cover two sieges, conducted at a considerable distance from each other, and in the prosecution of which his army necessarily became divided. The

Pyrenees, though affording strong positions, were unfavourable in several respects to the present arrangement of the allied force ; and the long and deep vallies, divided by lofty parallel chains of mountains, separated the troops, and cut off their communication with each other. The enemy, on the contrary, choosing the line of his advance, could throw his whole force in that direction, and push before him the division by which the pass might be guarded, while the other corps, separated by almost impassable barriers, could lend no prompt and efficient assistance. Upon this position of the allies Soult formed his plan of operations, hoping, by a separate attack upon one of the covering armies, to open a communication with the blockaded fortresses, and to drive the allies behind the Ebro.

The British troops were now about to be engaged, almost for the first time, in that system of mountain warfare, in which the French had hitherto stood unrivalled. The whole range of movements was comparatively small, and the columns were placed among mountains where cavalry could not act, and where cannon could with difficulty be conveyed. In the operations that had taken place subsequent to the battle of Vittoria, the allies had possessed themselves of the principal passes of the western Pyrenees. In front of Soult, at St. Jean Pied de Port, was General Byng's brigade ; Morillo's corps was at the pass of Roncesvalles ; behind, was Sir Lowry Cole, with the 4th division ; General Picton's division being in reserve at Olague. The valley of Bastan was occupied by General Hill, with the second division ; and by the Conde d'Amaranthe's Spanish corps. On one flank were the light and 7th divisions, at Pera, Port d'Echelar, and on the heights of Barbura ; the 6th division was in reserve at St. Estevan, on the Bidassoa ; while General Longra extended the line of communication from the Bidassoa to the Urumea—from a division posted at St. Echelar to Sir Thomas Graham's division, employed before St. Sebastian.

The object of Lord Wellington was to reduce St. Sebastian as speedily as possible ; to blockade and ultimately to reduce Pampluna ; and while he was carrying on these two operations, to watch and defeat the movements of Soult. The French marshal had one great object in view in the first instance, and to effect this purpose he made two movements, the one real and the other a feint. From St. Jean Pied de Port, he led on a force of thirty-five thousand men in person, and bursting through the pass of Roncesvalles, hoped to confound his enemy, and reach Plampluna. The other part of his army



moved upon the valley of Bastan, to force the British position at Port de Maya.

On the 24th of July, Soult attack in great force the position occupied by General Hill; and at the same time, an attack on a much larger scale, with between thirty and forty thousand men, was made upon General Byng's position, with so much vigour, that the allies were overpowered at both points, and compelled to give way. These corps having lost their direct communication with Lord Wellington, were left, unsupported, to defend the blockade of Pampluna against the overwhelming force pouring in to its relief. On the 27th Soult arrived in sight of the walls of Pampluna, but not having yet brought up all his troops, he contented himself with attacking a column placed upon a hill, which formed an important part of the British position. On the 28th, the 6th British division arrived; and the enemy, also reinforced, began a contest of the most furious character. His main effort was directed against the 4th division, under General Picton; but the French were every where repulsed, except at one point, where they obtained possession of a height on which the left of the 4th division was posted; but their success was only momentary, for they were soon attacked by the 7th caçadores, supported by Major-general Ross, at the head of his brigade of the 4th division, and driven from the heights with immense loss. The battle had now become general along the whole front of the heights, and the operations were every where favourable to the allied arms, except where one battalion of the 10th Portuguese regiment was posted. Against this position the enemy advanced, with such overwhelming numbers, that the Portuguese were compelled to give way, and in their retreat exposed the right of General Ross's brigade, who in his turn was compelled to withdraw from his post. No sooner did Lord Wellington perceive this partial defeat, than he ordered the 27th and 48th regiments, first, to charge that portion of the enemy's troops which had succeeded in establishing themselves on the heights, and afterwards those to the left of that position. These orders were instantly carried into execution, in the most gallant style, and with the most distinguished success. British soldiers know that the bayonet is, in a most marked and peculiar sense, their weapon; and the enemy are equally sensible, that when British troops employ this instrument they are invincible.(77.) The enemy, by these charges, were driven

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(77.) By comparing this passage with the letter of the prince regent to Lord Wellington, in a preceding page, the American reader will be able to form some idea of the inordinate national vanity which charac-

from the heights with great loss, and in the utmost confusion, and victory was again restored to the allies in the only place where it seemed wavering. On the 29th and 30th, these two great armies continued to view each other, neither daring to attack the formidable heights on which its antagonist was posted. During this suspension in the work of death, the enemy silently withdrew a considerable body of troops from the front, where the former actions had taken place, and moved them to the right, with a view of attacking the British left, under Sir Rowland Hill. On the 30th General Hill was accordingly attacked, and obliged to fall back from the range of mountains which he occupied to the one immediately behind. But Lord Wellington, seeing the enemy's line weakened, instantly detached the Earl of Dalhousie and Ge-

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terises the English of all ranks. From the prince to the printer, the same tone of lofty and arrogant boasting, the same affected consciousness of superiority over other nations, and the same arrogation of exclusive virtue and talent, is constantly displayed. Does a British general gain a victory, no matter with how superior a force, we find that "the world affords no language worthy to express his praise." Does a part of a British army succeed in dislodging part of the French from a height, we are told that "when British troops employ the bayonet, they are invincible, the bayonet being in a most marked and peculiar sense their weapon." Now, with regard to British troops, we conceive they are about as brave as those of other nations, and no more; and having been of late years well disciplined, and seen a good deal of service, they make very respectable soldiers; but really, if for gaining one or two victories an army is to be forthwith "invincible," and "irresistible," the value of those expressions will in future be considerably lessened, from the competition of other nations; for we believe there are few who at some period of their history have not performed as considerable exploits as any here enumerated. That Lord Wellington has displayed great prudence, and considerable skill, in his military career, no one will deny. His offset was as bad a one as any recorded in military annals; but he improved greatly under the eye of Marshal Massena, and, contrary to all reasonable calculation, ended his last campaign fortunately. But a skilful general is not such a prodigy in other countries, as from the overflowings of the prince regent, and Mr. Baines, we find it to be in England. There is perhaps not one of the French Marshals who has not gained more considerable victories, and displayed greater talents, than Lord Wellington. He has defeated the French, it is true, in several engagements, where he has uniformly had a superiority of numbers, but the field of battle is not the only spot in which the capacity of a general is displayed. It is among the perils of adversity that talent of the highest order is most called into exercise; and few would think of comparing the retreat from Talavera, and that from Burgos, with the retreats of Moreau from Germany, Massena from Portugal, and Ney from Russia. When, therefore, we find the prince regent offering up devoutly his "prayers of gratitude to Providence, that it has in its omnipotent bounty blessed his country and himself with such a general," we are naturally led to conclude, that military genius is a rare commodity in England, and, from its rarity, valued far beyond its intrinsic merit.



neral Picton to drive him from the formidable heights on which his right and left rested; and the operation having been rapidly accomplished, the centre advanced to join in the attack. These efforts were crowned with the most brilliant success, and the enemy, driven from a position "the strongest and most difficult of access ever occupied by troops," were soon in full march towards their own frontier. To cover their retreat, they placed a strong rear-guard in the pass of Donna Maria, from which it was dislodged by the Earl of Dalhousie. The retreat now became a flight; many prisoners were brought in, and a large convoy with baggage was taken at the town of Elizonda. The French endeavoured once more to make a stand at the Puerto d'Echalar, immediately within the Spanish frontier; but two of their divisions were driven from these heights by a British corps, and compelled to pursue the route of the retreating army.

The loss of the enemy in the battle of the Pyrenees, by which name this succession of engagements was designated, was about fifteen thousand, four thousand of whom were made prisoners; while the loss of the allies did not exceed three thousand killed and wounded. Candour demands the acknowledgment, that the enemy, though defeated, did his duty in the field. Soult himself was personally conspicuous, and narrowly escaped being taken; his officers also distinguished themselves most honourably; many were seen, with standards in their hands, heading their regiments, and leading them on in a style of gallantry not often surpassed; while others, with drums beating, at the head of their troops animated them to the conflict; and if such was the conduct of the vanquished, it is unnecessary to say what was the behaviour of the victors. That the result of the battle of the Pyrenees inflicted the most poignant disappointment upon the *Lieutenant de l'Empereur*, may be inferred from his proclamation to the army on taking the command: in this address he states, that he has been sent by the emperor to the command of his armies in Spain, and that, in obedience with his imperial majesty's instructions, it was his intention to drive the British across the Ebro, and to celebrate the emperor's birth-day in the town of Vittoria.

The efforts of the enemy in the field had proved unavailing to avert the impending fate of their fortresses. At St. Sebastian, however, the French Governor, Rey, had displayed more than usual courage and dexterity in fortifying and defending that place. Ever since the beginning of July, General Graham had been occupied in the siege, and on the 17th he took possession of the convent of St. Bartholomew. From this post

he was enabled to establish batteries against the ramparts ; and these batteries were so well served, that the breach was soon judged practicable. On the 22d an English officer was sent to summon the governor to surrender, but being refused admission, an assault was ordered to take place at day-break on the 25th. The storming party, which consisted of about two thousand men, assembled in the trenches, and the explosion of the mine was the appointed signal for advance. The uncovered approach from the trenches to the breach was about three hundred yards in length, before an extensive front of works, and over ground consisting of sea weed and intermediate pools of water. The fire of the place was yet entire, and the breach was flanked by two towers, which, though considerably injured, were still occupied. At five in the morning, the mine was sprung, and destroyed much of the counter scarp and glacis. The enemy, astonished by the suddenness of the explosion, abandoned the works for a moment, and the advance of the storming party reached the breach without any formidable resistance. But the moment they attempted to ascend, the enemy opened a destructive fire, and threw down a profusion of shells from the towers on the flanks, and from the summit of the breach. Notwithstanding the distinguished gallantry of the troops employed, the attack did not succeed, and the assaulting party returned into the trenches with the loss of nearly a hundred men killed and four hundred wounded. The advanced-guard, with Lieutenant Jones at their head, were made prisoners on the breach, and Lieutenant-colonel Sir R. Fletcher was at the same time mortally wounded in the trenches. The troops did their duty ; but it was beyond the power of gallantry to overcome the difficulties by which they were opposed.

The breach having thus proved impracticable, all the operations of the siege were to be recommenced. After this repulse, the first object of the allies was to cut off the communication, which had hitherto been maintained by sea, between the fortress and the coast of France ; and with this view, Sir George Collier, with a party of marines, stormed the island of Santa Clara, at the mouth of the harbour, and took the garrison prisoners. On the 26th of August the batteries were again opened against the fort of St. Sebastian, and the fire was directed principally against the towers which flanked the curtain on the eastern face. On the 30th the breach was deemed practicable ; and on the following day, the columns destined for the attack, consisting of the 2d brigade of the 5th division, under the command of Colonel the Honourable Charles Greville, was ordered to advance, under the imme-



diate direction and superintendence of Sir J. Leith. The moment the column filed out of the right of the trenches, the assailants became exposed to a dreadful fire of shells and grape-shot, and at the same moment the enemy exploded a mine, which did considerable execution, but which neither damped the ardour, nor checked the progress, of the heroic band against which these efforts were directed.

The storming parties had now advanced to the breach ; file succeeded file ; and many desperate efforts were made to gain the summit without effect. " Never was any thing," says Sir Thomas Graham, " so fallacious as the external appearance of the breach. Notwithstanding its great extent, there was but one point where it was possible to enter, and there by single files. All the inside of the wall to the right of the curtain, formed a perpendicular scarp of at least twenty feet to the level of the streets, so that the narrow ridge of the curtain itself, formed by the breaching of its end and front, was the only accessible point. During the suspension of the operations of the siege, from want of ammunition, the enemy had prepared every means of defence which art could devise, so that great numbers of men were covered by intrenchments and traverses in the horn work, on the ramparts of the curtain—and within the town, opposite to the breach, and ready to pour a most destructive fire of musketry on both flanks of the approach to the top of the narrow ridge of the curtain. Every thing that the most determined bravery could attempt, was repeatedly tried in vain by the troops, who were brought forward from the trenches in succession. No man outlived the attempt to gain the ridge ; yet a secure lodgment could never have been obtained without occupying a part of the curtain."

The breach was now covered with troops remaining in the most unfavourable situation, and unable to gain the summit ; upwards of two hours of continued and severe exertion had elapsed, when Sir Thomas Graham adopted a new expedient, and ordered his guns to be turned against the curtain. It was manifest that unless this could be done with almost unexampled precision, the assailants must have suffered more severely than their enemies—for the fire, to be effectual, must be elevated only a few feet above the heads of the allied troops in the breach. Never, perhaps, were the steadiness, coolness, and valour of British troops put to a more arduous trial than on this occasion ; never were the skill and presence of mind of British officers more requisite ; but they ultimately triumphed ; the French began to waver ; the assailants made fresh efforts ; the ravelin and left branch of the horn work were abandoned ; the intrenchment within the breach was soon deserted by the

enemy, and the assailants, mounting over the ruins, gained the curtain, and entered the fortress.

The troops, being now assembled in great numbers, pushed into the town, and the garrison, dispirited by its severe loss, and intimidated by the perseverance and bravery of the besiegers, was quickly driven from all its intrenchments, and compelled to seek refuge in the castle. During this sanguinary day, upwards of five hundred of the assailants were killed, and fifteen hundred wounded. General Graham had no sooner gained possession of the town of St. Sebastian, than he directed his efforts against the castle, and his fire was so effectual and destructive, that on the 8th of September a flag of truce was hoisted by the enemy. After some discussion, the terms of surrender were agreed upon ; when the French troops in the town and fortress, amounting to two thousand six hundred men, became prisoners of war, and were sent to England. (78.)

On the morning of the 31st of August, the day on which St. Sebastian was stormed, Soult made another unsuccessful effort to relieve that city. With this view, he crossed the Bidassoa in great force, and attacked the Spanish troops, posted on the heights of San Marcial, on the left of that river. Never, during the peninsular war, had the Spaniards behaved with such gallantry. The attack, though extending along the whole front of the position of the Spanish troops, was resisted with cool and determined bravery ; and every renewed effort to dislodge them from their position only served to con-

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(78.) The assault of St. Sebastian is said to have been followed by a scene of outrage and horror, equal to any thing recorded in history. Not a word is said on the subject by Mr. Baines, who has given such minute details of French atrocities ; but many of the principal facts have been admitted by other English writers, although their full extent has perhaps not yet been made known. A French author, who displays in general considerable impartiality, gives the following picture of this memorable affair. "On the 31st of August, General Graham ordered an assault, which terminated by the English obtaining possession of the town, with the loss of three thousand men killed in the breach. The French have been reproached with making the peninsula a scene of horror and devastation. Nothing however can equal the crimes committed by the allies on the 31st of August. Neither age nor sex were respected. Friends and enemies were indiscriminately massacred, and the English soldiers may be said to have glutted themselves with blood. The pillage continued four days, under the eyes of the officers, who took no pains to repress these shameful excesses. To put the finishing stroke to their enormities, they left standing only seventeen houses in this once opulent city. These were preserved by a kind of miracle. The rest fell a prey to the flames. Thus was destroyed the capital of Guipascoa, which had devoted itself to Ferdinand, and sacrificed in his cause the flower of its youth."—*Precis Historique de la Guerre d'Espagne*, &c. par A. Carel, p. 165.



vince Soult that the nearer the Spanish forces approached to the frontiers of their country, the more resolution and valour did they display. Lord Wellington, who had not hitherto placed full confidence in the Spanish armies, had posted a British division on each of their flanks; but the valour of the native troops was found equal to the occasion, and no auxiliary aid was necessary to secure their success.

Every thing now indicated the intention of the British commander to cross the Pyrenees, and to carry the war into the heart of France; and this measure was only delayed until the rear of the allied army should be secured by the fall of Pampluna. In the mean time, it appeared expedient to Lord Wellington to cross Bidassoa, and to drive the enemy from the posts which he was fortifying behind that river. On the 7th of October, the allied army, following up this intention, crossed Bidassoa in front of Andaye, and near to the Montagne Verte. The British and Portuguese troops, in performing these operations, took seven pieces of cannon, and the Spaniards, who now began to occupy a distinguished part in the hostile movements against the enemy, crossed the fords above the bridge and added another piece of ordnance to the trophies of the day. At the same time, Major-general Baron Alton made a successful attack on the light division of the enemy at Puerto de Fera, while Don Pegiron attacked and carried the French intrenchments on the mountain of La Riuna. On the morning of the 8th the attack was renewed on the right of the enemy's position, by the same troops, and all his posts were carried in the most gallant manner.

The ulterior object of the campaign was now accomplished; France was entered, and that country, which, for twenty years had never been trodden by a hostile hoof, saw a mighty invading army established within its frontier. A new epoch in the war was thus celebrated—a victory had been gained by a British general within the French territories. How many reflections crowded at once upon the mind! Not ten years had passed since Great Britain was arming her whole population to resist a French invasion, and now her troops were invading France. In 1803 no man doubted but that a descent upon the British shores would be attempted; and the legislature was occupied almost exclusively in devising means to repel the menaced danger. In 1813, almost the first proceeding of the legislature, on the assembling of parliament in the winter of that year, was to vote thanks to the brave troops who had defeated the enemy upon his own territories, and established a British army on the fields of France. History does not furnish an instance of greater crime, or an example of deeper

perfidy, than was exhibited in the invasion of Spain; but mark the result! The unburied bones of half a million of Frenchmen whitened the vallies and mountains of the invaded country. Spain and Portugal were saved, and France, the invader and oppressor, was now herself defeated and invaded.

Lord Wellington, with a delicate and laudable attention to national feeling, had delegated to the Spanish general, Don Carlos d'España, the command of the blockade of Pampluna, and authority to conclude a capitulation. For four months this city resisted all the efforts of the besiegers; but finding at length that all prospects of relief or reinforcement had vanished, the governor, on the 26th of October, proposed to capitulate, on the condition that the garrison should be permitted to march into France with six pieces of cannon. These terms, as might have been foreseen, were peremptorily refused; and on the 31st of that month the fortress surrendered, and the troops were marched to the port of Passages as prisoners of war.

All the impediments which had hitherto stood in the way of the advance of the allies into France were now removed; and the enemy, who had so lately aimed at the entire subjugation of the peninsula, sought only to defend the approaches to his own territories. For this purpose, he established two successive lines of defence—the one along the river Nivelle, the other immediately in the front of Bayonne. These lines, ever since the battle of Vittoria, he had been diligently employed in fortifying, and until he was driven from them, the British troops would endeavour in vain to advance into the interior of the empire. The better to provide for defence, a decree had been recently issued by the government at Paris, by which a new levy of thirty thousand conscripts was to be drawn from the provinces immediately bordering upon the Pyrenees, and the reinforcements derived from this source had already begun to assemble.

Lord Wellington's advance was delayed for a few days by the heavy rains and the bad state of the roads; but on the 10th of November the whole army was brought forward, and enabled to commence its attack upon the French intrenched position along the Nivelle. After a desperate resistance, the heights on the Nivelle were carried, and the enemy being driven from all his strong and fortified positions in the centre, Lord Wellington directed his troops to advance upon the rear of the right wing of the French army; but before this movement had been completed, night intervened, and arrested the progress of the allies. The enemy, availing himself of this opportunity, quitted his positions, and retired upon Bedart,



leaving the ground which he had occupied in possession of the allies. As the affairs of this sanguinary day consisted wholly in the storming of intrenched positions, and lasted for nearly twelve hours, the loss was necessarily considerable, and amounted to two thousand five hundred British and Portuguese killed and wounded, exclusive of Spaniards, of whose loss no regular return was made.

The enemy now retired into his last line of defence, which was formed by the intrenched camp in front of Bayonne. The left occupied the peninsula formed by the confluence of the Adour and the Nive, where it communicated with the army of Catalonia; the right and centre extended from the left bank of the Nive to the Adour below Bayonne; and the front was here defended by an impassable morass. Lord Wellington, on surveying a position thus defended by nature and art, judged it impregnable against any direct attack. A movement to the right, to threaten the rear of the enemy, and his communication with France, seemed therefore to afford the only chance of success. Operations were again delayed by the condition of the roads; but, on the 8th of December, Generals Hill and Beresford were, in conformity with Lord Wellington's plans, directed to cross the Nive with two divisions. On the 9th and 10th, these movements were performed to the entire satisfaction of the commander-in-chief; and Soult now became aware that unless some vigorous measures were taken to arrest the progress of the allies, his position must soon become untenable. Under this persuasion, he instantly determined to attack, with his whole force, that part of the allied army which had not passed the Nive, and thus to induce the British general to recall his advanced divisions. The efforts of the French general, though made with a degree of energy and decision amounting almost to desperation, failed at every point; and the termination of this action was marked by the defection of the Dutch and German regiments of Nassau and Francfort, which went over to the allies. On the 12th, the enemy again attempted to drive the British right from its positions, and the conflict continued without intermission for several hours; but being again repulsed, he retired within his intrenched camp, and abandoned all thoughts of making any impression in this quarter.

On the 13th, Soult resolved to make an entire change in his operations. Having shewn so much pertinacity in his attacks on the British right; and having, by so many efforts, produced, as he thought, a firm persuasion in the mind of Lord Wellington that his whole attention would still be directed to this quarter, he determined to move his whole force suddenly

through Bayonne, and fall upon the division of General Sir Rowland Hill. This determination reflects credit on the skill of the French marshal; but in this instance, as on many former occasions, he found he had to contend with a general, who anticipates the movements of his antagonists, dives into their plans, and provides for every exigency. Lord Wellington, having foreseen this attack, had reinforced Sir Rowland Hill; it appears, however, that even if his lordship had not taken this precaution, Soult would have failed in his attempt, for Sir Rowland Hill's troops alone defeated the enemy with immense loss. Such was the issue of these conflicts, which continued for five days. The loss on both sides was considerable, but the success of the allies was complete, and by the result of these engagements, they became firmly established between the Nive and the Adour, while the enemy, driven to the necessity of quitting his intrenched camp before Bayonne, was compelled to retreat farther into France, and found only in the state of the weather and the wretched situation of the roads, a temporary respite from the disasters that still awaited his crest-fallen legions.

## CHAPTER XXII.

**CAMPAIGN IN GERMANY:** *Gigantic Preparations made by France—Reconciliation between Napoleon and Pope Pius VII—The Empress appointed Regent—Advance of the Russians from the Vistula—Invitation held out by the Emperor Alexander to the King of Prussia—Singular Situation of Prussia at this Moment—Offer made by Frederick William to mediate between the Belligerents—Rejected—Prussia declares against France—The Allies enter Saxony—Prussian Preparations—Political Relations between France and Sweden—Re-establishment of Peace between Sweden and Great Britain—Treaty of Alliance formed by those Powers—Situation of Denmark—Hamburg entered by the Russians—Re-occupied by the French—Napoleon takes the Field—Approximation of the Grand Armies—Battle of Lutzen—Retreat of the Allies—Entry of the French into Dresden—Battle of Bautzen—Advance of the French—Armistice under the Mediation of Austria—Terms of Peace proposed by the Emperor Francis—Rejected by Napoleon—Denunciation of the Armistice.*

THE tide of Russian victory had rolled on from Moscow to the Niemen; and while the armies of France had sunk under its overwhelming influence, the Emperor Napoleon had repaired to Paris to create new armies, with the determination to try once more the fortune of war. This extraordinary man was now to be seen in a new character. He, who had always hitherto detailed victories the most splendid, and who had, in



no ambiguous language, held himself out as superior to all the casualties of war, was, for the first time, obliged to confess, in the face of his legislative body, that the charm of invincibility was dissolved ; that a heavy calamity had fallen upon his army : that he had experienced great losses—losses so terrible that they would have broken his heart, if, in these great circumstances, he could have been accessible to any other sentiments than those of the interest, the glory, and the future prosperity of his people. The frowns of fortune had altered his situation, but they had not changed his language. He still spoke of peace, but he prepared for war. Peace was his desire ; it was necessary to the world ; but he would never make any but an honourable peace, and one conformable to the interests and grandeur of his empire. The misfortunes produced by the hoar frosts had indeed manifested themselves in all their extent ; but the solidity of an empire, founded upon the efforts and love of fifty millions of citizens, and upon the territorial resources of one of the finest countries in the world, was not to be shaken by them. The magnitude of those resources it was the business of his minister of the interior to develope ; and in the annual *expose*, presented by that officer in the month of February, it was stated, that since the commencement of the revolution the population of Old France had increased from twenty-six to forty-two millions of souls ; that the annual value of the agricultural produce of France amounted to 5,031,000,000 livres ; that their manufactures of silk, wool, metal, glass, porcelain, &c. had swelled to 1,300,000,000 livres ; and that their exports were estimated at 383,000,000, and their imports at 257,000,000, livres. By this commerce, France was enabled to keep nine hundred thousand men under arms ; to maintain one hundred thousand sailors ; to keep one hundred ships of the line, and as many frigates, complete or building ; and to expend every year from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty millions in public works.

What effect the speech of Napoleon and the exposition of his minister had in rallying the drooping spirits of the French people, it is difficult to ascertain ; for such were the restrictions of the press, that public feelings and sentiments were never permitted to transpire, except when they were flattering or favourable to the plans and views of the government. Here lies the wide distinction between a free and a despotic government—under both the people can offer the tribute of adulation on the altar of power ; but the privilege of freely canvassing, and even of publicly censuring, the conduct of governors, exists only in free states, and every infringement of that invalua-

ble right is a step towards arbitrary sway. That the military resources of France were still formidable, may be collected from the fact, that by a *senatus consultum*, promulgated on the 11th of January, a levy of fresh troops, to the amount of three hundred and fifty thousand, was placed at the disposal of the minister of war ; and so potent was the operation of the laws of conscription, that a few weeks only were necessary to carry into effect this sweeping edict. The conscripts, which consisted of a larger proportion than usual of boys, and included numbers of men beyond the appointed age of military service, were marched off in succession to Germany, to join, or rather to constitute the grand French army. The active energies of the French government were kept, in the early months of the present year, in the most vigorous exercise, and by the unremitting assiduity of every branch of the public service, a large numerical force was collected in the beginning of April on the banks of the Elbe ; though that force was of a very different description from the veteran army that Bonaparte had, about the same period in the last year, marched against Russia. His cavalry and artillery in particular were extremely inferior ; and it was on these two branches, especially on the artillery, that he had been accustomed to depend for his victories.

Before Bonaparte left Paris, to place himself at the head of his army, he effected a reconciliation with Pope Pius VII. who was now at Fontainebleau, and the distractions of the Gallican church were healed by a concordat, signed between his holiness and the emperor, on the 25th of January. The manner in which the pope had been treated had produced a strong sensation in France, and though Bonaparte might disregard these feelings during the full tide of victory, he now felt that they were no longer to be treated with contempt ; he therefore proposed to restore to the pope the territories of the church, and to reinstate him in his former dignity. These proposals were accepted ; and “ the holy Father, in consideration of the actual state of the church, and the confidence with which the emperor had inspired him,” agreed to abrogate the decree of excommunication fulminated against Napoleon, to legalize his marriage with the Austrian Archduchess, and to give the canonical investiture to the persons appointed to the French bishoprics.

The formation of a provisional government was the next object that engaged the attention of the French Emperor previously to his departure for Germany. The empress was accordingly declared regent during his absence ; and the King of Rome was nominated, in a more solemn manner than hith-



erto, successor to the Napoleon throne. Having thus taken what he conceived to be all due precautions, and sent on before him an immense body of troops, Bonaparte closed the session of the legislative body in a speech full of his usual confidence, and in which the French nation were led to cherish the hope, that the laurels which had been blighted by the inhospitable climate of the Beresina, would revive, and put forth their wonted luxuriance, on the genial banks of the Elbe.

While the note of preparation thus resounded through all the departments of France, the Russian government, determined to complete the work so auspiciously begun, called forth new and extensive levies, and invited the other powers of Europe to rally round the standard of national independence. In conformity with this policy, it was ordered that a general levy should take place throughout the empire, of eight men for every five hundred, and that the levy should commence in each government within two weeks, and end within a month from the publication of the order. The arm of the giant, said the Emperor Alexander, is broken, but his destructive strength must be prevented from reviving; and his power over the nations who serve him out of terror, taken away. Russia, extensive, rich, and pacific, sought no conquests—wished not to dispose of thrones. She desired tranquillity for herself, and for all. Peace and independence were her objects. These his majesty offered, together with assistance to every people, who, being at present obliged to oppose him, should abandon the cause of Napoleon, in order to pursue their real interests. Ages might elapse before an opportunity equally favourable would again present itself; and it would be an abuse of the goodness of providence, not to take advantage of this crisis to accomplish the great work of the equilibrium of Europe, and thereby to insure public tranquillity, and individual happiness. To Prussia in particular this invitation to take advantage of the fortunate opening which the Russian arms had produced was addressed. It was the wish of his imperial majesty to put an end to her calamities—to demonstrate to her king the friendship which he preserves for him—and to restore the monarchy of Frederick to its glory and extent. Under the hope that his Prussian Majesty would be animated by the sentiments which this frank declaration ought to produce, positive orders were given to the Russian armies, on their entrance into the Prussian provinces, to avoid every thing that could betray a spirit of hostility, and to endeavour to soften, as far as a state of war would permit, the evils which, for a short time, must result from their occupation.

Such were the invitations held out by Russia to induce the states of Europe to declare against France ; and these invitations were not unavailing. It has been seen that the Prussian General D'Yorck, at the conclusion of the last campaign, withdrew his whole force from the French army under Marshal Macdonald, and concluded a convention with the Russians,\* by which the Prussian troops engaged to remain neutral in Eastern Prussia. The Prussians every where received the Russian troops as deliverers, and supplied them willingly with provisions ; and in return for this hospitable conduct, the most rigorous discipline was observed by the advancing army.

Prussia, at this period, stood in a peculiar situation. The capital was in the hands of a French garrison ; but the inhabitants favoured the Russians, and flattered themselves that the king, with the troops he was collecting in Silesia, would declare against the French. What were the real intentions of the king, or whether he had come to a decision, it was difficult to discover. Now, as on former occasions, he seemed to be balancing between conflicting opinions, feeling, no doubt, a strong bias towards Russia, but fearing again to commit himself with a power whose vengeance experience had taught him how to estimate. Throughout the month of January, Berlin exhibited daily scenes of tumult and disorder ; and to such a height was the popular fervour against the French carried, that the inhabitants rose against them, and actually confined them to their barracks. A regency had been established in the name of the king at Koningsberg, of which the discarded minister Stein, who had been an object of French persecution, was the president ; and this temporary government had issued a proclamation, calling on the loyal and patriotic inhabitants of Prussia to step forward and rescue their king and country from thralldom. This call was not made in vain ; the young men ran eagerly to arms, and joined their brethren under the command of General D'Yorck, who had been nominated by the regency commander of the patriotic army.

In this state of things, the King of Prussia, who had suddenly removed from Potsdam to Breslau, offered himself as a mediator between the belligerents. On the 15th of February his majesty proposed a truce, on the conditions that the Russians should retire behind the Vistula and the French behind the Elbe, leaving Prussia and all her fortresses free from foreign occupation. These terms, which seemed sufficiently favourable to France, Bonaparte thought proper to reject,

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\* See Vol. III. Chap. XIX. p. 446.



while the Emperor Alexander, without coming to any very explicit explanation, evinced such sentiments of liberality towards the Prussian monarch and nation, as did not fail to insure their attachment. This was the moment seized upon by the patriots of Prussia to surround their sovereign at Breslau, and to fix his wavering purpose. The time, they said, had at length arrived to shake off the degrading yoke, to which, in common with all Germany, their nation had been so long subjected. These remonstrances prevailed. On the 22d of February, a treaty of peace and alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded between the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, and a system of combined military operations was one of the first acts of the confederated sovereigns.

In rendering an account of the motives for the war which was now commenced, and in calling forth the energy and zeal of his subjects, the King of Prussia declared, that his country was bowed down under the superior power of France. That peace which deprived him of half his subjects, procured no blessings, but was on the contrary more injurious than war itself. That the country was impoverished ; the fortresses occupied by the enemy ; agriculture neglected ; industry paralyzed ; and by the new system, the liberty of trade annihilated. " Prussians," exclaimed the king, " you know what you have suffered during the last seven years. You know what a miserable fate awaits you if we do not honourably finish the war which is now commenced. We are engaged in the last decisive contest, for our existence as an independent people. There is no medium between an honourable peace and inglorious ruin."

Very different from the conduct of the King of Prussia was the determination of the sovereign of Saxony. The irruption of the allied armies into his dominions, which now took place, determined him to quit Dresden, and to identify his interests with the interests of France. On abandoning his capital he issued a proclamation, recommending to his subjects a peaceable demeanour ; and reminded them, that the political system to which he had for the last six years attached himself, was that to which the state had been indebted for its preservation amid the most imminent dangers. General Blucher, however, who had signalized himself after the battle of Jena, and on whom a leading and extensive command was now conferred, took a different view of the interests of Saxony ; and in calling upon the people of that country to raise the standard of insurrection against the French, his language was singular and characteristic : " In the north of Europe," said he, " the Lord of Hosts has held a dreadful court of justice, and

the angel of death has cut off three hundred thousand of those strangers by the sword, famine, and cold, from that earth, which they, in the insolence of their prosperity, would have brought under the yoke. We march wherever the finger of the Lord directs us, to fight for the security of the ancient thrones and our national independence. With us comes a valiant people, who have boldly driven back oppression, and, with a high feeling, have promised liberty to the subjugated nations. We announce to you the morning of a new day. Saxons! rise, join us; raise the standard of insurrection against foreign oppressors, and be free. Your sovereign is in the power of foreigners, deprived of the freedom of determination, deploring the steps which a treacherous policy forced him to take. We shall no more attribute them to him, than we shall cause you to suffer for them. The friend of German independence will by us be considered as our brother; the weak minded wanderer we will lead with tenderness into the right road; but the dishonourable, despicable tool of foreign tyranny, we will pursue to the utmost rigour, as an enemy to our common country."

Prussia now became a camp; the friends of French politics were banished from the cabinet, and the generals distinguished by their resolute opposition to French influence, were invested with new and effectual powers. The whole country between the Elbe and the Oder was divided into four military districts, under the command of L'Estocq, Tauenzien, Massenbach, and Gotzen; the militia was called out; the *land-sturm*, or *levy-en-masse*, was ordered; volunteers enrolled themselves on all sides, and the national enthusiasm was universally directed to one object. Commerce, like politics, underwent an entire change in Prussia; on the 20th of March, the continental system was abolished, a new tariff was promulgated for the importation of goods into Prussia, and all French merchandise was prohibited. The French troops having quitted Berlin, the Russian General Czernicheff arrived in that city; and on the 11th of March Count Wittgenstein made his public entry into the capital, where he was hailed with enthusiasm.

The accession of Prussia, the treaty formed between Great Britain and Sweden, and the great armaments now preparing in the north of Germany, swelled the power of Russia into a formidable confederacy. The fidelity of all the foreign troops in the French service became suspected by Bonaparte; and with a much lower proportion of sagacity than he possessed, it might already be perceived that they would avail themselves of the first favourable opportunity to desert his standard. In



these circumstances it was judged necessary to make an addition even to the immense preparations which he had already contemplated. Ninety thousand men of the conscription of 1814, who had been originally destined for the reserve, were now rendered disposable, and ninety thousand more were raised by a sort of retrospective conscription. The cities and municipalities were invited to equip new corps of cavalry, to replace that part of the army which had entirely perished during the Russian campaign; and as these raw levies could not be led at once against the enemy, every resource which experience and ingenuity could suggest, was exhausted to confer on them that discipline in which they were deficient. Officers were procured, either by drafts from Spain, or by selecting the subalterns of the regiments which had escaped from Russia; and a large camp was formed upon the Maine, where the preparation of the young soldiers for the field could be carried on without danger of interruption from the approach of the enemy.

For two years the political relations between France and Sweden had been in a state bordering on hostility. So early as the month of October, 1810, Bonaparte had menaced Sweden with hostility. That country, he said, had engaged by treaty to break off all engagements and communications with England, while a Swedish minister was suffered to remain in London, and an English agent in Stockholm. The small islands of Sweden had served as magazines in the winter season for English merchandise, and the vessels of that nation had openly carried colonial produce into Germany. This, he said, was not to be endured. There was no longer any neutrals: England acknowledged none, nor could he acknowledge them any longer. A maritime peace must be had at any price. Sweden must now take her choice; cannon must be fired on the English which approached her coast; their merchandise in Sweden must be confiscated, or she must have open war with France. The decision must be immediate; and if, within five days from the official notification of this determination at the court of Stockholm, the king had not resolved to be at war with England, Sweden should have war with France and all her allies.\*

In vain did the King of Sweden yield to this mandate by declaring war against England. France next demanded a considerable body of seamen for the purpose of manning her fleet at Brest—a corps of Swedish troops to be placed in the pay of

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\* Conference between the Emperor Napoleon and Baron de Lagerb-jelke, at Paris.

France—a tariff of 50 per centum on colonial produce, and finally, the establishment of French douaniers at Gottenburg.\* All these demands were rejected by the Swedish government, and the consequence was, that the measures of France towards Sweden soon assumed a character of decided hostility. In the mean time, the depredations made by the French on Swedish vessels were daily augmented, and the prize courts of Paris almost uniformly decided in favour of the captors. These proceedings were soon after followed by the seizure of Swedish Pomerania and the Isle of Rugen by French troops, who did not hesitate to arrest the public functionaries, and after disarming two Swedish regiments, to send them as prisoners of war into France. Against these accumulated wrongs Sweden continued to remonstrate; but her complaints were disregarded; and at length, finding all her efforts to maintain a neutral attitude unavailing, the court of Stockholm concluded a peace with Great Britain on the 18th of July, 1812, which was ratified on the 16th of the following month. In the beginning of the year 1813, war between Sweden and France had become inevitable, and on the 3d of March, a treaty was entered into between the courts of London and Stockholm, by which Sweden bound herself to employ a corps of thirty thousand men, under the command of the crown prince, against the common enemy; to act with the troops which were to be furnished by Russia and Prussia; and to grant to Great Britain for twenty years the right of entrepot in the ports of Gottenburg, Carlsham, and Stralsund. In return for which Great Britain acceded to the engagements already subsisting between Sweden and Russia, and bound herself not to oppose the annexation of Norway to Sweden, but to afford the necessary naval co-operation, should the King of Denmark refuse to accede to the grand alliance. The British government further agreed to grant Sweden a subsidy of one million sterling for the service of the campaign of the year, and to cede to her the possession of the island of Guadaloupe, in the West Indies. This treaty gave rise to much discussion in England, both in and out of parliament, and that feature of the treaty in particular which guaranteed to Sweden the kingdom of Norway, received, as it deserved, very general reprobation.

The situation of Denmark, when the affairs of Bonaparte began to assume an unfavourable appearance, was critical and perplexing. The attack of the English on Copenhagen, in the year 1807, still rankled in the heart of the Danish sovereign,

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\* Report of M. D'Engeström, Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs, dated January 7, 1813.



and it is highly probable that in this feeling a large proportion of his subjects sympathised with him. But on the other hand, the misery they had suffered on account of the war with England, and the danger to which they now stood exposed, when France could no longer stretch out to them the hand of protection, induced the Danish government to despatch Count Bernstorff to London, to propose terms of accommodation. Unhappily, the treaty with Sweden, so recently entered into, interposed a formidable obstacle to the re-establishment of the relations of peace, and the Danish minister returned to Copenhagen without having effected the object of his mission.

Thus it will be perceived, that at the opening of the campaign in 1813, Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Sweden, were leagued against France. England indeed could afford little military aid in Germany ; but she was fighting the cause of the allies in Spain ; and, as usual, she was liberal in her pecuniary assistance. The Emperor Alexander, at the same time, put forth all his might ; and all the resources of his extensive, but unwieldy, empire were cheerfully devoted by him to the cause in which he had so ardently embarked. Prussia, greatly exhausted by the exactions and contributions drawn from her by France, could not bring into the field very numerous armies ; but her soldiers were animated by the best spirit ; her generals were experienced, and not only incorruptible, but inflamed by a deep hatred against Bonaparte ; while her peasantry were eager to rise in defence of their sovereign and their country. The crown prince had landed an army in Pomerania, composed of most excellent troops, brought into a high state of discipline under his own immediate inspection, feeling towards their commander the most profound respect, and reposing in him the most implicit confidence. The designs of Austria had not yet developed themselves. The family alliance seemed to forbid the expectation that Francis would take any decisive part against his son-in-law, though it was clear, from the faint and reluctant co-operation afforded by Austria in the Russian campaign, that the gigantic power of France, in the hands of its present ruler, was not viewed with perfect complacency at the court of Vienna. For some time it was doubtful whether Bonaparte, in the German campaign which he was about to commence, would have the assistance of Murat, and his Neapolitan troops ; since it was well known, that the King of Naples, soon after Napoleon had left the shattered remnant of his army in Russia to his care, withdrew in disgust from its command, and freely censured the inordinate ambition to which so many lives had been sacrificed. Murat, however, probably

perceiving that his own power and that of Bonaparte must stand and fall together, at length consented to repair to Germany, and to take the command of the cavalry force collected for that campaign.

The Russians, animated by the hope that they should be joined by the people of Germany, as soon as they were freed from the dread and presence of the French, conceived it to be their policy to spread themselves as much as possible over the northern parts of that empire; and in the early part of the year, their light troops pushed down the banks of the Elbe towards Hamburg. On the approach of the force under General Tettenborne, the enemy quitted Hamburg in great haste, and the Russians were received amid the acclamations of the citizens. But the joy and tranquillity of the Hamburgers were of short duration. The Russians had spread themselves over a greater extent of country than they could retain; and the French, under Marshal Davoust, having rallied and collected their scattered forces, again advanced, on the 8th of May, to the city from which they had been so recently expelled. From the 8th to the 30th, Hamburg was defended by the military and the citizens with distinguished bravery; but at eight o'clock in the morning of the latter day, General Tettenborne, finding the place no longer tenable, withdrew his troops, and the people were again suffered to pass under the French yoke. Many other places in the north of Germany, of which the Russians had obtained temporary possession, soon fell again into the power of the enemy; and this part of the plan of the campaign, which seems to have been adopted on a too sanguine calculation of a general rising of the people, evinced little skill, policy, or information.

While the light troops of Russia advanced into the north of Germany, the fortresses on the Vistula were closely besieged by other corps of the Russian army. On the 16th of April, the garrison of Thorn, consisting of 400 Poles, 3,500 Bavarians, and a few French troops, surrendered to General Count Langeron. The trophies of this success were two hundred pieces of cannon; and nearly the whole of the Bavarian and Polish regiments enrolled themselves under the patriotic standard. On the 18th, Spandau, situated near Berlin, on the river Spree, capitulated to the Russians; and on the 4th of May, the fortress of Czentokaw opened its gates to Lieutenant-general Von Sacken.

On the 15th of April, at one o'clock in the morning, the Emperor Napoleon set out from Paris to put himself at the head of his army, and at midnight on the 16th he arrived at Mentz. The principal body of his old troops were placed



under Beauharnois, in the neighbourhood of Magdeburg ; but as soon as Bonaparte assumed the command of the new levies, the viceroy began to move towards the upper part of the Saale, with a view of forming a junction with the force under the emperor, in the vicinity of Jena.

On the 19th, a sharp affair took place near Weimar, between a body of Prussians and the advance of Marshal Ney's corps, under the command of General Souham ; the Prussians, who behaved nobly, drove the enemy thrice through the town ; but they were at length obliged to yield to superior numbers, and to retreat behind Jena. Towards the end of the month, the advanced posts of the adverse armies were on the opposite banks of the Saale, and it now became evident that a general engagement was fast approaching.

On the advance of the Russian armies to the Elbe, the gallant veteran Prince Kutusoff, overcome by the mental and bodily exertion imposed upon him by his exalted situation, was taken ill at Buntzlau, and on the 16th of April died in that city. A fit successor of the lamented Kutusoff was found in General Wittgenstein, who was now invested with the chief command of the allied armies. The Russian force was at this period divided into three armies ; the first, under Count Wittgenstein, the commander-in-chief ; the second, under General Tschikakoff ; and the third, under General Winzingerode. Wittgenstein's main force had crossed the Elbe, in order to drive the French back upon the Maine. Part of Tschikakoff's army was still in the vicinity of Thorn, while another division was employed under Platoff, in the siege of Dantzic. Winzingerode's army was divided at different stations on the Elbe, stretching from Lunenburg to Dresden ; while large reinforcements were advancing from the Vistula, without suffering the fortresses in their rear to retard that advance. The Prussian force under General Blucher had removed from Silesia into Saxony, and General D'Yorck was at Berlin with the main army ; while a Swedish force was at the same time at Stralsund, under the crown prince. The whole Russian force with which it was stated the campaign would open, was estimated, most erroneously, at two hundred and twenty thousand ; the Prussians at seventy thousand, and the Swedes at fifty thousand ; making an aggregate of three hundred and forty thousand men. These magnificent prospects however were never realized. The Russian army which crossed the Vistula, and arrived on the Elbe, never exceeded one hundred thousand men, and the Prussian and Swedish force united could not by a fair estimate, be taken at a higher number.

The French forces at this time assembled on the scene of action were estimated at one hundred and seventy thousand men ; and on the 25th of April the Emperor Napoleon arrived at Erfurt, from whence he ordered all the divisions of his army to move in the direction of Leipzig. A sharp battle took place on the 1st of May, on the plains between Weissenfels and Lutzen, in which the French claimed the advantage ; “ but, by one of those fatalities of which the history of war is full, the first cannon ball which was fired on this day, struck the wrist of Marshal Bessieres, the Duke of Istria, pierced his groin, and killed him instantly.” On the morning of the 2d Napoleon advanced at the head of his army into the plain of Lutzen, with the view of reaching Leipzig, and throwing himself upon the rear of the allied armies.\* To defeat the object of this movement, the whole of the allied forces suddenly crossed the Elster, and commenced a grand attack upon the enemy. The contest that ensued was one of the most sanguinary description. The Russians and Prussians fought under the command of General Wittgenstein, in the presence of the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, and the French under Bonaparte. The left of the French army formed by the viceroy, having under his command the 5th and 11th corps, leaned upon the Elster. The centre was commanded by Marshal Ney, in the village of Kaja. The emperor, with the young and old guard, was at Lutzen ; and Marshal Marmont, who commanded the right, was placed at the defile of Poserna. In the order of battle formed by the allies, General Blucher formed the first line ; the corps formerly belonging to Count Wittgenstein, the second ; and the corps of General Winzingerode, together with the Russian guards and grenadiers, the reserve. The position occupied by the French was remarkable for its strength ; behind them

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\* OFFICIAL STATEMENT OF THE FRENCH ARMY PREVIOUS TO THE  
BATTLE OF LUTZEN.

Six battalions of old guards, and sixteen of young guards, under Marshal Mortier,	16,000
Third corps, under Marshal Ney, consisting of five divisions,	45,000
Sixth corps, under Marshal Marmont, consisting of three divisions,	25,000
Fourth corps, under Count Bertrand, consisting of three divisions,	25,000
Twelfth corps, under Marshal Oudinot, consisting of three divisions,	25,000
Fifth corps, under Count Lauriston, consisting of two divisions,	15,000
Eleventh corps, under Marshal Macdonald, consisting of two divisions,	15,000
Cavalry of the guards, under Marshal Bessieres,	4,000

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Total, 170,000



was a rising ground, and a succession of villages ; in front there was a hollow way, through which ran a stream of considerable depth ; and thus supported in front and rear, they awaited the attack of the allies. These advantages were much increased by an immense quantity of ordnance, which was distributed through the line, and in the vallies ; besides batteries in the open country, supported by masses of infantry in solid squares. The allies had the advantage in cavalry, but the superiority of numbers was on the side of the French. Bonaparte, aware of these circumstances, exclaimed at the beginning of the battle :—" It is a battle like those in Egypt : a good infantry, supported by artillery, should be sufficient to secure victory."

The villages of Gross-Gorschen, Klein-Gorschen, Rahno, Kaja, and Starrsiedel, occupied by the French, are in the vicinity of each other, and form a kind of irregular square ; and the plan of the allies was, by directing the principal weight of their attack against the right wing of the enemy, to take these villages and to occupy them with an advanced-guard. With this concentration of force it was their intention to throw back the right wing of Napoleon from the direct road to the Saale, and with their numerous mass of cavalry, to turn this wing by a furious charge on his flank and rear, and thus to decide the fortune of the day. The battle commenced at noon, by the attack of the village of Gross-Gorschen. From three to four batteries were erected within eight hundred yards, and the village was heavily cannonaded. The enemy's battalions, which were drawn up before the village, supported the fire with distinguished firmness, but the Prussian brigade advanced with so much steadiness and impetuosity, that the French were at length driven from their position. From this moment, all the corps came successively into action, and the battle became general. The village of Gross-Gorschen was disputed with unexampled obstinacy ; six times it was taken and retaken by the bayonet, and at last remained in the hands of the allies. For several hours the conflict was dubious ; and the discharges of musketry raged with such indescribable destruction, that the number of killed and wounded in this part of the field was immense. The artillery was gradually brought forward by the hostile armies, on a field of about fifteen hundred yards square, intersected by villages, hamlets, meadows, and ditches, and slaughter in all its horrors reigned triumphant.

The enemy, determined, if possible, to regain possession of the captured villages, brought up continually numerous bodies of fresh troops, and at last obtained a superiority of num-

bers so decided, as to oblige the weakened battalions of the allies to evacuate Klein-Gorschen. This success was only temporary; the Prussians, again led on and inspired by their generals, profited by some fortunate changes in the French cavalry, and Napoleon was once more deprived of his precarious advantage.

Obstinate as was the contest on the wings, the great efforts of infantry, cavalry, and artillery took place in the centre. The village of Caja, which formed the pivot of the French position, was taken and retaken several times. In the afternoon of this sanguinary day the viceroy came up with his corps, and entered the French lines at the moment when Marshal Macdonald was attacking the Russian reserve. The allies now redoubled their efforts; the French centre gave way (*flechet*), some of their battalions fled in disorder, and the village of Kaja was again taken. Napoleon, judging that the critical moment which decides the fate of battles had now arrived, ordered the Marshal Mortier to march with sixteen battalions of the young guards to the disputed village of Kaja, which, after an ardent contest, was again carried, and passed into the hands of the French.

Night now approached, and the villages which formed the grand object of the contest, remained, some of them in the hands of the allies, and others in possession of the French. To maintain the conquered ground during the night, required the advance of a larger body of infantry than the allies had in reserve; it was therefore determined to attempt, in the obscurity of the night, to surprise the enemy by an unexpected charge of cavalry, which, if successful, might lead to very important results. In this nocturnal service, nine squadrons of the Prussian reserve cavalry were employed, and the advanced troops of the enemy were charged with undaunted bravery, broken, and warmly pursued; but the enormous masses of the enemy's infantry in the rear, combined with the darkness of the night, and the hollow way which the cavalry was obliged to pass, defeated the object of this attempt, and served still further to weaken troops already reduced by a murderous cannonade of eight hours' duration.

The allied armies had now no other alternative but to make good their retreat, and with as little sacrifice as possible. On the 3d they marched to Borne and Altenburg; on the 4th to Rochlitz and Colditz; and on the 7th they crossed the Elbe, taking the road to Bautzen, where a battle, still more sanguinary than that which has just been recorded, was soon to be fought.

In consequence of this retreat, Bonaparte claimed the vic-



tory in the battle of Lutzen; but that it was by no means such a victory as he had been accustomed to achieve, was sufficiently evident. The vanquished were left to retreat in perfect order, and the victors had neither to boast of prisoners nor of trophies. The loss on both sides was extremely severe; but in this, as in the estimate of the numbers engaged by the hostile armies, the accounts published in the court gazettes are so contradictory, that no certain information can be collected from them.\* The loss of the allies was aggravated by the death of Major the Prince of Hesse-Homburg, who fell in this battle, along with an unusual proportion of officers of the leading families in Prussia. Generals Blucher and Kanovitzen, with several other general officers in the Russian and Prussian service, were among the wounded; and General Gouril, the chief of Marshal Ney's staff, was numbered among the slain. The allies considered the battle of Lutzen as a momentous crisis, upon which the fate of nations seemed to depend; and the French Emperor, in communicating the details of the battle, informed her majesty the empress, queen, and regent, "that this action, like a clap of thunder, had pulverized the chimerical hopes, and all the calculations for the destruction of the empire; and that the cloudy train collected by the cabinet of St. James's during a whole winter, was thus in an instant destroyed, like the Gordian knot by the sword of Alexander." "Europe," continues Napoleon, "would at length be at peace, if the sovereigns, and the ministers who direct their cabinets, could have been present on the field of battle."

Bonaparte still followed up his original plan of pushing on to Leipzic, from whence he advanced to Dresden, and entered that city on the 8th of May. On the 12th the King of Saxony proceeded to his capital, escorted by a French guard, and the spectacle, according to the French bulletins, was extremely fine and imposing. The two sovereigns alighted from horseback, embraced each other, and then entered Dresden at the head of the guards, amidst the acclamations of an immense population.

About the middle of May, Count Bubna arrived at Dresden, with a letter from the Emperor of Austria to the French

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\* In the official account of the Russians it is said, "The loss of the Russian and Prussian troops is great, nor shall we over-rate it, if we estimate it at from 8 to 10,000 men in killed and wounded, but most of the latter only slightly; the loss of the enemy is to double or treble this amount." "Our loss," says the Tenth Bulletin of the French army, "amounts to 10,000 men killed and wounded; that of the enemy may be estimated at 25 or 30,000 men."

Emperor, containing, no doubt, proposals for an armistice, with a view to a general pacification ; and it is worthy of remark, that the same papers which announced the arrival of the imperial ambassador at Dresden, gave an account of the departure of the viceroy for the north of Italy. Napoleon, with his usual foresight, began already to apprehend the hostile disposition of Austria, and the departure of Beauharnois for Italy was probably undertaken for the purpose of assembling an army on her southern frontier. At the same time that the Count de Bubna was sent to Dresden, Count Stadion was despatched by the Emperor Francis to the head-quarters of the allied sovereigns ; and the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia professed their readiness to agree to an immediate suspension of hostilities ; while Bonaparte held that, as a preliminary step, it was necessary to convene a congress, “ at which there should assemble, on the side of France, the plenipotentiaries of France, the United States of America, Denmark, the King of Spain, and all the allied princes ; and on the opposite side, those of England, Russia, Prussia, the Spanish insurgents, and the other allies of that belligerent mass.”\* The Emperor of Austria, in order that his mediation might be the more efficient, gave orders to place his army on the full war establishment, and the principal command of his forces was confided to Prince Schwartzenberg. Hostilities in the mean time suffered no suspension.

While the French remained at Dresden, their army received considerable reinforcements, so as to form a mass little short of two hundred thousand men. The Prussian and Russian reinforcements, under Barclay de Tolly, Langeron, Sass, and Kleist, had also arrived in the mean time, and the total amount of the combined force was estimated at from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and eighty thousand men. The allies had taken up a position with the Spree in their front ; their right extending to fortified eminences which defended the debouches from that river—Bautzen, which had been intrenched and covered by redoubts, forming their centre ; and their left was supported by mountains covered with wood, and running parallel to the course of the Spree. Where the ground was open, particularly in the centre, strong works had been thrown up ; and behind the first position, at the distance of six thousand yards, other works of equal strength had been constructed. The French force in this place consisted of the 4th, 6th, 11th, and 12th corps, amounting in all to eighty thousand men ; besides twelve

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\* Moniteur.



thousand guards, fourteen thousand cavalry, and a very numerous and powerful artillery. The right wing was formed of the 12th corps, under the command of Marshal Oudinot, leaning on the mountains to the left of the Spree; the 11th, under Marshal Macdonald, formed the centre; and the 6th, under Marshal Marmont, the left. Marshal Mortier had the command of the guards, which were stationed in reserve; and the cavalry was commanded by General Latour Maubourg. Count Bertrand was posted beyond the extremity of the left, for the purpose of threatening the right of the allies, and also, if necessary, to communicate with the other great army, which Bonaparte had ordered to move up from a village about thirty miles to the north of Bautzen. This army consisted of about sixty thousand men, composed of the 3d, 5th, and 7th corps, under the command of Marshal Ney and Generals Lauriston and Regnier, and was directed to turn the right of the allies, while Bonaparte in person attacked them in front.

Napoleon, who had joined his army before Bautzen on the morning of the 19th of May, spent the whole of that day in reconnoitring the strength and position of the allies. Count Wittgenstein, having penetrated Bonaparte's intention in detaching Ney and Lauriston so far to the left, resolved to counteract the design, by attacking them separately, before they were sufficiently advanced to co-operate with the main army. With this view, General Barclay de Tolly was ordered to advance on the 19th to Koningswarta, where he fell in with part of Lauriston's corps under General Pery, amounting to nine thousand men, and after a severe battle, forced the town at the point of the bayonet, took fifteen hundred prisoners, and seven pieces of cannon, and put the enemy totally to rout. At the same time, the troops under Marshal Ney were vigorously attacked by General D'Yorck, who, with inferior numbers, made a gallant stand, and at the close of the day retired with General Barclay de Tolly to the positions which they were appointed to hold in the great battle that was now approaching.

On the 20th, at eight o'clock in the morning, the Emperor Napoleon appeared on the heights in the rear of Bautzen, and at noon the French columns under Marshals Oudinot, Macdonald, Marmont, and Soult, were ordered to advance and pass the Spree. At noon these corps advanced on Bautzen, and attacked, under the cover of a brisk cannonade, the advanced guard of the allies, commanded by Generals Milloradowitch and Kleist. The determination of Kleist to defend the heights situated on the side of Bautzen, occasioned a desperate combat. He had to withstand a force, which, accord-

ing to the Russian account, was four times as strong as his own ; and yet he maintained his position till four o'clock in the afternoon, and did not give way till he had resisted the most vigorous attack, from these superior numbers, both on his right flank and on his front. The obstinacy with which the Russian Generals Rudiger and Roth, and Colonel Marcoff, defended these heights, excited also the admiration of the whole army. While the attack was made on this point, another was made by the enemy on the centre and left of the allies ; but here again he was vigorously received by Count Milloradowitch, and Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, and repeatedly repulsed. Notwithstanding this gallant resistance, the enemy gained ground, and after a desperate cannonade of six hours continuance, the French General Compans entered Bautzen. Oudinot soon after gained possession of the heights, and at seven o'clock in the evening the allies were driven back to their second position ; but Soult and Bertrand, who were sent to dispossess them of the heights on the right, failed in their object, and Ney, Lauriston, and Regnier, who were ordered to pass the Spree, and turn the right flank, were equally unsuccessful. At eight o'clock in the evening Bonaparte entered Bautzen, but the battle was continued till ten at night, and the advantages gained by the enemy in this day's engagement were purchased by the loss of at least six thousand men.

The night of the 20th was passed by both armies in preparation for one of the most bloody and obstinate conflicts recorded in military annals. At day-break on the 21st the allied army was attacked in their position in advance of Wurschen and Hochkirch, two small towns of Lusatia, on the eastern side of the Spree, between Bautzen and Goerlitz. This ground, selected by the allies to resist the enemy's approach on the great roads to Silesia and the Oder, was bounded on the left by a range of mountains, through which Marshal Daun marched in the year 1757 to the battle and victory of Hochkirch. The line of the allied army, which extended between three and four miles, was formed by the corps of General Kleist and D'Yorck in echelon on the right ; General Blucher's, Count Wittgenstein's, and General Milloradowitch's, formed the left ; while the guards and grenadiers, with all the Russian cavalry, were stationed in reserve in the centre. The enemy's first efforts were directed against the two principal points of the allied position, under Barclay de Tolly and General Blucher, and after these attacks had been opened by the sharp-shooters and artillery, he gradually displayed his whole force down the entire extent of the line.



Bonaparte was now visible on a commanding spot, directing the battle : and from the eminences of the allied centre a full view was presented of the enemy's columns marching over the heights to the right and left of Bautzen. These masses of troops might be estimated at from thirty to forty thousand men, who were scarcely drawn up in order of battle, when pillars of smoke were seen rising from the high grounds to which they had advanced. This fire was the signal of attack, for Marshal Ney and General Lauriston, who instantly pressed forward with about thirty thousand men, and threw themselves with great impetuosity on General Barclay de Tolly's position at Gleina. A desperate engagement ensued, which raged with undiminished fury till ten o'clock in the morning, at which hour Marshal Ney, who had carried the position of Prulitz, was attacked by the allies, and driven back from that village.

The conflict in the mountains was at the same time carried on with redoubled animosity ; but the inflexible spirit and steady fire of the allied battalions, under the direction of the Prince of Wirtemberg and General Milloradowitch, prevented the enemy from making any progress in this quarter, and cost him an inconceivable number of men. The enemy now seemed to menace an advance in the centre, and the cannonade in that quarter became tremendous. General Blucher, finding that the important position held by General Barclay de Tolly was again threatened, resolved to part with the only reserve he had at his command, and ordered this brigade to march to the village of Krekwitz. These dispositions were scarcely made, when the enemy attacked General Blucher himself in the whole extent of his position ; and the action at this time had taken a very unfavourable turn. Two Russian batteries, the one by Krekwitz, the other by Nieder Gurke, that formed the principal defence of the centre, had expended all their ammunition ; and the enemy, by superior numbers, had made himself master of the heights behind Nieder Gurke, from which it was found impossible to dislodge him. In this situation General Blucher demanded reinforcements, and General D'Yorck was ordered up to secure the execution of his dispositions ; but the required succour came too late, and the two brigades of General Blucher's front gradually withdrew themselves out of their centre position to the high grounds above Krekwitz. But here not a single tenable position could be found, and as it was already perceived that the commander-in-chief began to despair of any favourable issue to the contest, General Blucher ordered his reserve cavalry to draw back across the defile, that the retrograde movement which he now contemplated might not meet with any impediment.

It was now an hour after noon, and the centre of the allied army was yet untouched, but the enemy had begun to make demonstrations, and had opened a brisk cannonade in that quarter. Napoleon, seizing this crisis of the battle, marched with the guards, General Latour Maubourg's four divisions, and a great quantity of artillery, upon the right flank of the position of the allies, and the division of Morand and Wittenberg carried the ground which formed their point *d'appui*.\* At three o'clock in the afternoon, and while the event of the battle still seemed dubious, a heavy firing was heard along a line of three leagues, which served to announce that the allies had begun their retreat, and that victory had once more ranged herself under the French eagles. At seven o'clock in the evening Marshal Ney and General Lauriston arrived at Wurtzchen, and Marshal Marmont, after occupying all the intrenched villages and redoubts which the allies had evacuated, advanced in the direction of Hochkirch, and thus took the whole of the left of the retreating army in flank.

Ever since the opening of the campaign, the policy of the allies had been rather to break off a battle before it was ended, if its tendency was obviously unfavourable, than to risk every thing by exposing themselves to the chance of a total defeat; and as the whole contest in the battle of the 21st, which may be considered as a continuation of the battle of Bautzen, had actually taken an unfavourable turn, they availed themselves of their undisputed superiority in cavalry to secure their retreat. This movement was made in the face of day, with the most perfect order and regularity, in two columns. The Russian troops of the centre and left took the direction of Hochkirch; the Prussians that of Wurchen; and General Barclay de Tolly, and General Kleist, with the reserves of

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\* At this moment a shell thrown from one of the enemy's mortars fell within ten yards of the spot where the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, who were personally present in the battle, were conversing. A Prussian veteran of artillery no sooner saw the shell take ground, than, with an intrepid presence of mind, he ran up to the spot, and extinguished the fusee before the combustibles exploded. The king of Prussia, who witnessed this action, instantly called the gallant veteran, and demanded his name and his length of service, adding--- "You shall be rewarded, my brave fellow; and here on the spot I promote you to the rank of an officer." "Ah! your majesty," exclaimed the man, "I humbly thank you for this gracious mark of your favour, but I cannot accept it; I might have been a corporal years ago, but---I could not read. Your majesty however, I hope, will not be displeased if I mention that the pay of an officer would make my family and myself happy for life." The king understood him; his boon was granted, and the order of the Iron Cross was added by his sovereign, and the order of St. George by the Emperor of Russia.---*Life and Campaigns of Field-Marshal Blucher, by General Count Gneisenau.*



Prussian cavalry, drew up in line of battle on the heights of Goerlitz, for the purpose of keeping in check Marshal Ney and General Lauriston.

In the stupendous battles of the 20th and 21st, the loss of the French in killed and wounded, as stated in their own bulletins, amounted to from eleven to twelve thousand men; and it is on the same authority asserted, that the loss of the allies exceeded, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, thirty thousand men. In the details published by the allies, a very different statement is given; and it may be observed, once for all, that whatever confidence may be reposed in official accounts as to the movements and operations of armies, no reliance whatever can be placed on the published returns of numbers, as far at least as the statement made by one party regards the loss of the opposing army. And it is probably from the difficulty of attaining accurate information on this point, that the despatches of the Duke of Wellington, which are always written with great candour and fairness, seldom hazard even a conjecture of the loss of the enemy.

The neighbourhood of Bautzen, which on the 19th exhibited the most luxuriant crops, was on the 21st blasted by the deadly blight of war—the affrighted inhabitants driven to the woods, and the face of the country transformed into a wilderness. On the 22d the allied armies continued their retreat, and were pursued by the French to the heights in the rear of Ruckeback, where the combat was renewed, chiefly between the cavalry of the two armies. In the early part of the day the pursuers were repulsed, but, to the astonishment of the allies, the French were enabled to bring up more than fifteen thousand cavalry, and thus to turn the fortune of the day in their favour. At seven o'clock in the evening, Marshal Duroc, the Duke of Friuli, and the Grand Chamberlain of France, being on a small eminence, in the neighbourhood of Goerlitz, along with Marshal Mortier and General Kirgener, one of the last balls fired by the allies struck the ground close to Marshal Mortier, dreadfully lacerated the lower extremities of Marshal Duroc, and killed General Kirgener on the spot. Duroc felt that he was mortally wounded; in less than twelve hours he expired.\*

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\* The following particulars of the last interview between the Emperor Napoleon and Marshal Duroc, his personal friend and constant companion in arms, are given in the twenty-second bulletin of the French army: “As soon as the posts were placed, and the army had taken its bivouacques, the emperor went to see the Duke of Friuli. He found him perfectly master of himself, and shewing the greatest *sang froid*. The duke offered his hand to the emperor, who pressed it to his lips.

On the 23d, at nine o'clock in the morning, General Regnier entered Goerlitz ; and while one part of the French army advanced into Silesia, another took the route towards Berlin. On the 24th, Ney, Lauriston, and Regnier, forced the passage of the Neiss, and on the 25th that of the Queiss. The allied armies in their retreat seem to have deviated from the direct line towards the Oder, and to have moved upon Schweidnitz ; this change in the direction of their retreat was probably occasioned by their desire to occupy the strong places of Silesia, and by a hope that Bonaparte would not dare to follow them so far into that country. In this, however, they were mistaken, for the pursuit was so rapid, that within ten days from the battle of Bautzen one division of the French army had advanced one hundred miles into Silesia ; the blockade of Glogau, one of the important keys of the Oder, was raised ; and the French had obtained possession of Breslau, the capital of Silesia.

The Austrian cabinet took a deep interest in passing events ; nor was it a timid and inactive neutrality that this court was prepared to maintain. Armaments of extraordinary magnitude were completed in every part of the Austrian territories ; and troops were poured into Bohemia, and placed in an attitude of observation. It appeared probable that the scale into which this power might throw herself would preponderate ; the destinies of Europe were held in her hands ; and to obtain her favour became the grand object of the belligerents. Bonaparte, before he left Dresden, had announced, through the medium of his official paper, that he had acceded to a proposition made by Austria, for assembling a congress at Prague ; but Austria afterwards declared that no such proposition had

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"My whole life," said he to him, "has been consecrated to your service, nor do I regret its loss but for the use it might have been of to you!" "Duroc!" cried the emperor, "there is a life to come ; it is there you are going to wait for me, and where we shall one day meet again." "Yes, Sire, but that will not be these thirty years, when you will have triumphed over your enemies, and realized all the hopes of your country. I have lived an honest man---I have nothing to reproach myself with. I leave a daughter behind me---your majesty will fulfil the place of a father to her." The emperor again grasped the hand of the grand marshal, and remained for a quarter of an hour with his head reclined on his right hand, in profound silence. The grand marshal was the first who broke this silence : "Ah, Sire!" said he, "leave me ; this sight gives you pain!" The emperor, supporting himself on the Duke of Dalmatia and the grand master of the horse, quitted the Duke of Friuli, without being able to say more than "Farewell---my friend." His majesty then returned to his tent, nor would he receive any person the whole of that night."



been made to her, and an assertion, thus unauthorised, appeared singular and offensive.

This power, however, was not unwilling to interpose her exertions towards putting a stop to further hostilities; she viewed with disquietude the progress of the French arms, and saw her frontiers in danger of being again encircled by the legions of Napoleon. Under her mediation an armistice was accordingly concluded; hostilities between the contending armies ceased on the 1st of June, and the armistice was signed and ratified on the 4th. By the terms of this convention, the line of demarcation for the allied armies extended from the frontiers of Bohemia to the Oder, through Bettlern and Althorf; the line of the French army extended from Bohemia to Lahn, and thence along the course of the river Katzbach to the Oder; the space between the respective lines of demarcation, including the city of Breslau, being declared neutral. According to this arrangement, nearly the whole of Prussia was left in the occupation of the allies; the whole of Saxony, and the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser, in the possession of the French; and the fortresses of Dantzic, Zamosc, Modlin, Stettin, and Custrin, in which were French garrisons, besieged by the allies, were to be victualled every five days. Hostilities were not to be commenced till the 20th of July, or till six days after the denunciation of the armistice at the respective head quarters.

Preparations on an extensive scale were in the mean time carried on throughout all the provinces of the Prussian monarchy, as well as in such of the districts of northern Germany as had been liberated from French influence. Every private object gave place for the moment to the grand views of national safety. Levies for the augmentation of the regular army were made to a very great extent. A numerous and well disciplined militia, called landwehr, was raised, and the landsturm swelled the number, if it did not add to the efficiency of the national defenders. Austria was scarcely less indefatigable in completing her establishments. From the moment the Russian arms acquired the ascendancy, an extraordinary impulse was given to the councils of Austria. All the men of influence began to exclaim, that the time had arrived to retrieve her affairs, and to rescue herself from the state of humiliation into which she had sunk. Russia offered, now that she had delivered herself, to assist in the liberation of other nations; and from all the neighbouring states ample co-operation might with certainty be expected. Austria, however, after such a succession of disasters, and so many disappointments, shrunk from taking at once any decided step; and

even employed a considerable share of dissimulation to conceal from the French the change which had taken place in her councils.

Napoleon lavished offers, intreaties, and protestations; half of the Prussian monarchy was to be the reward of the co-operation of Austria, which would restore to him all his former ascendancy. To these offers Austria turned a deaf ear; but her policy rendered her active in negotiating the armistice, and in forwarding the assemblage of a congress at Prague. The same policy determined her to support no terms of peace, which should not have for their basis the limitation of the French influence in Germany; and Bonaparte no sooner ascertained the character of her overtures, than he accounted Austria his enemy, and determined again to try the fate of arms.

Efforts were now made by the French Emperor to draw reinforcements from every quarter. Some veteran corps of the army of Spain, which had hitherto been left untouched, began their march from the Elbe. The viceroy, who, on the first intimation of an armistice from the Emperor of Austria, had repaired to Italy, assembled an army upon the Adige, with the view of menacing Austria on that side; and all Europe, from the Beresina to the Tagus, rang with the din of arms. Although the armistice was prolonged from the 20th of July to the 10th of August, still little prospect of the adjustment of the differences of the belligerents presented itself. Before the end of July most of the members of the congress were assembled at Prague; the Emperor Napoleon sent the Count de Narbonne, and the Duke of Vicenza; the Emperor of Russia, his Privy Counsellor D'Ansett; the King of Prussia, Baron Humboldt; and the Emperor of Austria, Count Metternich; it was likewise said, that an accredited minister from England was present at the congress, but no notice of such an appointment was given, except in the French official paper. At this congress little seems to have been effected; and the Emperor Francis soon found, that neither of the belligerent parties were disposed to terminate hostilities on such conditions as would be acceded to by the other. The Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, as well as the Imperial Mediator himself, were naturally and laudably desirous of rescuing Germany from the French yoke, or at least of restoring to its independence that part of Germany which constituted the territories of the King of Prussia; and with these views it was proposed—that the duchy of Warsaw should be abolished; that the Prussian fortresses should be surrendered to their legitimate sovereign; that Austria should be put in possession of



the Illyrian provinces ; that Hamburg and Lubec should be restored to their independence ; and that the confederation of the Rhine should be dissolved. These terms were positively rejected by Bonaparte ; the armistice was denounced ; and that event, which will be ever memorable in the annals of the world, and which involved the re-establishment of the long-lost balance of Europe, occurred on the 10th of August.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

GERMAN CAMPAIGN (*continued*) : *Austrian Declaration of War against France---Opening of the Campaign---Victory of the Katzbach---Battle of Dresden---Death of General Moreau---Battle of Jüterbock---War in Italy---Extraordinary Meeting of the French Senate---Napoleon quits Dresden---Battle of Leipzig---Retreat of the French Army to the Rhine---Battle of Hanau---Arrival of the Emperor in Paris---Dissolution of the Confederation of the Rhine---Emancipation of Holland---Exertions of Great Britain---Hanover liberated by the Crown Prince of Sweden---The Danes separate from the French---Capitulation of Dresden---Biographical Sketches of Prince Kutusoff, Marshal Duroc, Duke of Friuli, and General Moreau.*

THE denunciation of the armistice was immediately followed by a declaration of war on the part of Austria against France. The manifesto issued by the Emperor Francis on this occasion, took a retrospect of the wars in which France and Austria had been engaged, and dwelt particularly on those which had occurred since Napoleon obtained the supreme power.

This paper began by declaring his imperial majesty's love of peace, and by assuring the world, that he was actuated in the war he had now undertaken by no wish for conquest and aggrandizement, but merely by a wish to avert the danger to which the social system was exposed, of becoming the prey of a lawless and ambitious power. The emperor complained of the destructive system adopted by the enemy, by which commercial intercourse was suspended between nations. On every occasion the emperor had been anxious to remain at peace ; he had even made sacrifices which no consideration but his hope of preserving the tranquillity of his own country, and of Europe, could have drawn from him ; nothing, however, which he could do, or sacrifice, or abstain from doing, not even a ready and full compliance with the demands, and an accordance with the views of Napoleon, were of any avail. The lamentable conviction was impressed on his mind that the object of the French Emperor extended to the subjugation of Europe ; and that, for the attainment of that object, the dignity and honour of the sovereigns, and the tranquillity and happiness of their subjects, must be considered as of no moment. Still the Emperor of Austria persevered in his attempts to remain at peace ; and he resolved to submit to that sacrifice---which was the greatest he could make as a sovereign, and as a father---the sacrifice of his own daughter. The year 1810 was not yet closed, when, in an evil hour, Bonaparte resolved to seize a large

portion of the north of Germany, and to rob the free cities of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubec, first of their political, and then of their commercial, existence. The scheme was adopted upon the arbitrary pretext, that the war with England required it ; and seemed to be the fore-runner of great usurpations, by which one half of Germany was to become a French province, and Bonaparte the absolute ruler of the continent. Alluding to the war against Russia, and the motives which influenced the policy of Austria in that war, it was remarked---“That the campaign of 1812 furnished a memorable example of the failure of an undertaking supported by gigantic power, and conducted by a captain of the first rank, when, in the confidence of great military talents, he despises the rules of prudence, and oversteps the bounds of nature.” Then was brought on an important revolution in all the political relations of Europe. The confederacy of Great Britain, Russia and Sweden, presented a point of union to all neighbouring states. Prussia seized that favourable moment, and threw herself into the arms of the allies. The hatred of foreign dominion burst forth on all sides. The crisis was not neglected by the Emperor of Austria. In the beginning of December, 1812, steps had been taken to dispose Napoleon to a quiet and peaceful policy ; but he declared he would hear of no proposition for peace that should violate the French empire, in the French sense of the word. At the same time, eventual conditions, with which this self-created boundary did not seem to have any relation, were spoken of, at one time with menacing indignation, and at another with bitter contempt, as if it had not been possible to declare in terms sufficiently distinct the resolution of the French Emperor, not to make to the repose of the world even one single nominal sacrifice.

In the month of April, 1813, Napoleon suggested the dissolution of the Prussian monarchy, as a natural consequence of the defection from France, and observed, that it depended upon Austria herself to add the most important and flourishing of the Prussian provinces to her own states. Austria, however, resisted these propositions to engage her in acts of spoliation, and felt that the restoration of the Prussian monarchy was essential to the independence of Europe. Towards the close of the month of June, the Austrian cabinet sent a minister to Dresden, and a convention was concluded, accepting the mediation of Austria in the negotiation at a general peace : or, if that could not be effected, of a preliminary continental peace. The congress was to be opened on the 5th of July ; and the armistice was afterwards extended to the 10th of August. In the mean time Austria resolved once more to try the British government. The French Emperor received the proposal with apparent approbation, and offered a passage to the Austrian minister through France. But difficulties arose ; the French passports were delayed from time to time, and at last they were entirely refused. During this interval, the Russian and Prussian plenipotentiaries were named, and arrived at Prague. France still procrastinated ; a French minister arrived, but he had no orders to proceed to business until the appearance of a plenipotentiary, who did not join the congress till the 28th of July. Formal and minute discussions rendered all the endeavours of the mediating power abortive. The powers of the French negotiator were unnecessarily circumscribed ; and it was not till the 6th of August, that he gave in a new declaration, by which the negotiation was not brought one step nearer to a close. After an useless exchange of notes, the 10th of August arrived---the congress was at an end, and Austria had no remedy, no resource, but to take up arms. Such was the substance of this highly important exposition of the causes which determined Austria once more to appeal to arms.

The French army, at the conclusion of the armistice, equalled perhaps, in numerical amount, those of all the other powers



united. At no former period, probably, had Napoleon been at the head of an army more numerous. The main body, under his own immediate command, may be estimated without exaggeration at three hundred thousand men. Availing himself of the nature of the country, he had established a strongly fortified line on the Bohemian frontier, beginning at Wittenburg, and passing through Torgau and Dresden, to his intrenched camp on the northern side of the Bohemian mountains. Between this line and the Silesian frontier his main army was stationed ; in Upper and Lower Lusatia Marshal Mortier was stationed, with seventy thousand men, including a large force of cavalry on the Spree ; and Marshal Ney, with about the same number, occupied Bautzen. The Saxons were at Goerletz. On the Maine there was an army of reserve, under Augereau ; and an army of Bavarians, about twenty-five thousand strong, was stationed near Munich. A considerable force, under Marshal Davoust, defended Holstein and Hamburg, and threatened Pomerania ; and the communication of this corps with the army of Dresden, and the preponderance of the French on the middle Elbe, were imperfectly maintained by the garrison of Magdeburg.

The allies occupied a line much more extended. The accession of Austria, besides making a large addition to their force, brought with it also the advantage of turning the barrier of the Elbe, as that river flows for many miles through Bohemia, and could now be passed by the allies without opposition. In Bohemia, therefore, the grand army, consisting of the whole Austrian force, augmented by large Russian and Prussian detachments from Silesia, took its position. The head-quarters were at Toplitz, on the southern side of the Bohemian mountains, and at an equal distance between Dresden and Prague. Marshal Blucher commanded a very large force in Silesia, consisting partly of Russian and Prussian regulars, and partly of a large body of well-organized militia, the whole amounting to about one hundred thousand men. The Crown Prince of Sweden, who had his head-quarters at Berlin, commanded the army of the north of Germany. This force, which was estimated at one hundred and twenty thousand men, was composed of the whole Swedish force, of large corps of Russian and Prussian regulars, of the militia of Brandenburg, and the troops levied in the Hanse Towns, and other districts in the north of Germany. On one side, this army observed Davoust and the garrison of Magdeburg ; on the other, it covered the Prussian capital, and was prepared to act as circumstances might require against the French grand army.

These positions of the allies, in a military point of view, do not appear advantageous. This whole force was divided into three corps, acting separately, at a distance from each other, and maintaining only a circuitous and imperfect communication. The French army, on the contrary, was in the centre, completely united, and ready to direct its entire force against any of the allied divisions. The allied generals understood and obviated the disadvantages of their position. They were always careful, when the enemy approached in superior force, to retire, and watch the favourable moment for attack when that force had withdrawn to another point. This plan, which depended for success upon accuracy of information, was greatly aided by their possessing, in the Cossacks, the best light cavalry in the world; and, by a happy combination of skill, caution, and valour, they were enabled to prevent the difficulties under which they laboured, from affecting the final issue of the campaign.

On the crisis now approaching the fate of Europe depended. Military talents of the highest order were to be exerted; armies formed on the most gigantic scale were to be put in motion; and operations were about to be undertaken, in comparison of which many of the most renowned battles which fill the pages of history are mere skirmishes. Great Britain, Russia, Austria, Prussia, Sweden, Spain, and Portugal, were ranged on one side; France, Holland, Denmark, Italy, Bavaria, Saxony, and the minor states of Germany, on the other; and whether the mind contemplates the vast tract of country over which the desolations of war were to sweep, the wide waste of human life, or the vast issue at stake, no preceding period, since the political formation of modern Europe, had borne interests so mighty, and occurrences so pregnant with curses or blessings, suspended in the uncertain balance of military fortune. The cause of the allies was now to have the assistance of a man distinguished as one of the greatest soldiers of modern times. General Moreau, having acceded to the wishes of the Emperor Alexander to lend his aid in this great struggle, had embarked and sailed from America on the 21st of June, and arrived at Gottenburg on the 26th of July. On the 4th of August he again embarked at Ystadt, in a Swedish brig, for Stralsund, where he was met by the Prince Royal of Sweden, his early friend and companion in arms, and where a plan of military operations for the approaching campaign was concerted.

The first movements of importance made by the French army, after the denunciation of the armistice, were in the direction of Berlin, the head-quarters of Marshal Bernadotte, the



Crown Prince of Sweden. All the reports of the secret agents had announced, on the evening of the 21st of August, that the French were concentrating the corps of Marshals Oudinot and Victor, and of Generals Bertrand and Regnier, amounting to more than eighty thousand men, in the environs of Baruth, and every thing indicated a rapid march upon Berlin. On the 22d the army of the crown prince quitted Potsdam, for the purpose of arresting the progress of the enemy; and on the morning of the 23d, the hostile armies met in the village of Gross Beren. Here a smart action took place, and the French, after having sustained a severe loss, retired, without attempting to bring on a general engagement, and fell back in the direction of Dresden.

While the army of the north was thus employed, General Blucher, who commanded in Silesia, passed the Bobr, the boundary of Lusatia, on the 19th of August, and drove in all the French corps by which that river was defended. On the arrival of a large reinforcement, headed by Napoleon in person, Blucher measured back his steps, and was pursued by the enemy to the banks of the Katzbach, a river rendered famous by a signal victory gained by Frederick the Great. On the 22d Napoleon received intelligence that the allies had made a rapid movement for the purpose of cutting him off from the line of the Elbe, by seizing Dresden. When this information was received, the French Emperor was at a distance of one hundred and twenty miles from that city; but the crisis was urgent; he instantly commenced his march, accompanied by a strong body of troops; and though the weather, during the whole time, was most tempestuous, he reached Dresden on the 26th, a few hours before the allies appeared in sight of that place.

No operation of importance occurred in Silesia between the 23d and 26th; but on the latter of these days, General Blucher, who, with his usual penetration, had perceived that Napoleon, the main spring of action, was no longer with his Silesian army, determined to advance from Jauer to the Katzbach, and to attack the enemy. In the afternoon of the 26th, the battle began, amidst a tremendous and continued rain, which so much darkened the atmosphere, that every movement was rendered difficult and embarrassing. To the left of the village of Eichholz, a commanding ground, which became the key of the Prussian position, was lined with artillery by General Sacken, while a battery of twelve pounders poured its murderous discharges upon the enemy's columns, which were forced slowly and disadvantageously to deploy between Weinberg and Eichholz. This was the moment seized by General

Blucher for a general attack. With a degree of impetuosity, and a heroic disregard of danger, that pervaded every part of the army, the whole line of battle now precipitated itself on the enemy. The incessant rain had rendered fire-arms useless; not a musket could be fired, when, with loud shouts and reiterated huzzas, a conflict with the bayonet took place, the most sanguinary, desperate, and destructive, that is to be met with in the history of battles. Whole columns of the enemy were overpowered by the physical strength of the allies, and suddenly transformed into frightful heaps of wounded, dead, and dying. No prisoners were made at this period of the battle—"Forwards! forwards!" was the watch word, and death stalked in hideous majesty before the impenetrable files of the Prussian and Russian columns. On the left wing, General Langeron had to sustain the most furious attacks; twice did General Lauriston succeed in carrying the heights of the Russian position, and twice was he driven from them at the point of the bayonet. French impetuosity here found itself resisted by the adamantine steadiness of Russian bravery and devotedness. Marshal Macdonald, who commanded the French army on this occasion, finding all his efforts vain, attempted, as a forlorn hope, a grand charge of cavalry, but this was repulsed with severe loss, and he was obliged to relinquish the field of battle, and to seek safety across the foaming streams of the Katzbach and the Neisse, which, swollen as they were by the torrents from the Bleyberg mountains, could only be passed with the most imminent danger. This sanguinary battle, by which the gigantic plans of Napoleon received a severe check, commenced at three o'clock in the afternoon, in the neighbourhood of Jauer, and was terminated at the close of the day on the banks of the Katzbach. The pursuit of the retreating army, which fled across the Bobr, was continued on the 27th and 28th, and on the 29th General Blucher addressed a proclamation to his soldiers, in which he exclaimed—"Silesia is delivered! Your bayonets, and the nervous strength of your arm, drove your enemies down the steeps of the raging Neisse and the Katzbach. One hundred and three pieces of cannon, two hundred and fifty tumbrils, the camp hospital of the enemy, his provisions, a general of division, two generals of brigade, a great number of colonels, staff and other officers, eighteen thousand prisoners, two eagles, and other trophies, have fallen into your hands. Let us sing praises to the Lord of Hosts, by whose help you have overthrown your enemies, and return thanks to him who has given us the victory!"

The period had now arrived when the grand plan of the



allies, formed by General Moreau and the Prince Royal of Sweden, was to be put in execution. The different columns of the allied armies were to debouch from the mountains of Bohemia, and by rushing through the passes, to place the enemy in a situation of the most imminent danger. The effect of this operation was partly defeated by the ardent precipitancy of some of the troops, who pushed on with so much eagerness that the right division was brought into action before the other columns had gained their stations. When the Emperor Napoleon entered Dresden from Silesia, at eight o'clock in the morning of the 26th of August, the grand Russian, Prussian, and Austrain army, commanded by the sovereigns, were before that city. The allied army at that time crowned all the hills which surround Dresden, and had approached upon the left bank of the Elbe to the distance of a league from the French posts. At noon all was tranquil, but to an eye skilled in the affairs of war, this calm was the delusive precursor of an approaching storm. At four o'clock in the afternoon, six columns of the allied army, each preceded by fifty pieces of artillery, descended into the plain, and marched towards the French redoubts. In less than a quarter of an hour afterwards, the fire became terrible, and one of the redoubts was silenced. At five o'clock a part of the French reserve was engaged, and several shells fell in the town. Roused to the greatest exertions by the urgency of the danger, Napoleon ordered the King of Naples to march with General Latour Maubourg's cavalry upon the right flank of the allies, and at the same moment, four divisions of the young guards debouched through the gates of Pirna and Plauen. The effect of these efforts was to force the allies back from the centre to the extremity of their position, and to cover the field with the dead.

On the 27th the weather was dreadful, and the rain fell in torrents. At nine o'clock in the morning the battle was renewed, and the allies determined if possible to drive the French from the city. But it was soon perceived that it would be impossible to effect a practicable breach in the walls, and at two o'clock in the afternoon, the allied army, finding themselves in danger of being surrounded and cut off from their communication with Bohemia, resolved upon a retreat.

The French, having thus succeeded in repulsing the assailants, marched out of the city on the morning of the 28th, to harass them in their retreat. Napoleon, availing himself of the perilous situation in which he had placed his enemies, ordered an immense number of cannon to be brought out of the city, and the battle was renewed by a heavy cannonade on

both sides, accompanied by charges of cavalry. After several hours, the French army, perceiving that they could make no impression, withdrew into Dresden; and the allies having failed in their object of cutting off Napoleon from the line of the Elbe, retreated into the valley of Toplitz, in Bohemia. According to the French accounts, the loss of the allies, in this series of engagements, amounted to from twenty-five to thirty thousand prisoners, forty pairs of colours, and sixty pieces of cannon; while their loss was estimated at only four thousand.\* But one of the most disastrous events in these battles was the death of General Moreau, who received a mortal wound from a cannon fired by the French imperial guard on the 27th, while that general was in earnest conversation with the Emperor of Russia, and which, passing through his horse, carried off both his legs. This dreadful wound did not immediately prove mortal; he was removed from the field of battle on a litter, made of Cossack's pikes, and after undergoing repeated operations, died on the 3d of September, at Laun, in Bohemia.

Bonaparte, who considered the rout and discomfiture of the allies as complete, and who represented the Austrian division of the army to be almost annihilated, despatched General Vandamme with a force of thirty thousand men to cut off their retreat into Bohemia. With this force, the French general crossed the Elbe at Pirna, and had actually gained possession of the mountain passes, when the Russians, under the command of Count Osterman, forced their way through the hostile ranks with the bayonet. On two successive days, the 30th and the 31st, the enemy were attacked with great vigour, and being at length put to a general rout, they threw down their arms, abandoned their guns and standards, and retreated in all directions. Vandamme, and six other generals, were taken; and sixty pieces of cannon, six standards, and about ten thousand prisoners, rewarded the gallant exertions of the allies.

The north of Germany, where the crown prince commanded, now became the theatre of events of great importance. The allies having retired from before Dresden, Bonaparte found himself at liberty to despatch a strong force towards Berlin, and Marshal Ney, at the head of seventy thousand men, was appointed on that service. After the repulse of the French on the 23d of August, the crown prince, finding that he was not opposed by an equal force, determined to take advantage of his superior numbers, and moved towards the Elbe with the intention to cross that river, and to march upon

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\* Thirty-fifth Bulletin of the French Army.



Leipzig. But on his arrival at Rabenstein his march was arrested by the intelligence that the enemy, under Marshal Ney, was in full march upon Jüterbock, and that the Prussian army, under General Bulow, which did not exceed forty thousand men, was threatened with an immediate attack. On the receipt of this intelligence the crown prince changed his route, and arrived at Jüterbock, by forced marches, on the 6th of September, at the moment when the Prussian army, after having sustained the unequal combat with distinguished gallantry for several hours, was nearly overpowered by numbers. For a moment the Russians and Swedes halted, for the purpose of forming in order of battle; and as soon as this was accomplished, seventy battalions, and ten thousand horse, supported by one hundred and fifty pieces of artillery, advanced in columns to the attack, preceded by four thousand Russian and Swedish cavalry, who had advanced at full speed, for the purpose of supporting some points against which the principal efforts of the enemy were directed. At the sight of this immense army coming up to the assistance of a foe against whom the enemy had scarcely made any impression, the French first wavered, and then fled with precipitation. In their retreat they were charged by the numerous cavalry of the allies with so much impetuosity that their ranks were broken, and the utmost disorder ensued. The result of the battle of Jüterbock, or of Donnewitz, by which name it has been sometimes called, was five thousand prisoners, three standards, thirty-pieces of cannon, and two hundred ammunition waggons, while six thousand French troops lay dead upon the field.\* The enemy, after their defeat, attempted in vain to rally; and besides the prisoners taken in the battle, two thousand five hundred others were taken in the evening of the same day by General Wobeser, at Gahna, on their way to Dresden. The loss of the Prussians amounted, in killed and wounded, to five thousand men; "but the result of this day," says the crown prince, "ought to contribute to the consolation of every true patriot, who will find the triumph of the cause of his country insured by the death of these brave men. The heroic example shown on this occasion by the Prussian army is calculated to exist for ever in the annals of military fame, and to inspire all those who fight for the independence of Germany." It was already obvious that the star of Napoleon's destiny had began to turn pale, and General Regnier, one of the most devoted of his generals, determining apparently not to out-live the military glory of his country, remained a long time

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\* Eleventh Swedish Bulletin.

on the field exposed to the fire of the sharp-shooters of the allies, in the situation of a man desirous of death.

The situation of Bonaparte was now becoming every day more critical. The allies, indeed, had been defeated in their attempt to take Dresden, but they still acted upon a plan of consummate skill, and performed all their operations with activity, decision, and promptitude. The leading feature of the plan upon which they now acted was to gather all their forces in the route between Dresden and Leipzig, so as completely to cut off Napoleon's retreat in that direction to France. In order to effect this purpose, it became necessary to distract the attention and the forces of the enemy, and while one part of the allied army advanced towards Dresden from the valley of Toplitz, on the side of Bohemia, the corps under General Blücher made similar demonstrations on the side of Silesia, advancing and retreating successively, till the troops of the enemy were completely exhausted. In the mean time the allies were receiving powerful reinforcements, and the Emperor of Russia in particular exerted his utmost energies to bring the campaign to a successful termination. In addition to large bodies of regular troops, the Cossacks were receiving continual reinforcements from the banks of the Don; and in the situation of the French army these light troops rendered the most essential service, by intercepting the communication with France, and cutting off the supplies. The plan of Napoleon was to attack the allies, to impede their advance, and by menaces to gain time, either to extricate himself from the dangerous predicament in which he was placed, or to manœuvre the armies to which he was opposed out of their position. The latter object he was not able to effect; for after repeated marches and counter-marches to and from the Bohemian frontier, the grand allied army remained on the spot to which it had retired after the battle of Dresden; so that in this quarter his repeated movements were unavailing, while time was afforded to the allied armies in other parts to press forwards and close in upon him. During all this time his numerical strength was daily decreasing. The sword had done much, sickness had scarcely done less, and repeated rencontres, with the accompanying privations, depressed the spirits and hopes of the whole army. In the month of September, while Napoleon yet clung to Dresden, upwards of five thousand letters were seized, principally by the vigilance of the Cossacks, upon French couriers, and these letters, which gave the most gloomy details of the French army, were all written in a style of despondency.

Great, however, as were the advantages of the allies, yet in



the present relative position of the armies there was little prospect that they would immediately inflict any fatal blow by the superior force which they had at their disposal. Napoleon, from his central situation, could still command a temporary superiority at any point which was seriously threatened. The grand army had appeared before Dresden, but had again retreated. General Blucher had repeatedly approached to the vicinity of the Elbe, but a hundred thousand men defended the passage of that river ; and he beat in vain against this impregnable barrier. While these operations were taking place to the south and east of Dresden, the crown prince, who was stationed in the north, prepared to pass the Elbe at Rosslau, and to interpose a considerable force between the Elbe and the Rhine, on the enemy's line of march.

At the same time an expedition was undertaken by the Russian General Czernicheff against Cassel, which was attended with the most brilliant success. Never were decision, talents, and valour, more eminently displayed than on this occasion. On the 24th of September General Czernicheff marched to the Elbe, and after making a lateral movement to avoid a Westphalian corps, under General Bastinellar, he arrived on the 27th on Cassel, and invested that city. The Cossacks, and the hussars of Izum, were now ordered to attack the enemy's battalions stationed at Bettenhausen, with six pieces of artillery, and such were the vigour and success of the charge, that, after capturing the guns, and making four hundred prisoners, the remainder of the enemy's force was dispersed, and the fugitives pursued to the gates of the city. Jerome Bonaparte, the intrusive King of Westphalia, alarmed by this unexpected visit, collected two battalions of guards, and a thousand horse, with which he fled from his capital by the road leading to Francfort ; and on the 30th, General Czernicheff entered Cassel by capitulation, where the Russians were received by the inhabitants with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of joy. The Westphalian troops being now left at liberty to follow the bent of their own inclinations, a large proportion of them ranged themselves under the banners of the allies : and a fatal blow was thus struck against French influence in the kingdom of Westphalia.

Nor were the affairs of Bonaparte more prosperous in Italy : Beauharnois had, on his arrival in that country, succeeded in collecting a large army, but their efforts seemed to be paralyzed ; and when the Austrian General Nugent advanced, the viceroy found himself compelled to retire from the head of the Adriatic towards Venice.

These events, which in ordinary times would have been

considered as important, in the present situation of the continent scarcely attracted the attention of the public ; all thoughts and conjectures were fixed upon Dresden and its vicinity. About the middle of September, Prince Schwartzenburg, to whom the command of the allied army in Bohemia was confided, had succeeded in forming a communication with General Blucher at Gobel, and by an extension of the Prussian line, a communication was also opened with the crown prince at Bautzen. On the advance of the allies to Gobel, Prince Poniatowski was posted at that place, but he was now compelled to retire to a station within fifteen miles of Dresden, while Marshal Macdonald was at the same time obliged to take up a position on the Spree, within thirty miles of the same city. Marshal Marmont, who had occupied the left bank of the Elbe with the 6th corps, was recalled, and sent with the cavalry, under the King of Naples, to Grossen Hayn, about twenty miles to the north of Dresden, to check the Swedes, who were advancing in that direction. Marshal Ney, after his defeat at Juterbock, took shelter under the cannon of Torgau, from which station he had not removed at the period now under consideration. Such were the positions of the armies and the state of affairs about the middle of September. On the 14th, the grand allied army again advanced from the valley of Toplitz, driving back the 1st, 2d, and 14th corps of the French army, which, with the guards, were posted on the frontiers. Again was Bonaparte compelled to leave this city, in order to reinforce his advanced divisions ; and the 15th and 16th were spent in forcing the allies back into Bohemia.

The French Emperor could now no longer conceal his situation from the people of France ; he had in his bulletins spoken of success almost uninterrupted, and it was with extreme reluctance that he acknowledged his inability either to advance, or to make head against the formidable confederacy by which he was assailed. But the truth could not be concealed ; there was no possibility of escaping out of his perilous situation unless large reinforcements were sent to his rescue, and the exigencies of the case would not admit of a moment's delay. Accordingly, on the 4th of October an extraordinary meeting of the French senate was held, at which Cambaceres, the Duke of Parma, after submitting to that assembly the long delayed report concerning the war with Austria and Sweden, distinctly avowed that the emperor's means were not adequate to the emergency of his situation ; and called on them for a fresh levy of two hundred and eighty thousand men. On this occasion the empress was brought forward to declare, that the enemies of France wished to destroy her allies, to punish them



for their fidelity, and to carry the war into the bosom of France itself. Acquainted for four years with the most intimate thoughts of her august spouse, the empress knew with what sentiments he would be agitated, upon a degraded throne, and under a crown without glory—and in the name of the emperor and their national honour, she conjured all Frenchmen to rally round the standard of their country.

But this call was made too late: the allies, long before the *senatus consultum* of the 4th of October could be carried into effect, had executed their grand plan of operations. During the month of September, which was principally occupied in military movements, the allied forces had been augmented by the arrival of General Benningsen, at the head of a Russian corps of forty thousand men. The Hetman Platoff, the Cossack chief, who had been for some time absent from the great theatre of active operations, now re-appeared, and his warriors formed part of General Benningsen's corps, which joined the grand army in Bohemia. This seasonable reinforcement determined the leaders of that army to make a movement on the left, and, ascending from Bohemia, to interpose between Dresden and the communication with the Rhine. Platoff, with his Cossacks, led the advance, and vanquished a French corps, under General Lefebvre, which had been despatched to clear the road from Dresden. The allied army, in quitting the Bohemian frontier, proceeded in three divisions towards Leipzig, the force of the Russians and Prussians amounting to ninety thousand, and the Austrians to a hundred thousand men. The armies of the crown prince and General Blucher, amounting together to one hundred and thirty thousand men, made a combined movement on the 5th of October in the direction of Leipzig, and by the 9th the whole of the combined armies formed a line in Bonaparte's rear, stretching from Dessau to the Bohemian mountains. Never perhaps was a military operation accomplished by so extensive and simultaneous a movement. The allies had now effected their great preliminary design, and it is impossible not to admire the skill, boldness, and energy, displayed upon this occasion.

An event now occurred of the most embarrassing nature to France. Bavaria had long been the ally of that state, but whether attached by fear or favour it is difficult to determine. The alliances of states, formed and nurtured under the sunbeams of prosperity, are seldom found capable of withstanding the chilling blasts of adversity. Bonaparte had certainly been liberal to Bavaria; he had aggrandized that kingdom at the expense of Austria; and evidently wished to raise her up as a barrier to protect the French territory. But she had

in the wars of France been treated as a vassal ; she had been obliged to unite her forces to the French armies, and to send them to the extremities of Europe, to shed their blood in wars in which they could feel no interest. A superior Austrian corps, under Prince Reuss, had already entered the Bavarian territory ; and the French army assembled on the Maine, and from which Bonaparte had promised assistance to Bavaria, had, in the exigency of his affairs, been ordered to repair to the Elbe. Maximilian Joseph, therefore, suddenly determined to dissolve all the ties which united him to France, and to afford to the cause of the allies his full and cordial co-operation. A treaty of alliance and concert between Austria and Bavaria was accordingly signed by Prince Reuss and General Wrede, on the 8th of October ; and the Bavarian general, with thirty-five thousand Bavarian troops and twenty-five thousand Austrians under his command, immediately communicated with the combined armies.

In this most alarming state of affairs, Napoleon was reduced to the absolute necessity of commencing his retreat, and on the 7th of October he quitted Dresden, accompanied by the royal family of Saxony. It is impossible to assign any rational motive for the pertinacity with which the French Emperor clung to the Saxon capital, unless it be supposed that he was under the same infatuation which seized him during the Russian campaign, and led him to advance, at the approach of winter, into a hostile and barren country, and to continue at Moscow till retreat was almost impossible. To every man not blinded by passion or obstinacy, it must have been apparent, that by lingering at Dresden, his own forces were gradually reduced in number and strength, while those of his enemy were daily accumulating, and placing themselves in a situation to cut off his communication with France.

The march of the French army, on its departure from Dresden, was not directed upon Leipzig, but upon Wittenburg ; Berlin seemed to be its ulterior object, and the utmost alarm seized that capital. The crown prince, and General Blucher, upon learning this new direction of the French army, although they could not anticipate from it any unfavourable issue to the contest, determined to follow close in the rear of Napoleon, to be ready to assail him at any point against which he might direct his operations. With this view, they re-crossed the Saale and the Elster, and were preparing to gain the right bank of the Elbe, when they learned that a complete change was observable in the movements of the enemy. It now appeared, that the French division which had passed the Elbe, and threatened Berlin, had been recalled, and that all the different



corps were moving in the direction of Leipzig, where the fate of Europe was soon to be decided. The reason assigned by Bonaparte for this sudden change in his plan of operations, was the intelligence just received, that Bavaria had not only dissolved the alliance which had so long united her to France, but had concluded with the allies a treaty of co-operation. But whatever might be the motives by which he was actuated, this instance of vacillation in the councils of the French commander, was the source of irreparable injury to his affairs: by not marching at once from Dresden to Leipzig and the Saale, he suffered the allies to conduct their operations unmolested in his rear; and he was afterwards driven to retrace his steps, when it was too late to reap the benefits which might have been derived from more vigorous and decisive measures.

On the 15th of October Bonaparte arrived at Leipzig, and found that place still in the possession of his troops; but the city was surrounded by hostile armies. The united force of General Blücher and the crown prince, extended on the north from the Mulda to the Saale; and the army of Silesia communicated along the Saale with the grand army, which extended to the south from that river to the Mulda. According to this disposition of the allied forces, the two armies touched each other at the extremities, and though they were separated at other points, yet even their opposite lines were so nearly in contact that they could communicate by signals, and hear distinctly the sound of each other's cannon.

The 16th of October, the day immediately following the arrival of Napoleon, was fixed upon by Prince Schwarzenberg, the commander-in-chief of the allied armies, for a general attack on all the French positions round Leipzig; and on this occasion the following order of the day was issued:—

“Brave warriors! The most important epoch of this sacred struggle is arrived. The decisive hour is striking: prepare for the fight. That tie which binds powerful nations together for one and the same object, will be drawn closer on the field of battle. Russians, Austrians, Prussians, you combat for the same cause; you fight for the liberty of Europe, for the independence of your country, for the honour and immortality of your name. One for all! All for one! Let this be your rallying cry when rushing to battle. Be faithful to it in the decisive moment, and victory is yours.”

This energetic appeal to the army excited the most lively enthusiasm. On the north, the French division under Marshal Ney, consisting of the 4th, 6th, and 7th corps, commanded by Count Bertrand, Marshal Marmont, and General Regnier, occupied a line about four miles in extent, stretching from Leipzig along the roads to Dessau and Magdeburg. The

army of the Crown Prince of Sweden formed the left of the opposite line, reaching from Wetten to Zarlug. On the right, nearer Leipzig, was General Blücher, with his head-quarters pushed to Gross Kirgall, and it was determined that on this side the grand effort should be made. At mid-day a furious onset was made by the Prussian cavalry, which dislodged the enemy from the advanced villages which they had occupied; but they tenaciously held the woody ground on their right, and maintained themselves in the villages of Mockern and Makau, on the left of their position. In the former of these villages a bloody contest ensued. Five times it was taken and retaken by General D'York, but at length the victorious Silesians carried all before them, and drove the French force beyond the banks of the Partha. The Russians, equally with their brave allies in arms, made the most gallant efforts in the villages of Great and Little Wetteritz; and the loss of the French in this battle, as stated on the authority of the London Gazette, was forty pieces of cannon, twelve thousand killed, wounded, and prisoners, one eagle, and many caissons; while the loss of the allies did not exceed seven thousand men.

While this contest was raging to the north of Leipzig, a separate, and still more furious battle, was fought on the south, between Prince Schwartzberg, who was advancing towards Leipzig by the road of Lützen, and that portion of the French army which was commanded by Bonaparte in person. The attack was made by the allies at eight o'clock in the morning, and the principal operations took place on the side of Wachau and Liebertswolkwitz. At eleven o'clock Marshal Macdonald showed himself in advance before Holzhausen, and, in conjunction with General Lauriston, succeeded in forcing General Count Klenau to evacuate the position he had occupied near Gross Possna. Count Klenau, having obtained reinforcements, ordered a succession of attacks to be made on the enemy at Seyfartshayn and Gross Possna, and these posts were, in the course of the day, taken and retaken several times. On the side of Wachau, the enemy, aided by fresh troops, pressed forward with so much vigour, that the Prince of Wirtemberg was obliged to make a retrograde movement; and Prince Schwartzberg, being apprised that Napoleon was making his great effort in this quarter, immediately ordered up into line the whole of the Austrian reserves. At the moment that the Austrian reserved cavalry, under General Count Nostitz, was debouching in advance of Grobern, the French dragoon-guards and Polish cavalry, under General Letort, had already penetrated to the vicinity of that village, and several of the battalions of infantry, drawn up in square masses,



were following in close order. In this emergency General Nostitz charged the enemy's cavalry at the head of three regiments of Austrian cuirassiers; and the charge was made with so much energy, that the cavalry was broken, and several squares of French guards put completely to the rout.—Napoleon, finding all his attempts to gain ground in this quarter frustrated, now determined to repeat his attacks upon the Prince of Wirtemberg; and for this purpose, the corps of cavalry under General Latour Maubourg, headed by the King of Naples, was brought into action. In this quarter the French infantry greatly out-numbered the Russians, and the allies had only ten squadrons of light cavalry on the spot. The enemy, favoured by the nature of the ground, advanced to the charge with impetuosity, and were actually on the point of breaking through the confederate army and cutting off the right wing, when the Emperor Alexander, perceiving the critical situation in which the army was placed, and fully aware of the disastrous consequences that would ensue, ordered, at this decisive moment, the reserve of the Cossack guards to charge the enemy. The charge was irresistible; the French horse were broken and dispersed; twenty-four pieces of captured cannon were retaken, and the disasters of the day were retrieved. According to the reports of those who witnessed this battle, the French stood as if rooted to the spot—the allies like rocks of granite; the former fought like men—the latter like lions. On the approach of night, both parties, inspired with mutual respect, desisted from hostilities. The battles of the 16th, which extended over a circle of many miles, and of which Leipzig may be considered as the centre, were not altogether so favourable to the allied arms as their numerical superiority, and the sanguine hopes of the friends of German independence, might have suggested: nor had Napoleon any reason for exultation, though all the bells of Leipzig were put in motion by French command to celebrate the victory. The momentary advantages acquired by the courage and constancy of his troops, were productive of no important consequences, and the rivers of blood shed on the 16th may be said to have flowed in vain.

The 17th was occupied by the French in replacing the eighty thousand cannon balls which had been fired on the preceding day, and by the allies in bringing up their reinforcements. On the advance of the allies from Bohemia, General Benningsen, at the head of a large army, had been left to observe Dresden; but when Napoleon quitted that capital, and left it defended by General St. Cyr alone, with a garrison of sixteen thousand men, so large a force was no longer necessary for the

purpose of observation. The Russian general was therefore directed to leave merely a detachment before the Saxon capital, and with the whole of his remaining force to push forward without delay to join the grand army. During the 17th some minor changes were made in the French army. On the north the troops were drawn behind the river Partha ; on the south they retired from Leobert, Walkowitz, and Wachar, where the battle of the 16th had been fought, into the interior line round Leipzig ; and on the same day they succeeded in making an opening through the allied line along the Saale, in the direction of Weissenfels, thus at once securing to themselves a retreat, and intercepting the free communication between the allied armies.

On the 18th Field-marshal Prince Schwartzenberg, having brought up all his reinforcements, determined to execute the designs of the allied sovereigns, and to bring the the fate of Europe to its final crisis. At two o'clock in the morning, Napoleon was upon the field. He approached within two leagues of Leipzig, and stationed his army, the right at Connewitz, the centre at Probstheyda, and the left at Sletteritz, villages to the south-east of the city, placing himself in the mill of Ta. On his side, Marshal Ney ranged his troops opposite the Silesian army, under General Blucher, upon the Partha. The 6th corps was at Schoenfeld, and the 3d and the 7th along the Partha at Neutsch and Teekla. The Duke of Padua, with General Dombrowski, guarded the position and the suburb of Leipzig upon the Halle road ; while General Bertrand marched upon Lutzen and Weissenfels, to keep open the communication with Erfurt.

The grand army of the allies, which was under arms by the dawn of day, was divided into three columns : the first under the command of General Benningsen, received orders to proceed from Seyfartshayn in the direction of Holzhausen ; the second, commanded by General Barclay de Tolly, was destined to advance against the heights of Wachau ; and the third, under the Prince of Hesse-Homburg, formed the reserve. In the execution of this plan of combined operation, the army of Silesia, commanded by General Blucher, was appointed to advance upon the Partha ; while the northern army, under the crown prince, had orders to advance direct upon Leipzig.

At eight eight o'clock in the morning the first column of the grand army advanced in three divisions against the enemy, and after outflanking Marshal Macdonald, carried the villages of Holzhausen and Zuckelhausen. At ten, the second column, under General Barclay de Tolly, penetrated to Wachau, and having repulsed some detachments of the enemy, occupied



that village by two brigades. The corps of Russians under Count Wittgenstein followed close upon the rear of General Kleist, who formed the advanced-guard, and the two corps drew up in battle array, in the vicinity of Probstheyda. At two o'clock in the afternoon the two brigades, headed by Prince Augustus of Prussia, and General Pirch, belonging to Kleist's corps, received orders to storm the village of Probstheyda. This village, which formed the centre of Napoleon's troops, and might be called the key of his position, was occupied by a large French force, consisting of the 2d corps, under Marshal Victor, and a part of the 5th corps, exclusive of the reinforcements from the guards, which were successively thrown in from the reserve. The place itself was defended by more than eight thousand infantry; and batteries on both sides of the village spread death and destruction through the advancing columns. The gallant Prussians, undismayed by the murderous fire of the enemy's batteries, stormed and carried the place at the point of the bayonet. This success however was only transient; the French division, supported by the reserve, returned to the charge, and the Prussians, in their turn, were forced to retreat to the extremity of the village. At this moment a corps of the enemy attempted to take the retreating army in flank, but a regiment of West Prussians fell upon the pursuers, and repulsed them with loss. This advantage enabled the Prussian brigades to storm and carry the village a second time; and a second time the enemy, by force of numerical strength, succeeded in depriving them of their conquest. A detachment from the corps of Count Wittgenstein was now ordered up to the assistance of Prince Augustus; but notwithstanding a heavy cannonade on the solid masses of the enemy's infantry, and a murderous fire of grape shot on his cavalry, he still retained possession of Probstheyda, and all the efforts made to dislodge him from that position proved unavailing.

Prodigious as were the efforts made on this day by the confederate army, to make an impression on Napoleon's line of positions, yet the conflict was marked by no particular feature, nor distinguished by any bold manœuvre, or striking vicissitude: physical force supplied the place of military skill, and a series of regular assaults, bloody and obstinate, seem to have formed the general characteristic of the battle of Leipzig. The theatre of these immense operations extended over a circle of many miles, within which death was dispersed at the same moment from the mouths of fifteen hundred pieces of cannon. On the field of battle were congregated three emperors, two sovereign princes, and the heir-apparent to a crown;

more than half a million of warriors, drawn from every region of their widely extended dominions, formed the combatants; and the stake at issue was nothing less than the independence of Europe.

At eight o'clock in the morning, the northern army, under the crown prince, supported by the Silesian army, under General Blucher, quitted their position at Breitenfeld, and filed off towards Taucha, where they passed the river Partha, and formed a junction with General Benningsen's army. Marshal Ney was soon aware that his position behind the Partha was forced at all points by the northern army moving forwards from Taucha, and immediately changed his order of battle, by posting the three corps under his command in a line between Schoenfeld and Stuntz, while the 7th corps was drawn up in two lines near Paunsdorf. On this part of the field the engagement now became animated in the extreme; thrice, say the French, did the enemy succeed in placing himself upon the left bank of the Partha, and thrice did the Prince of Moskwa drive him from that position, and overthrow him at the point of the bayonet.

It was now three o'clock in the afternoon, and victory still hovered between the two armies, doubtful on which side to plant her standard; when a brigade of Saxon cavalry, the light artillery of the 7th corps, and a battalion of Saxon light infantry, along with a brigade of Wirtemberg cavalry, under General Normann, finding themselves on the point of being charged by the Russian cavalry, marched hastily forwards, the infantry shouldering their firelocks, and the cavalry sheathing their swords, and passed over to the allies! The Saxon corps posted in Paunsdorf no sooner heard of this event, than they took the same resolution; and although the Saxon General Zeschau exerted his utmost efforts to detain his troops in the French ranks, yet the whole of the 1st brigade, consisting of eleven battalions of infantry, three squadrons of cavalry, and three complete batteries of heavy artillery, followed the example of their brethren in arms, and made the cause of the confederates their own—proving to conquerors, that the terror which they inspire terminates with the power which has created it. This defection of the allies of Napoleon, at so critical a moment, not only caused an opening in the French lines, but gave up to the crown prince the important debouch confided to the Saxon army, which carried its hostility to such a height as immediately to turn its forty pieces of cannon against General Doretts's division. Disorder now prevailed in the French ranks; the allies established them-



selves on the left bank of the Partha, and soon advanced within half a league of Leipzic.

The French Emperor, astonished, but not dismayed, by the "treason"\* of the Saxon troops, instantly despatched General Nansouty, with twenty pieces of artillery, in order to take in flank the troops which were advancing along the Partha to attack Leipzic, while he himself was seen on the field proceeding in haste with a division of his guards to the village of Reudnitz, to oppose General Langeron. The promptitude of these movements re-established order in the French army ; but the appearance of General Count Bubna at Molkau arrested the progress of Nansouty, and obliged him to forego his intention of outflanking the advanced column of the allies. From some unaccountable delay, the Swedish artillery had not arrived upon the field, but the crown prince found a substitute in the cannon of the Saxons, which, being supported by a battery of Congreve's rockets, mowed down the ranks of the enemy, and contributed materially to their repulse. Napoleon, from his post at Reudnitz, pushed forward a division of his guards to the support of Marshal Marmont, who now succeeded in forcing Count Langeron to retire from his position at Schonfeld. The crown prince, perceiving the inequality of numbers by which General Langeron was pressed and obliged to retreat, ordered the Swedish General Cardell to advance with twenty pieces of cannon ; and thus reinforced, Langeron was enabled towards the close of the day to retake the village.

General Blucher, although he took no prominent part in the battle of Leipzic, contributed by his dispositions to promote the fortune of the day. Perceiving that the enemy was sending off troops in his rear on the road to Weissenfels, the veteran general, with his usual foresight and promptitude of action, detached General D'Yorck with his whole corps, on the evening of the 18th, towards Halle, in hopes that on the left bank of the Saale he might reach Weissenfels before the enemy.

The approach of night put a stop to the operations of the conflicting armies. The enemy, in the midst of all his disasters, had made a gallant stand, and it must be admitted that he was not absolutely beaten out of the field ; but the allies, by bearing up from all sides at one and the same moment, had established their united force within a few miles of Leipzic, and it had become obvious that further resistance on the part of the French must be unavailing. To add to the embarrassment of the Emperor Napoleon, Generals Sorbier and Dulau-loy repaired to his bivouac at seven o'clock in the evening, to

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\* French Bulletin of the 24th of October.

inform him, that in the course of the day ninety-five thousand cannon-balls had been fired; that the ammunition in reserve was exhausted; and that there remained only sixteen thousand cannon-balls, which would scarcely suffice for a cannonade of two hours, after which no ammunition would remain for ulterior events; that the army had in five days fired two hundred and twenty thousand cannon-balls, and that a further supply could only be obtained at Magdeburg or Erfurt. This state of things rendered an immediate retreat indispensable, and Napoleon determined to march upon Erfurt, for the same reason which induced him to march to Leipzig—to enable him to ascertain the defection of Bavaria.\*

The passage along the road leading to Weissenfels, narrowed as it was at present, was attended with extreme difficulty. Five or six rivers running parallel, and near each other, and requiring bridges for each, formed a long and narrow defile, through which an encumbered army could make only tardy movements. The evening had scarcely closed when the French army began to defile, and the whole of the night of the 18th was occupied in the retreat. Napoleon, with the main body of his guards, remained in the vicinity of Leipzig till the morning of the 19th, when the victorious army of the confederates, headed by their gallant commanders, made every preparation to storm his last strong hold. At nine o'clock the bombardment commenced. The Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, had scarcely joined the army in front of Leipzig, when a Saxon officer with a flag of truce arrived, and, in the name of the magistracy, requested that hostilities might be suspended for the purpose of arranging a capitulation. The messenger was received by the Emperor Alexander in person, who announced to him that his request could not be granted; and the preparations for the assault were continued with undiminished alacrity; when a second flag of truce appeared from Marshal Marmont, with an offer to deliver up the remainder of the Saxon troops, if the French might be permitted to retire unmolested, and the city spared a bombardment. These proposals being made only to gain time, were rejected, and the general attack had already begun. General Sacken, who had advanced to the north side of the city, carried the intrenchments in front of the Halle gate after a severe action; but a galling fire of grape shot still retarded his advance, till General Langeron, by order of General Blucher, filed off a body of troops for his support through the

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\* French Bulletin of the 24th of October.



meadows of the Partha, and after forcing the enemy to abandon the gate, entered the city as conquerors. The northern army commenced its operations towards the east; and the crown prince ordered General Bulow to attack and occupy Leipzig in that direction. The gates were defended with great bravery, but nothing could withstand the Prussian bayonet; the French gave way in all directions, and notwithstanding all their attempts to rally in the streets, the intrepid Prussians bore down all opposition, and became masters of the eastern division of the town. About the same time the advanced guard of General Benningsen's army entered the city, and after a severe engagement in some of the avenues, put the enemy completely to the rout. The immense quantity of baggage, artillery, and equipages of every description, relinquished by the French army in their precipitate retreat, had choked up every street, gate-way, and out-let; and the retreating army exhibited a chaos of confusion that cannot be described, while each individual sought in flight his personal safety.

Obstinately as the French defended themselves, they were unable to withstand the iron masses of the assailants. They were overthrown in every quarter, and finally driven out of the city. In Leipzig, which, including the suburbs, occupies an area of little less than six English miles, scarcely a house presented itself which did not exhibit evidence of the sanguinary conflict. The ground was strewn with dead bodies, and the carcases of horses were particularly numerous. The Runstadt causeway, where it is crossed by the Muhlgraben or mill-dam, exhibited a spectacle peculiarly horrid. Men and horses were every where to be seen; driven into the water they had there found a grave, and their remains were now projected in hideous groups upon the surface. Here the storming columns from all the gates, guided by the retiring foe, had united, and had found a sure mark for every shot in the closely compacted masses of the enemy. But the most dreadful sight of all was that which presented itself in the beautiful Richter's garden, once the ornament of the city, on that side where it joins the Elster; there the cavalry were engaged; and along the banks, heads, arms, and feet appeared above the water. Numbers, in attempting to ford that treacherous river, had perished in its stream. The smoking ruins of whole villages and towns consumed by fire, or of extensive tracts laid waste by inundations, exhibit a melancholy spectacle; but a field of battle is the most shocking sight that the eye can behold. Here all kinds of horrors are united; here

death reaps his richest harvest, and revels amid a thousand different forms of human suffering.\*

Napoleon did not quit Leipzig till ten o'clock in the morning, and only a few minutes previously to the victorious entrance of the allies. Before his departure, he had ordered the engineers to form a mine under the grand bridge between Leipzig and Lindenau, with directions to blow up the bridge when the French troops had all marched over, and thus to retard the advance of their pursuers. This duty, by a strange neglect on the part of Colonel Montfort, was confided to a corporal and four sappers, who, ill comprehending the nature of the service, upon hearing the first shot discharged from the ramparts of the city, set fire to the mine, and blew up the bridge. When this explosion took place, the whole of the rear guard of the French army, under Marshal Macdonald and Prince Poniatowski, were still on the Leipzig side of the river, with a park of eighty pieces of cannon, and several hundred waggons. A cry of dismay soon spread through the ranks on the approach of the troops to the river—"The enemy are close upon our rear, and the bridges are destroyed!" was heard on every side. The soldiers dispersed, and were all either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners; Marshal Macdonald swam across the river; but Prince Poniatowski, less fortunate, plunged into the Elster, and sunk never more to rise.†

The results of the battle of Leipzig were immense and decisive. The allied armies took fifteen general officers, and among them Generals Regnier and Lauriston, commanding corps d'armee. The body of General Dumorestier was found in the river, and more than a thousand men perished in the stream. Two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, nine hundred caissons, and about fifteen thousand prisoners, including the King of Saxony and all his court, fell into the hands of the allies, besides several eagles and colours. The enemy abandoned more than twenty-three thousand sick and wounded,

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\* Narrative of the Battle of Leipzig by an eye-witness.

† PRINCE JOSEPH PONIATOWSKI, nephew of Stanislaus Augustus, the last King of Poland. This gallant prince had long ranked among the most devoted of the French generals, and when he perceived that he was in danger of being captured, he drew his sabre, and turning to the officers by whom he was surrounded, said—"Gentlemen, it is better to fall with honour than to live disgraced." He then rushed, at the head of a few Polish cuirassiers, upon the advancing columns of the allies, and cut his way through their ranks to the Elster, where he met his fate. His unshaken attachment to the Emperor Napoleon is attributed to a hope that he would one day restore the land of his nativity to that rank among nations from which she had been precipitated by the ambition and injustice of the courts of St. Petersburg, Vienna, and Berlin.



and his total loss exceeded sixty thousand men. According to every calculation, the Emperor Napoleon was not able to save from the general disaster more than from seventy-five to eighty thousand troops.\* “It is inconceivable,” says the crown prince, in the bulletin from which we quote, “how a man who had commanded in thirty pitched battles, and who had exalted himself by military glory, in appropriating to himself that of all the old French generals, should have been capable of concentrating his army in so unfavourable a position as that in which he had placed it. The Elster and the Pleisse in his rear, a marshy ground to traverse, and only a single bridge for the passage of a hundred thousand men, and three thousand baggage waggons. Every one asks, ‘Is this the great captain who has hitherto made Europe tremble!’”

The allied monarchs, proceeding from different quarters, at the head of their guards, made a solemn entry into Leipzig about mid-day on the 19th of October, and met in the great square of that city, where the deliverance of Germany from a foreign yoke, dissolution of the confederation of the Rhine, and the overthrow of the continental system, formed the animating topics of their mutual congratulations. Never in the ensanguined annals of Europe had any military operations been exhibited on so grand a scale as those which, for four days, took place in the neighbourhood of Leipzig. Famine and pestilence, which follow in the train of war, did their part, and co-operated with the sword in the work of death. The city of Leipzig became a hospital. Thousands of the inhabitants of that place and the adjacent villages and hamlets were deprived of their homes, stripped of their all, their habitations reduced to ashes, and their families left to perish by hunger. Their fields, which had gained everlasting celebrity from the most signal of victories, were, to the distance of ten or twelve miles, transformed into a desert. The industry of many years was annihilated in a few hours. All around was one wide waste. The miserable condition of these deplorable victims of the thirst of conquest no language is able to pourtray.†

The retreat of Napoleon was such as might have been expected; a powerful army was behind, and clouds of Cossacks and other light troops were far advanced before him; his line of march from the Saale to Fulda was strewn with artillery, baggage, and every species of military wreck; and the more effectually to impede his movements, the Bavarian army,

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\* Twenty-third Bulletin of the crown Prince, dated Leipzig, October 21st, 1813.

† Memorial of the City of Leipzig to the British Nation.

amounting to thirty-five thousand men, had placed themselves at Hanau, near the banks of the Maine. On the arrival of Napoleon at Erfurt, on the 23d, he halted for two days, to reorganize and refresh his exhausted army. To the neighbourhood of this city he was pursued by Field-marshal Blucher,\* who, by an unfortunate, but very natural, calculation, concluded that Bonaparte would endeavour to cross the Rhine at Coblenz, and advanced in the direction of that city. Relieved by this movement of the Silesian army, from the apprehension of being placed between two fires, Napoleon advanced by rapid marches upon Hanau, where he turned the whole of his remaining force against the Bavarians. General Wrede, with the most gallant determination, resolved to sustain the unequal contest; but after a well contested battle, of eight hours duration, he was compelled to give way; and on the evening of the 31st the head-quarters of the French army were established at Francfort. On the 7th of November, Napoleon crossed the Rhine at Mentz, with the remnant of his German army, leaving behind him all his conquests, and with them his towering hopes of universal dominion.

Two days after the passage of the Rhine, the French Emperor arrived in Paris; when the senate was immediately convened, and three hundred thousand men placed, by a decree of that body, at the disposal of the minister of war. This measure was declared to be necessary in consequence of the unparalleled treachery of the allies of France, at the battle of Leipzig; and the people, who were reminded of the fate of Poland, were asked what would be the situation of France, should the advancing enemy penetrate into her territory? Had not France been exhausted; had she, besides the requisite population to supply her new and great demand, still retained either that enthusiasm by which she was animated at the beginning of the revolution, or that stimulating and ambitious fondness for military glory, and that firm belief that Bonaparte was destined to render her the mistress of Europe, with which she was so fully possessed not two years before, she might have succeeded in raising a numerous and powerful army. But the campaigns of Russia and of Germany had stripped her almost of her efficient military population; the fondness for glory had abated; and not all the arts of Napoleon could restore it, or revive that patriotic ardour which dis-

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\* At the close of the battle of Leipzig, the Prince of Schwartzemberg, the commander-in-chief of the allied armies, was invested by his sovereign with the great cross of the order of Maria Theresa; and on the following day the King of Prussia promoted General Blucher to the rank of Field-Marshal.



tinguished the French nation, when the sovereigns of Europe leagued against the republic, invaded their country twenty years before.

In the mean time, the mighty edifice which Napoleon had erected on the ruins of the independence of the continent, was tottering to its fall. The victory of Leipzig, by freeing the minds of the people of Germany from all apprehensions of his power, completely dissolved the confederation of the Rhine, and deprived France of every efficient ally. The Kings of Denmark and Naples, indeed, still retained the character of the friends of Napoleon, but the former was too remote in situation and too feeble in resources, to afford him any assistance, and the latter, before the close of the year, was employed in negotiating a treaty with the allied sovereigns for the preservation of his own dominions.

It is the happy impulse of tyranny to pursue the road to its own destruction; and in Holland, the grievous oppressions suffered from the law of conscription, and the rigid enforcement of the continental system, had inspired every heart with an earnest desire to throw off the French yoke. Under the pressure of severe and long continued sufferings, all the parties which once divided and agitated that unhappy country, had undergone a salutary change. The remembrance of former evils and discontents had faded away, while the blessings which had once been enjoyed under the government of the house of Orange were borne in mind, with regret for the past, and hope for the future. The disasters experienced by the French army in the Russian campaign, had revived the hopes of the friends of national independence; and towards the close of the year 1812, the chiefs of the Orange party at the Hague met frequently, in secret, to consult on the best measures for freeing their country from French control, and effecting the restoration of the Prince of Orange.

During the spring and summer of the year 1813, Holland remained tranquil; and the French government seems to have been lulled by this tranquillity into a state of delusive confidence. Troops were marched from all quarters of that country, to join the army with which Bonaparte was about to attack the allied forces; and no serious apprehensions were entertained respecting the people of Holland. From this period, to the month of October following, no circumstance arose that was calculated materially to alarm the French authorities; but when the intelligence of the result of the battle of Leipzig began to transpire, the confederates at the Hague, amounting to one hundred in number, judged that the time had arrived to emancipate their country, and as one of the first

steps towards effecting their object, they determined to enlarge their number by the addition of a respectable body of their fellow citizens. With this view, each of the confederates engaged to select from among his friends four individuals, who, without any mutual concert or knowledge of each other, should engage to be ready whenever called upon, to obey the command of the friend by whom each was selected. Thus they formed a band of four hundred respectable adherents, selected chiefly from among the burgers of the town, and held together by the terms of friendship, patriotism, and mutual security. At the head of this band stood Count Styrum; and the services of the inhabitants of Schœveningen, a village on the coast, about a mile from the Hague, were secured by the influence of an inhabitant of that place, of the name of Pronck. No measures were taken to influence the people, for none were necessary, it being perfectly clear that their good will and co-operation might be depended upon, the moment leaders were presented to them in whom they could confide. Count Styrum, whose zeal, courage, and activity were remarkable, soon succeeded in gaining over the whole of the Dutch national guard at the Hague, consisting of three hundred men, along with their colonel (Tulling), who conducted himself with so much circumspection as to retain, to the moment of the explosion, the confidence of the French prefect.

On the 15th of November, the populace being already in a state of great fermentation, a mob was collected at Amsterdam, which immediately proceeded to burn the wooden huts in which the douaniers, or excise officers, levied the duties, and to pillage the house of the receiver of the customs, who refused to take down the French arms. This tumult, which had the appearance of being purely accidental, succeeded in terrifying the French authorities, who on the next day quitted the town; and from this period, the corporation, and the more opulent part of the inhabitants of Amsterdam, who had hitherto resisted the idea of a counter-revolution, attached themselves to the popular cause. On the next day a proclamation was issued, in which four and twenty citizens were called on by name, to assume the administration of affairs, and the government of the city passed into their hands. No sooner had the intelligence of the insurrection at Amsterdam reached the Hague, than Count Styrum was immediately appointed governor by the confederates, in the name of the Prince of Orange. An instrument was also drawn up, summoning a meeting of those persons who had been members of the states of Holland, in the years 1794-5, and this meeting was appointed to take place on the following day. A proclamation



addressed to the Dutch people, was at the same time issued by the provisional government, and this laconic and emphatic address, sufficiently indicates the wisdom and moderation which regulated their councils :

#### ORANGE BOVEN !

Holland is free !—the allies advance upon Utrecht—the English are invited—the French fly on all sides—the sea is open—trade revives—party spirit has ceased—what has been suffered is forgiven and forgotten—men of consequence and consideration are called to the government—the government invites the prince to the sovereignty—we join the allies, and force the enemy to sue for peace—the people are to have a day of rejoicing at the public expense, without being allowed to plunder or commit any excess—every one renders thanks to God—old times are restored.—*Orange boven !*

This proclamation was received by the people with every demonstration of joy ; an Orange flag was hoisted on the tower of the Hague, and similar emblems were suspended from almost every window in the town.

It now became of great importance that the Prince of Orange should be informed of the events which had taken place on the 19th, and M. M. Perponcher and Fagel set sail from Schœveningen, with a favourable wind, for England, to offer the sovereignty to his most serene highness, and to invite him to repair to Holland, and assume the government. Messengers were also despatched in different directions ; some to the head-quarters of the allied sovereigns, which were now established at Francfort, to urge the immediate advance of the armies ; and others to the English fleet, to solicit their co-operation.

On the 27th, M. Fagel arrived from England, and was made the bearer of a letter from the Prince of Orange to M. Van Hogendorp, who, with M. Maasdam, had been appointed, on the 21st, to the general administration of affairs at the Hague. In this letter, promises were made of the prompt arrival of succours, and the prince announced his intention to sail as soon as possible for Holland. On the 30th the Prince of Orange, accompanied by Lord Clancarty, arrived off the Dutch coast, and in the course of the day effected a landing off Schœveningen, under a royal salute from a small English fleet off that station. The day was remarkably fine, the beach was covered with spectators, and the cry of *Orange boven !* was heard in every direction, accompanied by demonstrations of joy, approaching to phrenzy.

The Prince of Orange, convinced that unanimity in a nation is the only source of strength, lost no time in giving the Dutch people a pledge of the principles and conduct of his future government. Accordingly, on the 1st of December an address

was distributed, in which it was stated, that after nineteen years of absence, the prince received with the greatest joy their unanimous invitation to return among them; and that he hoped, by the blessing of Providence, to be the instrument of restoring them to their former state of independence and prosperity. That this was his only object; and he had the satisfaction to assure them, that this was also the object of the combined powers; that it was particularly the wish of the Prince Regent of England, and of the British nation. In conclusion, he assured them that he had come among them determined to pardon and to forgive all that was past, and that the spirit of party should be for ever banished. While these events were passing at the Hague, a Russian force, consisting of two thousand four hundred men, under the command of General Benkendorf, arrived at Amsterdam, and on the same day the important fortress of Brielle surrendered.

On the 3d of December, the Prince of Orange, accompanied by the English embassy, made his entrance into Amsterdam, where he was received with enthusiastic plaudits, and proclaimed by the title of William I. Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands. This proclamation was followed by the levy and organization of an army of twenty-five thousand men; and the rapid progress of the allied armies completed the triumph of Dutch independence; while the liberties of the people were secured by a constitution, combining many of the advantages of that admirable frame of government which seems destined to form, at no distant period, a model for all civilized nations.\*

This revolution, though so sudden, was not disgraced by any excesses towards the civil and military authorities by which the nation had so long been oppressed. The Dutch shewed to the kingdoms of Europe how to distinguish between the instruments and the instigators of their misfortunes; and this magnanimous example of moderation and prudence contributed probably to save France, in the approaching crisis, from the prevalence of that sanguinary spirit which too often prompts the predominant party to wreak its vengeance upon the fallen.

The British ministry seconded, by every means in their power, the exertions of the Sovereign of the Netherlands to liberate his country from French vassalage. Parliament was assembled at an early period than usual, partly in consequence of the splendid prospects that were now opening on the conti-

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\* Edinburgh Annual Register.



ment, and partly in order to replenish the public treasury, which the immense expenditure of the war in the present year had tended so much to exhaust. Never perhaps did the parliament of England exhibit so much coincidence of opinion as during this short session. Members generally adverse to the existing administration, expressed in the most frank and noble manner their commendation of ministers for the line of conduct they had pursued; and especially for the pacific and moderate tone of the speech of the prince regent, wherein he had declared, that no disposition to require from France sacrifices of any description inconsistent with her honour or just pretensions, would ever be, on his own part, or on that of his majesty's allies, an obstacle to peace. Hopes were also expressed by the members of opposition, that every exertion would be made by his majesty's government to restore Holland to her former rank and dignity among the nations of Europe; and these expectations were amply realized. A bill was passed to enable the militia to enlist into the regiments of the line without limitation; and thus the government was enabled to send a strong reinforcement to Holland, under the command of Sir Thomas Graham. Nor was this the only measure by which ministers, during the short sitting of parliament before the recess, assisted the cause of national independence; a bill was passed into a law, authorising the issue of paper money, which was to be guaranteed by England, in conjunction with Russia and Austria, and to be employed on the continent for supplying the wants of the armies.

While the grand allied army, consisting of the Austrian, Bavarian, and part of the Russian and Prussian armies, directed its march towards the Rhine, and on the 5th of November established their head-quarters at Francfort, the crown prince, with the army of the north, liberated his majesty's Hanoverian dominions from the presence of the French armies. Although ten years had separated this country from its legitimate sovereign, the inhabitants displayed at Hanover, and other places of the electorate, proofs of the most unalterable affection and loyalty, and the re-establishment of the regency of Hanover, exercised in the name of the elector, gratified the wishes, and tranquillized the minds, of every class of the people.

On the 4th of December, the corps of the prince royal's army moved forwards towards the Strecknitz; and on their arrival on the banks of that river, Marshal Davoust shut himself up in Hamburg, leaving the right wing of the Danes posted at Oldeslohe. The crown prince now marched upon Lubec,

which city soon capitulated ;\* and from thence directed his operations against Danish Holstein. An attempt was made by the government to raise the militia in this province, but the inhabitants refused to arm against the allies, and the conquest of Holstein became inevitable. The fall of Gluckstadt speedily followed the invasion of Holstein ; and Denmark, finding all further resistance unavailing, separated her interests from France, and negotiated a treaty of peace with Sweden and Great Britain. By this treaty Norway was surrendered to Sweden, in return for which Denmark was to receive Swedish Pomerania. Great Britain, on her part, agreed to restore to Denmark all the conquests made from that country, with the exception of Heligoland, in consideration of which the Danes were to join the allies with ten thousand troops, on receiving a subsidy from this country of 400,000*l*.

At the time when the negotiations were in progress between the allied powers and Denmark, the French Marshal Davoust, governor general and commander-in-chief in Hamburg, exercised the most tyrannical conduct towards the inhabitants of that city. Nothing was deemed sacred. The funds of the bank of Hamburg, with all the private property deposited in that institution by the citizens, were seized and confiscated ; every species of oppression and injustice was practised towards the inhabitants, and thousands of them, of all ages and of both sexes, were expelled from the city, because it was not in their power to accumulate a stock of provisions on which they could subsist for six months. The Prince Royal of Sweden, previous to his departure to unite his forces with the allied armies on the Rhine, penetrated with the distresses of these unfortunate fugitives, ordered the sum of forty thousand dol-

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\* The following letter on the capture of Lubec, addressed by the Prince Royal of Sweden to his son, breathes sentiments worthy of a prince :—

MY DEAR OSCAR,—The people of Lubec assisted Gustavus I. in restoring liberty to his country ; I have just discharged this debt of the Swedes—Lubec is free. I had the happiness to gain possession of the city without bloodshed. This advantage is dearer to me than victory in a pitched battle, even though it might not cost me many men. How happy are we, my dear son, when we can prevent the shedding of tears ! How sound and undisturbed is our sleep. If all men could be convinced of this truth, there would be no more conquerors, and nations would be governed only by just kings. I set off to-morrow for Oldeslohe, and the day after whither events may call me ; I do all I can to make them conduce to the good cause, and the benefit of my country. The only recompense I desire is, that it may second you, my dear child, in every thing you will one day undertake for its prosperity and welfare.

“ Your affectionate father,

(Signed)

“ CHARLES JEAN.”

“ Lubec, Dec. 7, 1813.”



lars to be dispersed to them from his military chest, and General Bennigsen, to whom the command of the besieging army before Hamburg was confided, contributed his best exertions to promote the beneficent designs of the crown prince.

The battle of Leipzig was soon after followed by the surrender of Dresden, and General St. Cyr, with his garrison of sixteen thousand men, were made prisoners of war, and marched into Russia. Bonaparte now proposed to treat for the surrender of all the fortresses on the Elbe, the Oder, and the Vistula; but as the consequence of any arrangement of this nature would have been to restore an army of upwards of fifty thousand men to France, the proposal was deemed inadmissible, and rejected by the allied sovereigns. During the campaign a change of the most disastrous nature had taken place in the affairs of the French Emperor. He had on the Elbe, at one period, an army approaching to three hundred thousand men; but he had been driven across the Rhine with less than one-third of that number. While he remained on the Elbe, Hanover, Westphalia, Saxony, and Holland, were still his tributary states; now, that his army was upon the Rhine, Hanover, Westphalia, Holland, and all Germany, were against him. The people of the Netherlands were ready to throw off his authority; and the combined armies, in tremendous force, were preparing to pass the French frontier. The important fortresses of Breda, Wilhelmstadt, and Helvoetsluys, in Holland, he had caused to be evacuated without the slightest resistance. He fought no longer for conquest, but for safety. Fortresses were of comparatively little importance to him; his great object was to collect and to concentrate an army, to enable him to oppose a barrier to the torrent which threatened to overwhelm him. The allies therefore did not pause in their career to besiege fortresses; but marched on against the enemy's main force, well aware that if they could destroy his grand army, the fortresses could not long survive its fate.

During "the campaign of the liberties of Europe," by which name the military operations of 1813 have been dignified, a number of distinguished warriors closed their career of glory, and a short biographical sketch of some of the most eminent of their number may form an appropriate conclusion to the history of the great events which have just passed under review.\*

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\* MICHEL, SON OF ILARION, PRINCE GOLENITSCHIEFF, KUTUSOFF, of Smolensk, born in 1745, of a noble and ancient family; Knight of the Orders of St. Andrew—of St. Alexander-Newsky—of St. George

—of St. Wladimir—of St. Anne—Commander of the Sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem—Grand Cross of the Order of Maria Theresa—and Knight of the Black Eagle, and of the Red Eagle of Prussia.

Field-marshal Kutusoff, although nobly allied, entered the Russian army as a simple cadet in the year 1759. In the campaign of 1769 against the Polish confederates, he gave the first presage of those distinguished talents which time served to develope, and which in the progress of his military career, raised him to the summit of his profession. The following year he was employed in the army of Marshal Count Remiantzoff Zadounaiski, and in the Turkish war received from that great general those lessons which serve to impart skill to the hero. In the year 1774 he was sent into the Crimea, and gave fresh proofs of his valour in the intrenchments of Schoumna, where he was struck with a ball, which, entering his left temple, passed through his head, and deprived him of the sight of his right eye. At the commencement of the second war against the Turks, in 1788, Kutusoff now became Major-general, served under Prince Potemkin at the siege of Otschacoff, and was again severely wounded by a musket shot, which entering his cheek, lodged in his neck. In September, in the same year, he served under General Suworow at the siege of Ismail, and that consummate judge of military merit soon recognized in Kutusoff talents which induced him to recommend him to the Empress Catharine as one of her most skilful generals. At the assault of Ismail, where every obstacle which art, numbers, and valour, could oppose, seemed united against the Russians, Kutusoff, at the head of the 5th column, scaled the walls, seized one of the bastions, and penetrated into the fortress. This service the commander-in-chief was proud to acknowledge. "Kutusoff," says Suworow, "by aiding my left wing, has been my right arm." The rank of Lieutenant-general, and commander of all the troops between the Pruth, the Dneister, and the Danube, rewarded his services on this sanguinary day, and procured for him the distinguished favour of his sovereign. During the whole of this war he continued to deserve the applauding smiles of his country, and he acquired a new title to its gratitude by the part which he took in restoring the peace which happily crowned his labours.

In 1792 the troubles in Poland re-called him to arms. Appointed to the command of the first division of the Ukraine, he passed the Dniester, and subdued Warsaw. The important services rendered to the state by his talents, not less than by his valour, pointed him out to the Empress Catharine as a fit person to represent the Russian court at Constantinople, and he was sent in June, 1793, in quality of ambassador to the Grand Seignior. On his return to St. Petersburg, in May, 1794, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the Russian troops and fortresses in Finland.

During the reign of the Emperor Paul he was charged with a private commission to Berlin, to Frederick William; and in 1799, after the unfortunate expedition of General Hermann, he was appointed to command the Russian troops in Holland; but on the recall of the army he returned to the Russian capital.

On the elevation of the Emperor Alexander to the throne of the Czars, General Kutusoff was appointed military governor of St. Petersburg. In 1805 he was named commander-in-chief of an army of 40,000 men, and marched to the succour of Austria; but the defeat of General Mack, and the fall of Ulm, forced him to retire. The success so faithfully attached to his steps when he advanced, did not abandon him in his retrograde movements, and a skilful retreat conferred upon Kutusoff the only kind of glory which he required to complete his military renown.

In 1806 he was appointed military governor of Kieff; and in 1809, being with the army of Moldavia, he was charged with the functions of



governor-general in Lithuania, which office he filled till 1811. On the death of Count Kamenski he resumed the chief command of the army of the Danube, and, with 30,000 men, not only succeeded in protecting the conquered provinces, menaced by a formidable army under the command of the Grand Vizier, Nazir Pacha, but forced the Turks from their intrenched camp on Mount Balkan, in the face of the most determined opposition. Not less skilful in taking advantage of the victory, than in gaining it, he led the grand vizier into a snare on the Danube, near Slobodze; deprived him of all the resources he had prepared on this side the river, invaded Silistria and Tourtoukai, cut off entirely his retreat, and forced the enemy's army to submit to an unconditional surrender. To recompense such glorious labours, his imperial majesty presented him with his portrait enriched with diamonds, and conferred on him the title of count.

A deluge, which had overwhelmed two-thirds of Europe, vast from the immense wrecks which it swept along with it, now precipitated itself towards Russia. She had need of all her forces to compose a mound capable of resisting the impetuous torrent. In these critical circumstances, peace with the Turks became indispensable, and Russia was indebted to the diplomatic skill of Count Kutusoff for this blessing. On his return to the capital he was raised to the dignity of a Prince, and the body of the nobility named him, by acclamation, chief of the soldiers of the government. But Alexander and Russia soon called him to the highest destinies: he was charged to save his country: and soon afterwards appointed by his imperial majesty commander-in-chief of all the armies. On the 28th of August, 1812, he arrived at the camp of the allied armies, near Giatzk. Scarce had he made himself acquainted with the state of the troops, when he found it necessary to measure his strength with Napoleon the Emperor of France. On the 7th of September he was engaged in the memorable battle of Borodino.\* Kutusoff, raised to the dignity of Field-Marshal for the battle of the 7th, might perhaps even now have arrested the progress of the invaders; but he knew what victory would cost him, and determined not to make the terrible sacrifice. The course he took inflicted a present evil, but it produced a permanent good. Moscow fell into the hands of the enemy; and Kutusoff, skilfully encouraging the flattering delusions which lulled the conqueror, left him to sleep in the delicious dream of a chimerical peace, which should rivet the fetters of Europe, and open to her master the gates of Asia. At length the period foreseen by this sagacious general arrived; Moscow, set free, beheld the flight of the enemy. The invincible resistance of the Russians at Malo-Jaroslavitz forced the enemy to retrace the route on which he had sown desolation and misery, and on which he could reap nothing but misery and desolation. His conqueror pursued him incessantly; every battle was a victory, every march was a triumph for the Russians. Whole armies fell beneath the rigours of a Russian winter, and the gallantry of Russian troops. Thus, these immense cohorts, which, by their numbers and formidable preparations, seemed destined to be marching to the conquest or ruin of the universe, marched only to captivity and death. On the 21st of December, the inhabitants of Wilna beheld their prince tenderly embracing the heroic author of these prodigies, decorating him with the grand cordon of St. George, and proclaiming him the saviour of his country. Already the Vistula and the Oder were free, and the order of the Black Eagle, and the portrait of the Prussian Monarch, enriched with brilliants, testified to the liberator of his country the gratitude of that prince. Soon the Russian eagle, lately come from the banks of the Moskwa, hovered over the banks of the Elbe, which now became crowded by the sons of the

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\* See Vol. III. Book IV. p. 410.

Don and the Volga. But the destiny of this great man was accomplished ; he died, covered with glory, in the 68th year of his age, in the little town of Bunzlau, in Silesia, on the 16th of April, 1813.\*

The tears of his companions in arms evinced how greatly he was venerated and esteemed by them ; and the magnificent obsequies bestowed on his remains, demonstrated how highly his memory was revered by all ; while the following letter, addressed to his widow, will shew the high esteem in which he was held by his sovereign :—

“PRINCESS CATHARINE ILINISHINA !

“The Almighty, whose decrees it is impossible for mortals to resist, and unlawful to murmur at, has been pleased to remove your husband, Prince Michel Larionovitz Kutusoff Smolensk, in the midst of his brilliant career of victory and glory, from a transient to an eternal life. A great and grievous loss, not for you alone, but for the country at large ! Your tears flow not alone for him—I weep—all Russia weeps with you. Yet God, who has called him to himself, grants you this consolation, that his name and his deeds are immortal ; a grateful country will never forget his merits. Europe, and the whole world, will for ever admire him, and inscribe his name on the list of the most distinguished commanders. A monument shall be erected to his honour ; beholding which, the Russian will feel his heart swell with pride, and the foreigner will respect a nation that gives birth to such great men. I have given orders that you should retain all the advantages enjoyed by your late husband ; and remain your affectionate

(Signed)

“ALEXANDER.”

“Dresden, April 25th, 1813.”

**MARSHAL BESSIERES, DUKE OF ISTRIA**, surnamed “The Brave,” was distinguished among the French generals for his courage and intrepidity. Italy, Germany, and the banks of the Nile, had witnessed his deeds in arms, and his urbanity in society was equal to his gallantry in the field. He was born at Pressac, in 1769, and entered the military service at the period of the revolution, as a common soldier. For sixteen years he had, in different ranks, commanded the emperor’s guard, and followed him in all his campaigns and battles. His death, upon the field of battle near Lutzen, on the 1st of May, 1813, was so rapid as to be without pain, and his memory was cherished by the whole army. A son of Marshal Bessieres, the inheritor of the name and renown of his father, has, by a striking act of magnanimity, been called, though in his nonage, to the dignity of a peer of France by Louis XVIII.

**MARSHAL DUROC, DUKE OF FRIULI**—Gerard Christopher Michel Duroc was the son of a scrivener, and born at Pont-a-Mousson, on the 25th of October, 1772. The studies of his youth were military, and the first levy took him into the army. The general served in the capacity of chief aide-de-camp to Bonaparte, and afterwards became a leader of a brigade, in which situation he distinguished himself particularly at the passage of the Lisonzo. He accompanied Bonaparte into Egypt, and returned with him to France in 1799, whence, on the formation of the consular government, he was sent in the capacity of ambassador extraordinary to Berlin. He was afterwards employed on missions to Stockholm and St. Petersburg, and the success with which all his negotiations were executed, shows that the warrior and the di-

\* Galerie des Portraits des Ge’ne’raux, &c. qui ont contribue’ aux Succes des Armes Russes pendant la Guerre en 1812.



plomatist are not incompatible characters. He knew how to ally civil virtues to military renown—to blend the olive with the laurel. On the 8th of July, 1805, he was appointed grand marshal of the palace, and decorated with the order of the Black Eagle of Prussia. He had long held the rank of the personal friend of Napoleon, and on the 22d of May, 1813, the day succeeding the battle of Bautzen, he fell by a cannon-ball, lamenting that he could no longer be of use to him to whose service his life had been consecrated.

**GENERAL MOREAU.**—Among the distinguished characters called forth by the French revolution may be ranked Jean Victor Moreau, born at Morlain, in the year 1761. A decided passion for arms led him, at the age of eighteen, to quit the profession of the law, in which his father held a respectable rank, and to enlist as a private soldier. From a situation so inferior to his education and prospects in life he was soon removed by paternal kindness, and enabled to pursue his studies; till, at the period of the revolution, he had attained a marked superiority among the students at Rennes. In the year 1790 young Moreau obtained the command of a battalion of volunteers in his department, and from that time he devoted himself wholly to the military profession. His valour and genius soon attracted attention, and in 1793 he was elevated to the rank of brigadier-general. On the 14th of April, 1794, he was appointed general of division, on the recommendation of General Pichegru, under whom he served with splendid success in the army of the north. In the celebrated winter campaign of 1794, which bowed Holland beneath the power of France, Moreau greatly contributed to the rapid success of his country. After the retreat of Pichegru, in 1796, he took the command of the armies of the Rhine and Moselle, and in the month of June opened that campaign which laid the foundation of his military glory.\* His memorable retreat through the Black Forest to the Rhine, procured him the appellation of the modern Fabius; and the happy union of caution and skill which enabled him to rescue the French army in Italy from the perilous situation into which it had been precipitated, established his claim to rank with the Roman Cunctator. In 1797, General Moreau felt himself called upon by a sense of public duty to denounce his friend and patron, General Pichegru, who had entered into a treasonable correspondence with the Prince of Conde, and was meditating the overthrow of the republic. In 1800 he was nominated by the first consul to the command of the army of the Danube. The success of this campaign is justly ascribed to his skill and promptitude, and the battle of Hohenlinden, “where furious Frank and fiery Hun join’d in the dreadful revelry,” may be recorded as one of the most signal of his victories.†

The treaty of Leoben, executed at Steyer, the head-quarters of General Moreau, soon after followed, and on his return to Paris, Bonaparte presented him with a pair of magnificent pistols, saying, “I could have wished to have had your victories engraved upon them, but there was not room enough.” The general, having married during the preceding summer, now retired to his estate at Grosbois, where he spent his time in the bosom of his family, removed, apparently, from the cares of state and the intrigues of courts. It had however long been generally known that Moreau disapproved of the elevation of Bonaparte to the consular dignity, and it was soon discovered that he had held several interviews with General Pichegru, who had secretly repaired to Paris, and that even Georges was in their confidence. The official report of this conspiracy states, that he was willing to co-operate in the destruction of

\* See Vol. I. Book I. p. 340–1.

† See Vol. II. Book II. p. 98–9.

the consular authority, but he disapproved of the restoration of the Bourbons, and insisted on a representative government, on which Pichegru observed, "I believe he has a mind to the government too, but he would not retain it a week." Moreau was brought, with the other conspirators, before the criminal tribunal, and defended no less by the eloquence of Bonnet, his counsel, than by public opinion; he was nevertheless condemned, on the 10th of June, 1804, to two years' imprisonment, a punishment which was immediately commuted to banishment.\*

The United States of America was the country to which General Moreau determined to retire, and at the beginning of 1805 he embarked from Cadiz on his Trans-Atlantic voyage. On his arrival in America he purchased a handsome country-house at Morrisville, below the falls of the Delaware, and, surrounded by his family and friends, reposed in tranquillity under the shades of the laurels he had gained. In his exile Moreau continued for many years, restrained by a high sense of honour from taking up arms against a cause which numbered his countrymen among its supporters. At length however the great crisis arrived when the kingdoms of Europe united all their forces, and all their talents, against the ambition of one man; and at the invitation of the Emperor of Russia, General Moreau consented to contribute his genius to the common stock. On his arrival in Europe, where he was received with every mark of favour by the allied sovereigns, it was determined to organize a corps d'armee, to be principally composed of French prisoners, and called *Moreau's Legion*. This body was to be decorated with the white cockade, to bear the motto *pro patria*, and to fight for the deliverance of Europe. The execution of this plan, which promised little good, and from which none was derived, was interrupted by the melancholy event which closed the career of the unfortunate general. On the fatal 27th of August Moreau received a mortal wound before Dresden, as already described, and after sustaining a journey of extreme torture with heroic fortitude, arrived at Laun, in Bohemia, on the 30th of that month. Hopes were now entertained of his recovery, and on the evening of that day he wrote with his own hand a letter to Madame Moreau, of which the following is a translation:—

"MY DEAR LOVE—At the battle of Dresden, three days ago, I had both legs carried away by a cannon shot. The scoundrel, Bonaparte, is always fortunate. The amputation has been performed as well as possible. Though the army has made a retrograde movement, it is not directly backward, but sideways, and for the sake of getting nearer to General Blucher. Excuse my scrawl: I love thee, and embrace thee with my whole heart. Rapatel will finish.—V. M."

The following was added by his secretary:—

"MADAME—The general permits me to write to you on the same sheet on which he has sent you a few lines. Judge of my grief and regret by what he has told you. From the moment he was wounded I have not left him, nor will I leave him, till he is perfectly cured: we have the greatest hopes, and I, who know him, am certain we shall save him. He supported the amputation with heroic courage, without fainting. \* \* \*

"I have stood in need of all my fortitude for the last four days, and shall still stand in need of it. Rely upon my care, my friendship, and upon all the sentiments with which both of you have inspired me. Don't alarm yourself—I need not tell you to exert your courage—I know all your heart. I will neglect no opportunity to write to you.—The surgeon has just assured me, that if he continue to go on well, he will be able, in

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\* See Vol. II. Book III. p. 346.



five weeks, to go out in a carriage. Madam, and respectable friend, farewell—I am miserable. \* \* \*

“Your most devoted servant,  
*Laun, Aug. 30th, 1813.*

“RAPATEL.”

“Sept. 1. He is going on well, and is easy.”

During the night of the 30th he was seized with a violent hiccup and other alarming symptoms, and three days afterwards he expired, at the moment when he was dictating a letter to the Emperor Alexander, expressive of the sentiments of admiration and devotedness with which his majesty had inspired him. The remains of General Moreau were embalmed, by command of the Emperor of Russia, and removed to St. Petersburg, to be interred in the catholic church, by the side of the body of Marshal Kutusoff. The beneficent designs of the emperor were not confined to the dead, but extended also to the living, and on this melancholy occasion he wrote a consolatory letter to Madame Moreau, of which the following is a translation:—

“MADAME—When the dreadful misfortune which befel General Moreau by my side, deprived me of the luminous mind and experience of that great man, I cherished the hope that, by great care, it might be possible to preserve him to his family and to my friendship. Providence has ordained otherwise. He has died as he has lived, in the full energy of a strong and constant soul. There is only one remedy for the great evils of life---it is that of seeing them shared. In Russia, Madam, you will every where find these sentiments, and if it be convenient for you to settle there, I will seek out all the means to embellish the existence of a person, of whom I hold it to be my sacred duty to be the comforter and supporter. I pray you, Madam, to rely on it most confidently ; never to leave me in ignorance of any circumstance in which I can be at all useful to you, and to write to me always direct. To anticipate your wishes will be always an enjoyment to me. The friendship I had vowed to your husband goes beyond the tomb, and I have no other means of acquitting myself well, at least in part, towards him, than in acting so as to insure, as I shall ever be disposed to do, the well-being of his family.

“Receive, Madam, in the present cruel and distressing circumstances, these testimonials, with the assurance of all my best sentiments.

(Signed)

“ALEXANDER.”

“*Toplitz, the 6th of September, 1813.*”

Sentiments such as these shed a splendour round thrones. The emperor, after conferring the rank of *Dame du Portrait* of the order of St. Catharine on Madame Moreau, and of *Demoiselle d'Honneur* to the empress on the only daughter of the deceased general, settled on the former an annuity of 40,000 roubles, and on the latter 6,000 roubles ; ordering at the same time that 100,000 roubles (22,500*l.* sterling) should be paid to Madame Moreau by the bank at St. Petersburg.

The presence of Moreau in the allied army had excited much enthusiasm throughout Europe ; and a fate so tragical and untimely produced equal sympathy and regret. Yet the propriety of his conduct may admit of difference of opinion. Unjust expulsion from the political community may seem to destroy the ties by which an individual is united to his country, and to absolve him from the duties of allegiance. Yet the general sense of mankind has pronounced an indelible relation between men and the country which gave them birth, which no wrong can obliterate. Had the object of the allied sovereigns been to change the government---to restore either a free constitution or the ancient monarchy to France---General Moreau might have had a fair ground of justification ; but they had, on the contrary, disclaimed all such intentions, and

declared, that their purpose was to re-establish against France the ancient balance of power---an object highly laudable and honourable in them, but in him, as a French subject, equivocal, and at variance with the general law of nations.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

**CAMPAIGN IN FRANCE:** *Declaration of the Allied Powers previous to the Invasion of France---Meeting of the French Legislative Body---Abstract of the Report of the Committee appointed to examine the Diplomatic Correspondence---Napoleon's indignant Observations thereon---Passage of the Rhine by the Allied Armies---Proclamation of Prince Schwartzemberg, the Commander-in-Chief, to the People of France---Disposition of the French Armies---Capture of Geneva by the Allies---The Invasion of France announced to his Senators by Napoleon---Congress assembled at Chatillon---Advance of the invading Army into the interior of France---The Emperor quits Paris to place himself at the Head of his Army---Battle of Brienne---of La Rothiere---Retreat of the French, and Advance of the Allies---Prince Schwartzemberg and Marshal Blucher divide their Force, and advance on Paris, the former by the Banks of the Seine, and the latter on the Course of the Marne---Vigorous and successful Exertions of Napoleon---Repulse of Marshal Blucher---of Prince Schwartzemberg---their Retreat---Negociations at Chatillon---Belgium released from French Dominion---Battles of Craone and Leon---The Allies again assume the offensive---Last Conferences at Chatillon---Rupture of the Congress.*

THE vast empire which, at the close of the year 1813, extended over the rich and populous countries bounded by the Adriatic and the English channel, the Rhine and the Atlantic ocean; which reckoned, in the field and in the garrison, more than five hundred thousand warriors; which could arm, to reinforce them, at least an equal number of citizens, accustomed to camps, and in the flower of their age; whose existence was guaranteed by an age of victories, and by the fortune of a chief who had once been esteemed the arbiter of nations, and obtained the appellation of "The man of the destinies;"---that mighty empire, in a campaign of three months, was overthrown; all the princes of Europe occupied, and inundated with their troops, two-thirds of its territory; its warriors were sacrificed in useless combats; its chief survived that reputation for invincibility, the impression of which had so long contributed to uphold his power; and this man of indefatigable activity, suddenly struck with a species of stupor, crouched under the iron hand of destiny, and descended, like an actor who has finished his part, from a throne which he could no longer preserve, and in the defence of which he did not choose to die. This is one of those astonishing spectacles which was reserved for an age fertile in revolutions, and



one of those great catastrophes which form an epoch in the history of the world.

Long before Napoleon ceased to reign, he had acquired all the faults inseparable from the exercise of despotic authority. Success and adulation had relaxed his mental energies ; he could not endure the slightest opposition to his will ; he consulted but with those who were ready to signify their approbation of his plans ; and so deep-rooted was his persuasion of his own powers and resources, that the disasters of the last campaign had failed to convince him that it was in vain to contend with congregated Europe. "Posterity," exclaimed he to his senate, "shall acknowledge, that the existing circumstances are not superior to France or to her sovereign." But the campaign that was now approaching served to dispel these delusions. It must, however, be acknowledged, that though surrounded with little more than the wreck of his former greatness, Napoleon remained undismayed, and placed his country in a formidable and imposing attitude. The frontiers, yet untouched and unbroken, and the fortresses, defended by numerous garrisons, promised to arrest, for a time, the progress of the troops who might attempt to force these barriers. It is true that the departments at the feet of the Pyrenees had been invaded, but no fatal blow was feared from that quarter ; and the line of the Rhine was regarded as an impregnable defence, which would arrest the advance of the enemy. Tranquil in the midst of Paris, Napoleon, by his own authority alone, increased the indirect taxes, and received from the senate three hundred thousand conscripts. To these were added one hundred and twenty thousand men, taken from the former classes, and in this way the losses sustained in the German campaign were in some degree retrieved.

The combined armies had now advanced to the Rhine ; and on the 1st of December the allied sovereigns issued from their head-quarters the memorable exposition of their views and policy.\* The allies disclaimed all desire to conquer

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#### \* DECLARATION OF THE ALLIED POWERS.

The French government has ordered a new levy of 300,000 conscripts. The motives of the *senatus consultum* to that effect contain an appeal to the allied powers.—They therefore find themselves called upon to promulgate anew, in the face of the world, the views which guide them in the present war ; the principles which form the basis of their conduct, their wishes, and their determinations.

The allied powers do not make war upon France, but against that preponderance, haughtily announced,—against that preponderance which, to the misfortune of Europe and of France, the Emperor Napoleon has too long exercised beyond the limits of his empire.

Victory has conducted the allied armies to the banks of the Rhine.

France ; they expressed, on the contrary, a readiness to confirm to the French empire an extent of territory which France under her kings never knew, and they intimated no disinclination to make peace with Bonaparte ; but they at the same time declared, that they would not lay down their arms until the political state of Europe should be re-established anew—in other words, that France, by keeping within her natural limits, the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, should preserve all the integrity of her territory ; but that the principle of absolute independence, for Germany, Spain, Italy, and Holland, should be a *sine qua non*.

This declaration was considered by Napoleon as an appeal from the sovereign to the people. He felt that it separated him from the French nation, and in this emergency he called around him the legislative body. On the 19th of December the assembly was convened, and in order to shed an air of splendour over the opening of the session, the senate, the council of state, and the grand dignitaries, were summoned.

“Every thing is against us,” said Napoleon from his throne, “and France itself would be in danger, were it not for the energy and union

The first use which their imperial and royal majesties have made of victory, has been to offer peace to his Majesty the Emperor of the French. An attitude strengthened by the accession of all the sovereigns and princes of Germany has had no influence on the conditions of that peace. These conditions are founded on the independence of the French empire, as well as on the independence of the other states of Europe. The views of the powers are just in their object, generous and liberal in their application, giving security to all, honourable to each.

The allied sovereigns desire that France may be great, powerful, and happy ; because the French power, in a state of greatness and strength, is one of the foundations of the social edifice of Europe.—They wish that France may be happy, that French commerce may revive, that the arts (those blessings of peace) may again flourish, because a great people can only be tranquil in proportion as it is happy. The allied powers confirm to the French empire an extent of territory which France under her kings never knew ; because a valiant nation does not fall from its rank, by having in its turn experienced reverses in an obstinate and sanguinary contest, in which it has fought with its accustomed bravery.

But the allied powers also wish to be free, tranquil, and happy, themselves. They desire a state of peace which, by a wise partition of strength, by a just equilibrium, may henceforward preserve their people from the numberless calamities which have overwhelmed Europe for the last twenty years.

The allied powers will not lay down their arms until they have attained this great and beneficial result, this noble object of their efforts. They will not lay down their arms, until the political state of Europe be re-established anew,—until immoveable principles have resumed their rights over vain pretensions,—until the sanctity of treaties shall have at last secured a real peace to Europe.

*Frankfort, Dec. 1, 1813.*



of the French. I have never been seduced by prosperity---adversity will find me superior to its attacks. I have several times given peace to nations when they had lost every thing. From a part of my conquests I have raised thrones for kings who have forsaken me. Negotiations have been entered into with the allied powers; I have adhered to the preliminary bases which they have presented; I had then the hope, that before the opening of the session the congress of Manheim would be assembled; but new delays, which are not to be ascribed to France, have deferred this moment, which the wishes of the world eagerly demand. I have ordered to be laid before you the original documents, which are in the *port-feuille* of my department of foreign affairs; you will make yourselves acquainted with them by means of a committee. On my side there is no obstacle to the re-establishment of peace."

An extraordinary commission of five members was immediately formed from the legislative body by ballot, of which M. Laine was the president, and for the first time during thirteen years, the legitimate organ of the nation ventured to express doubts of the soundness of their sovereign's policy. After encountering various impediments, the committee of the legislative body made their report, and on the 28th of December this document was submitted to the assembly:—

"If," says the report, "the declaration of the foreign powers are falacious—if their object be to enslave us—if they meditate the dismemberment of the sacred territory of France, it will be necessary to carry on a national war for the purpose of averting such calamities. But the more completely to effect this grand movement, by which an empire is to be preserved, is it not desirable to unite the nation and the monarchy by closer ties? It is necessary that silence should be imposed on the enemy as to their accusation of aggrandizement, conquest, and alarming preponderance; and since the allied powers have chosen to declare by public proclamations that such are our intentions, is it not worthy of his majesty to shew the matter in a clear light, by solemnly declaring to Europe what are the designs of France and her emperor? In order that this declaration may have a salutary influence on foreign powers, and make the desired impression upon France, is it not desirable that it should announce the promise of only continuing the war for the independence of the French nation, and the integrity of its territory? If, after this, the obstinacy of the enemy should still force us to undertake a just and necessary war for national independence, France will know how to call forth, in the maintenance of her rights, the energy, union, and perseverance, of which she has heretofore displayed such brilliant examples. Unanimous in the wish to obtain peace, she will be equally so in her determination to enforce it by conquest; and she will prove to the world, that a great nation can do all it wills, when its objects are only honour and its just rights. But it is not enough merely to rouse the people, and place them in a state of defence; it is for government to propose such measures, in conformity with the laws, as appear the most prompt and certain to repulse the enemy, and fix the peace on a durable basis. These measures will be efficacious, if the French are persuaded that government only aspires to the glory of peace---they will be so if the French are convinced that their blood will only be shed to defend their country, and protect her laws. But the consolatory words, peace and country, will be pronounced in vain, unless the institutions are supported, which promise the benefits of both. It appears, therefore, indispensable to your committee, that when government shall propose the measures deemed most expedient for the safety of the state,

his majesty shall be at the same time solicited to maintain the entire and constant execution of the laws, which guarantee to the French the rights of liberty, security, property, and the free exercise of their political privileges. This guarantee appears to your committee the most efficacious means of imparting to the French the energy necessary for their own defence."

This salutary advice was considered by Napoleon and his ministers as an attack upon the imperial authority; the publication of the report was interdicted, and on the 1st of January the representatives of the nation were reprimanded, in a speech full of asperity, reproaches, and menaces:—

"A twelfth part of the legislative body," exclaimed Napoleon, "consists of bad factious citizens; the members of the committee belong to that number; Laine is a traitor sold to England. I have suppressed the printing of the report. It is incendiary. Is it then at the moment when you ought to unite to chase the enemy from your frontiers, that you exact from me the change of the constitution? You are not the representatives of the nation, but of the departments. I was elected by four millions of Frenchmen to mount this throne. I alone am the representative of the people. Why do you wish to charge yourselves with such a burthen? The throne does not consist of wood covered with velvet. The throne is myself. If I listen to you, I shall cede more to the enemy than he demands. You shall have peace in three months or I will perish. I go to seek the enemy, and I will overthrow him. I am at the head of this nation because the constitution of the government pleases me. If France exacts another constitution, I shall say to her—choose another king. France needs me more than I need France."\*

In the midst of these intestine dissensions the allied armies penetrated into France. At the opening of the campaign the forces of the allies were divided into seven armies, of which four acted immediately against France, one in Holland, and two in Italy. They were thus divided:—

First, the grand Austro-Russian army, commanded by Prince Schwartzemberg, was composed of the Austrian division of Colloredo, Wimpfen, Giulay, Bianchi, Bubna, Maurice, and Louis of Lichtenstein; the Russian divisions of Barclay de Tolly and Wittgenstein; the Bavarians, in three divisions, commanded by Count Wrede; and the Wirtembergers, under the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg.

Second, the grand army of Prussia or Silesia, commanded by Marshal Blucher, was formed of the corps of D'Yorck, Kleist, Bulow; the four Russian corps of Tscherbatoff, Langeron, Sacken, and Winzingerode; and the Saxons, under the Prince of Saxe Weimar, and Baron de Thielman.

Third, the grand Swedish army, commanded by Marshal

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\* This philippic is reported from memory, and rests upon the authority of some of the members of the legislative body. That it is substantially correct, is highly probable, but every thing published to the disadvantage of a sovereign after his fall must be received with caution.



Bernadotte, the Prince Royal of Sweden, consisting of the Swedish corps, the five Russian corps of Bennigsen, Tettenborn, Doernberg, Benkendorf, and Czernicheff—(the first of which remained before Hamburg) a corps of Hanoverians, the Hanseatic troops, and the contingents of the smaller states of the confederation.

Fourth, the Anglo-Spanish and Portuguese army of the Pyrenees, under the command of Lord Wellington, in the south of France.

Fifth, the Anglo-Batavian army, commanded by Sir Thomas Graham, in Holland.

Sixth, the Austrian army in Italy, commanded by Count Bellegarde.

And seventh, the army of Naples, under the orders of King Joachim, who joined the confederation by a treaty, dated January 11, 1814.

The strength of the armies operating upon the Rhine was variously estimated, but they probably exceeded half a million of men. Prussia and Austria had between them an effective force of two hundred and fifty thousand men; Russia alone had nearly two hundred thousand; and to these may be added thirty thousand Swedes, ten thousand Danes, and a large number of troops contributed by the princes of the confederation of the Rhine. This immense body did not, however, take the field at the same moment. The first armies, which passed the Rhine at the end of December, consisted of about three hundred and fifty thousand men, to which an augmentation of about one-third was made by reinforcements, which arrived about the middle of February.

The first operations of importance were made on the side of Switzerland; and on the 21st of December, 1813, Prince Schwartzemberg, in contravention of the remonstrances of the government of Zurich, advanced by Basle, through Befort, towards Langres and Chaumont. On the 1st of January, the grand Prussian army, under Marshal Blucher, passed the Rhine in three divisions, at Mannheim, Kaub, and Coblentz, and while the corps of Sacken, D'Yorck, and Kleist, advanced on Mentz and Thionville, the division of Langeron was left to blockade the fortresses in the rear. The first care of the allies was to conciliate the people of France, and one of the first acts of Prince Schwartzemberg on crossing the Rhine was to address the inhabitants in a proclamation founded on the declaration of the allied sovereigns:—

“Frenchmen,” said the commander-in-chief, “victory has led the allied armies to your frontiers, which they are about to pass. We do not wage war against France; but we repel far from us the yoke which

your government would impose upon our respective countries. They have the same right to independence and happiness as France. Magistrates, owners of property, farmers, remain at your stations. The maintenance of public order, respect for private property, and discipline the most rigid, will mark the conduct of the allies, while they pass through and remain on your soil. They are actuated by no spirit of vengeance. Other principles and other views than those which conducted your armies to us, preside in the councils of the allied monarchs. Their glory will consist in having terminated the misfortunes of Europe. The only conquest which is the object of their ambition is peace ; but a peace which insures to their countries, to France, and to Europe, real repose. We hoped to have found it before we reached the territories of France—we are come hither in search of it."

The corps of Marshals Victor and Marmont, weakened by the sickness which had desolated the army since its retreat from Leipzig, consisted only of forty-five thousand men, and was altogether unable to arrest the progress of the invaders. At the approach of the allied army Marmont had retreated to St. Mihiel: while Victor, in consequence of the movements of the Austrians, had quitted Strasburg for Luneville; and Marshal Ney, forced to retire from the frontier, made a retrograde movement in the direction of Nancy. Marshal Macdonald, charged with the defence of the Lower Rhine, retreated in his turn before the army of the Crown Prince of Sweden, and established his head-quarters at Namur. The French General Maison sustained for some time a gallant struggle in front of Antwerp, but was at length obliged to retreat into France, and to throw his troops into Lille and the neighbouring places. In a word, the whole of the French frontiers, from Lyons to Antwerp, forming an extent of country of five hundred miles, were invaded, by armies whose object it was to plant their standards on the heights of the capital.

These retrograde movements were announced by the French government as the result of a previously concerted plan, and the emperor wished it to be considered as an essential part of his system to permit the undisputed entry of the allies into the interior, that his triumph might be the more distinguished, and their overthrow the more certain. In pursuance of this system, Marshal Mortier retired from Langres to Chaumont; Marshal Augereau, with the reserve, marched to Lyons; and General Dessaix confined his operations to the defence of Savoy.

The capture of Geneva served as a prelude to the campaign of 1814. This ancient republic had been united to France for more than twenty years, and by its alliance had lost both its independence and its prosperity. On the 30th of December, an Austrian advanced-guard, commanded by General



Count Bubna, consisting of three thousand men, advanced from Switzerland, when General Jordy, a brave veteran officer, thunderstruck at witnessing a circumstance so unforeseen, fell senseless in the midst of his staff. The officer on whom the command now devolved, partaking of the general consternation of the army, marched out of the city at the head of a garrison of twelve hundred troops, and suffered the Austrians to enter without the formality of a capitulation. The capture of Geneva, which forms one of the gates of the French empire, opened the road to Lyons, and exposed the passes of Italy to the Austrian army.

Napoleon himself now raised the curtain which had concealed from his subjects the dangers of their country :—

“ You have seen,” said he to his senators, “ by the papers which I have ordered to be communicated to you, all that I have done for peace. The sacrifices which comprise the preliminary bases which have been proposed to me by my enemies, and which I have accepted, I will make without regret. My life has but one object—the happiness of the French people. In the mean time, Bearne, Alsace, Franche Comte, and Brabant, are invaded. The cries of this part of my family pierce my soul. Let us obtain peace by a final effort. I call on the French to succour the French. I call on the inhabitants of Paris, of Brittany, Normandy, Campagne, Burgundy, and the other departments, to assist their brethren. At the sight of a nation in arms the enemy will fly, or sign a peace on the bases which they themselves have proposed. Peace, and the deliverance of our territory, ought to be our rallying cry. Our object is now no longer to recover our conquests.”

The wish thus expressed to obtain a peace by treaty or by force of arms was accompanied by corresponding exertions. No endeavours were spared to raise the male population *en masse* ; commissioners were despatched to all the military divisions of the empire to facilitate the organization of the levies ; and the Duke of Vicenza, minister of the interior relations of France, was sent to the head-quarters of the allied sovereigns at Basle, to propose that a congress for the negotiation of a general peace should assemble at Chatillon-sur-Seine. These overtures were accepted by the allies without hesitation ; and plenipotentiaries were appointed to the congress, which assembled at the place proposed between the 15th and the 20th of January ; but the allies, secure in their own resources, peremptorily refused either to suspend or to interrupt the military movements of their armies during the progress of the negotiations.

The invading army, bearing down all opposition, still continued to advance ; the defiles of the Vosges, a chain of mountains stretching from Befort to Strasburg, were forced in every direction ; Vesoul, Langres, Nancy, and Thionville, had fallen ; and the Cossacks had pushed their advanced corps

into the neighbourhood of Verdun. In the midst of these accumulated difficulties, Napoleon remained at Paris, incessantly employed in endeavouring to recruit his army, and to replenish his exhausted finances. The formation of twelve new regiments was announced at Paris, under the designation of volunteers, consisting of mechanics, whose shops being shut, could no longer afford them employment; and considerable supplies of troops were obtained from other quarters, though by no means in sufficient numbers, or of the best description. Since the maintenance of the French armies had fallen principally upon their own country, the public finances had sunk into the most deplorable state of embarrassment; and before the end of the month of January, the national bank encountered difficulties that approached to the confines of insolvency. From the report of the directors of this establishment it appeared, that the available funds in their hands, at the time of making that report, amounted only to 600,000*l.* sterling, and that it had become indispensably necessary to restrict their daily payments to a sum not exceeding 20,000*l.*

At length an army was assembled before Chalons, between the Marne and the Seine, and the French Emperor prepared to quit his capital, in order to place himself at the head of his troops. Two days previous to his departure he assembled the officers of the national guard, and in a speech delivered with a degree of emotion that seemed to indicate a presage that he was taking a final farewell, committed the empress and his infant son to their protection, and to the love of his faithful city of Paris. On the 25th of January, Napoleon quitted the capital and repaired to Vitry, to which point the French armies, under Marshals Marmont, Macdonald, and Victor, were retreating from different quarters. The allied armies at the same time were concentrating, and pressing towards the same point—Marshal Blucher by the way of Nancy and Toul, and Prince Schwartzemberg in the direction of Langres and Chaumont.

On the 24th the allies commenced their operations in the interior by the battle of Bar, between Chaumont and Joinville. Marshal Mortier defended this position with the greatest skill and bravery, but being overpowered by superior numbers, he was eventually obliged to abandon the town, and to retire upon Troyes. Marshal Blucher, proceeding on his march to form the meditated junction with Prince Schwartzemberg, possessed himself, on the 23d and 24th, of Ligny and St. Dizier, and from thence pushed forward a corps to Brienne, to establish a communication with the Austrian division at Bar. Napoleon, fully sensible of the importance of this movement, and determined to defeat its object, made immediate preparations to at-



tack the Prussian rear-guard, while it awaited the arrival of D'Yorck's division from St. Dizier. This attack, in which the French were successful, took place on the 27th, and the allies were forced from their position. Marshal Blucher, by no means disconcerted by the check which he had suffered, continued his movements upon Brienne, and having rallied his forces, awaited the arrival of Napoleon at that place. On the 29th, at mid-day, the French army appeared; and the battle which ensued was most sanguinary. While General Alsufieff defended the town with vigour, an attack was made by the allies upon the left wing of the French, which was known to labour under the disadvantage of a defective supply of cavalry. For several hours the fate of the day was uncertain. Victory, which thus hung in suspense, seemed to depend upon the occupation of the castle of Brienne; when an officer of rank, attached to the staff of Marshal Victor, availing himself of the darkness of the night, and of his perfect knowledge of the country, found his way into the castle, and put his corps in possession of this position. In the action which followed for the recovery of this post, a dreadful carnage took place, but all the efforts of the allies proved unavailing, and the French army was left in possession of the field. This success compelled the Prussian field-marshal to continue his retrograde movement upon Bar; and enabled the French columns under Marshal Victor and General Grouchy, to take up fine positions at the villages of La Rothiere and Dienville, on the 30th.

After the battle of Brienne, in which a principal part of the town fell a sacrifice to the flames, Napoleon posted his army on the heights in the neighbourhood of that place, and displayed his superior force to the army of Silesia. On the 31st he again deployed in the low ground between La Rothiere and Trannes; and thus situated, the hostile armies passed two days in sight of each other. General D'Yorck availed himself of the interval to re-capture the town of St. Dizier; while Count Wittgenstein, supported by Count Wrede, repulsed the corps of Marshal Marmont near Vassy. Advancing from the south east, the grand allied army, under Prince Schwartzberg, approached towards the Aube, and the general commandant, Count Barclay de Tolly, united the Russian and Prussian guards, to form a reserve on the heights and in the defiles of Trannes, from which he could support any point that was menaced. These dispositions the Prince of Schwartzberg hastened to announce to Marshal Blucher, directing him, at the same time, to attack the French with his united force, while Count Wrede made an offensive movement from Doulevane-sur-Brienne.

In this situation Napoleon was reduced to the necessity of fighting, not merely to secure a retreat, but to save his army. The length of the enemy's line compelled him to extend his own, and his whole force was disposed in two lines of battle, ranged under a chain of hills, his right resting on Dienville and the Aube, his centre on La Rothiere, and his left on the hamlet of Gibrie. At another important position, which covered the left flank, the 6th corps was posted, under the command of Marshal Marmont; General Duhesme defended La Rothiere, and General Gerard had orders to protect both banks of the Aube, by occupying Dienville. The infantry was ranged in masses upon the banks of the villages, which were bordered on all sides with artillery.

During these offensive dispositions on the part of the French, the three columns of attack belonging to the allied army, formed under Marshal Blucher, were taking directions in the following order: General Sacken's corps descended from the heights of Trannes into the plain of Rothiere, and advanced on the centre of the French in two strong divisions, the one upon Brienne by the Dienville road, and the other direct on La Rothiere. The Austrian corps of General Count Giulay, and the Russian corps of General Alsufieff, formed General Sacken's reserve. The Prince Royal of Wirtemberg, manœuvred with the right wing from Eclance on Chaumenil and Gibrie, in order to attack the left of the enemy; opening, by this combined march, the communication with General Count Wrede, who was moving on Chaumenil by Doulevant.

At half past twelve o'clock, on the first of February, the cavalry of the two armies, ranged in battle array between the lines, were put in motion. The general attention was soon attracted by a violent discharge of musquetry and artillery on the left of the French army, which was found to proceed from the corps of the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg, who, having penetrated through the forest of Eclance, began the battle by attacking the woody heights of Gibrie, which were defended by several regiments. After encountering an obstinate resistance, he made himself master both of the heights and of the hamlet. Napoleon, fearing that he might be outflanked, ordered a corps to manœuvre on his left, and Gibrie was retaken at the point of the bayonet by the French, who displayed prodigies of valour. The prince royal, having in his turn obtained reinforcements, once more assailed the wood and hamlet. At first he was repulsed, but the combined movement of Count Wrede was arranged with such precision, that a junction was speedily formed between the two corps, and Gibrie and Chaumenil were re-taken. Napoleon,



having learned that his left position was thus assailed, lost no time in hastening thither with part of the artillery of his guard, and on his arrival at that point, orders were immediately given that Chaumenil should be again carried. Connt Wrede, determined to maintain a position that had been gained by so much valour, now ordered all the Austro-Bavarian divisions to advance: the charge was irresistible; the enemy's cavalry were put to the rout, the square of infantry broken, and the artillery obliged to retreat, leaving behind them several cannon and ammunition waggons. Marshal Marimont, who had in the mean time endeavoured, by strong columns of cavalry and infantry, to establish a communication with Chaumenil by Morvilliers, was repulsed by Count Hardegg, and a division of the Schwartzenberg hulans, by a fortunate charge seized a battery of six pieces of cannon, which the French were just moving to the support of the 6th corps.

Nearly three hours were employed in the manœuvres and successive attacks on this point; and Marshal Blucher, finding his right secured by the success of Count Wrede and the prince royal, determined to carry La Rothiere—the centre and key of the enemy's position. About three o'clock all the allied troops deployed in the plains of La Rothiere and Brienne, and at that hour the battle became general. The ardour of the troops was excited to enthusiasm by the presence of the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia. Taking a station along with Prince Schwartzenberg between Trannes and Rothiere, on the ground of action, they observed and followed the progress of the attacks, which were in some degree confused by a high wind, and a heavy fall of snow that darkened the whole atmosphere. The artillery and musketry sometimes actually ceased from the impossibility of discerning the objects against which they were intended to be directed. The Russian batteries, although served with evident superiority, left half the cannon behind, and so deep was the snow upon the ground, that it was only by doubling the usual train that the other half was removed. The resistance of the French at La Rothiere and Dienville was obstinate in the extreme. Not only was General Sacken, by whom the attack was made, resisted for several hours with success, but towards sun-set, the French cavalry, becoming in their turn the assailants, penetrated towards the centre of the Russian position, and obliged the masses of infantry, of which it was composed, to give way. At this critical moment Marshal Blucher made one of those bold movements on which the fate of battles so frequently depend: he ordered his cavalry, which had been reinforced for the purpose, to turn the left flank of the French,

and by a rapid movement to attack them in the rear : at the same time directing the infantry, under General Sacken, to fall upon the enemy's right. These manœuvres, which the darkness favoured, were executed with equal spirit and precision. The French cavalry, finding themselves unexpectedly charged in the rear, retreated to Brienne, which place the Russians entered close at their heels. The infantry forming the enemy's centre, being now uncovered, General Sacken pushed his attacks with vigour, and soon made himself master of the long contested position of La Rothiere. The battle appeared to be now decided. Napoleon himself, for a moment, feared the entire rout of his army, an event which must inevitably have taken place, had the allies redoubled their charges on Brienne and Lesmont. The disaster at Leipzig might have been repeated, for the bridge of Lesmont, which was broken down to impede the advance of the invaders, had not been reconstructed, and only a narrow and difficult passage presented itself for the retreat of the French army.

The first alarm was succeeded by returning confidence. Napoleon placed himself at the head of General Colbert's cavalry, and in person directed a charge, which arrested the progress of the allies. Marshal Oudinot hastily arrived from Lesmont with two divisions of the national guard, and thus reinforced, the French army was again enabled to assume the offensive. Strong columns of infantry, and batteries of flying artillery, were directed against La Rothiere. Thrice did Napoleon renew the attack at the head of his guards, and these efforts so far succeeded as to enable him to seize the church and several houses, while the Russian grenadiers occupied the rest of the village. Being thus at close quarters, both sides resorted to the bayonet, and the slaughter was terrible. The efforts of the Russians, in front of the line, were directed by Marshal Blucher in person. This general exposed himself to the fire of the enemy in the attack of the imperial guards on La Rothiere, and so imminent was his danger, that a Cossack, pierced by a musket-shot, fell dead at his side. The Russian reserve now advanced, by command of the Emperor Alexander ; and amidst these vicissitudes the battle was prolonged till midnight. Towards ten o'clock, Marshal Berthier, when traversing the French lines to visit the posts, found the two armies so closely in contact, that he several times mistook the posts of the allies for those of the French. At length, the whole village of La Rothiere was ceded to the obstinate valour of the Russians ; and General Sacken, who had three times been on the point of becoming a prisoner, made a bold charge on the right of the village, seized twenty pieces of



cannon, and took from five to six hundred prisoners of the French guards. At midnight Napoleon made his last attack on La Rothiere, which the Russians repulsed, and thus decided the victory in favour of the allies.

Under favour of the night, the French army concealed from the allies the disorder into which it had been thrown at the close of the action, and effected its retreat on Troyes and Arcis.

The courage displayed by the French troops, their heroic efforts, and the danger to which the Emperor exposed himself, all tended to prove the importance which he attached to this general engagement. The allies were obliged to carry every village, height, or wood by assault; and purchased with their blood every foot of ground which they gained. Some villages, which during the battle had taken up arms against them, were delivered up to military execution—a proceeding justified by the laws of war, but at variance with the principles of an enlightened policy. On the part of the allies about eighty thousand men had been engaged; and on the side of the French a number not much inferior. The loss of the latter was estimated at from four to five thousand men killed, wounded, and prisoners, besides seventy pieces of cannon; that of the allies exceeded this number, but they had not to include in their loss either prisoners or cannon. The moral effect of this day's defeat was the desertion of nearly twenty thousand newly raised conscripts from the ranks of Napoleon; and the allied monarchs might now, without presumption, cherish the expectation, that the time was not distant when they would be able to prescribe the terms of peace in Paris to him who had so often dictated treaties in their capitals.

After the battle of La Rothiere the greatest anxiety prevailed in Paris, where contradictory reports were in circulation, according to the feelings and interests of those by whom they were propagated; but at length the official bulletin appeared, and represented the engagement as “a rencontre of the rear-guard.” “The combat,” it was added, “ceased at night after a brisk cannonade; the army continued to concentrate itself without any obstacle; and that object was completely accomplished.” To this soothing report the Parisian journals added splendid details of the large reinforcements which were daily arriving; and corps were continually passing in review at the Thuilleries before Joseph Bonaparte, who had obtained the rank of lieutenant-general to his imperial brother.

The allied monarchs now decided that their armies should march to the capital in two grand corps; the one following the

course of the Seine, by the road to Troyes and Sens ; and the other advancing on the banks of the Marne, by Chalons, Chateau-Thierry, and Meaux. This plan of dividing the allied forces, though liable to serious objections, afforded the double advantage of securing subsistence, in a country which they conceived to be drained of provisions, and of placing the enemy between two hostile armies, one of which might hold him in check, while the other, by its sudden appearance at the gates of the metropolis, would cause every idea of defence to be abandoned, and prevent the destruction of the city. The first effect of this arrangement was to separate the army of Silesia from the grand army ; and while Marshal Blucher took the direction of Ferre Champenoise towards the Marne, the Prince of Schwartzenberg marched on Troyes, the ancient capital of Champagne.

Resolved to expel the enemy from Troyes, the allies pushed forward strong corps on the roads to Arcis, Bar-sur-Aube, and Sens, to intercept the communication of the French army with Paris. But Napoleon, braving all these demonstrations, was only induced to retreat by the intelligence that Marshal Blucher had advanced to the Marne, and was marching with a formidable army in *echelon* direct for Paris. The alarm in the capital now become extreme. Works were begun for the purpose of guarding the approaches ; the barriers were palisadoed to guard against a *coup de main* ; and Passy, Montmartre, and the adjoining heights, were fixed upon to serve as defensive positions. Towers were at the same time made to St. Denis and Abervilliers, and an immense fabrication of pikes was announced for the purpose of arming the peasantry. Such was the situation of the metropolis when Napoleon, on the 6th of February, abandoned Troyes, and retreated to Nogent, for the purpose of arresting the progress of the Silesian army.

After the capture of Troyes a momentary indecision seemed to pervade the councils of the allied sovereigns. The Austrian Monarch, in common with the confederate princes of Europe, wished for peace, but his views did not at this time extend to the overthrow of the reigning dynasty. In this policy Russia and Great Britain expressed their acquiescence, flattering themselves that Napoleon would at length accommodate himself to his situation, and bow to the necessity of concluding a treaty of peace conformable to the general interests of Europe. The conferences at Chatillon had opened on the 4th of February, and Lord Castlereagh, the principal secretary of state for foreign affairs to his Britannic Majesty, had arrived at that place to take part in the delibera-



tions. The pacific disposition of Austria did not escape the observation of the French Emperor; and relying on this disposition, he sent instructions to his plenipotentiary at Chatillon, the object of which was to propose an armistice, founded upon the basis laid down by the allies, and offering at the same time to surrender all the fortified places in the countries proposed to be ceded by France, on condition that military operations should be entirely suspended. To this the allies replied, that instead of an armistice, it was their wish that the preliminaries of peace should be signed without delay, with a condition that the principal places now invested by their armies, comprehending Antwerp, Wesel, Mentz, Strasburg, and Besançon, should be resigned by the Emperor of France, as pledges for the sincerity of his intentions.

At the moment when these points were under discussion, Napoleon, who was still at Nogent, received several couriers from Marshal Macdonald, informing him that a strong Russian and Prussian force was advancing, under Marshal Blücher, along the course of the Marne, and that unless an imposing force was instantly placed on this line of operations, Paris itself would be lost. On the 9th of February several Prussian battalions entered Chateau-Thierry, and were soon succeeded by a number of Russian brigades, supported by cavalry and artillery. These troops, which formed the advanced-guard of Marshal Blücher's army, soon extended themselves to Meaux, announcing that they were on their march to Paris, which it was their intention to enter on the succeeding Sunday. On the Seine, detachments from Prince Schwartzberg's army touched upon the gates of Sens, while his light troops pushed forwards to Melun, distant only ten leagues from Paris.

Napoleon, in his position at Nogent, found himself thus doubly outflanked; but by one of those brilliant combinations which, in the days of his glory, shed lustre on his military genius, he resolved to fall, by a bold and rapid march, on the flank and rear of Marshal Blücher's army, and not merely to repulse, but to annihilate, these divisions of the invaders. On the 9th, orders were despatched to Marshals Marmont and Ney to prepare to attack the enemy. The movements of the main army, which consisted of the veteran and imperial guard, and of troops drawn from the French army on the Spanish frontier, were effected with inconceivable celerity. In their march on Montmirail, through the forest of Traconne, the artillery became engulfed in the marshy road near Villenoxe, and the general commanding the artillery announced to the emperor the impossibility of continuing the movements: "Forward," answered Napoleon, "if we leave some pieces of

cannon behind us !” He was obeyed ; the soldiers themselves assisted to draw out the ordnance, and even carried it in their arms ; and the Mayor of Barbonne suddenly collected five hundred horses belonging to the peasantry, with which the cannon was extricated, and the train reinforced. On his advance towards the Marne, he found the corps commanded by Generals Sacken and D’Yorck posted, the first at Montmirail, and the other at La Ferte-sous-Jouarre, both having their advanced-guard pushed two leagues in front of the Marne near Chateau-Thierry and Meaux.

The movements of Marshal Blucher at this period are considered by military men as liable to much animadversion. He had separated himself too far from the grand army, and by extending his divisions too widely, he had prevented them from combining their operations, or mutually supporting each other. On the 10th, at day-break, Napoleon, in person, conducted his troops to the heights of St. Prix, while Marshal Marmont was ordered to pass the swampy defile of St. Gond, and to attack the village of Baye. At this point the advanced-guard of the Russian general Alsufieff was stationed, but being unprovided with cavalry, and seeing himself attacked by five or six thousand dragoons, as well as a superior body of infantry, he concentrated all his force, amounting to four or five thousand men, at Champeaubert, intending to fight as he retreated. The cavalry of the imperial guard now deployed upon the plain, attacking and turning the Russians, in order to intercept their march on the Chalons road. In vain did General Alsufieff form his infantry in squares ; in vain did he attempt to resist the shock of the French cavalry, and the fire of their numerous batteries ; his ranks gave way in all directions ; and artillery, infantry, and cavalry, fled into the woods and marshes. The general, several superior officers, and more than two thousand men, were made prisoners ; and of twenty-four pieces of cannon, nine remained in the hands of the victors.

But Napoleon aimed at still more brilliant achievements, and hoped to defeat General Sacken’s whole corps. At eight o’clock in the evening General Nansouty marched to Montmirail with two divisions of cavalry belonging to the guard, under the orders of Generals Colbert and Laferriere ; and at five o’clock in the morning of the 11th, General Guyot’s division of cavalry was advanced to the same place. General Sacken, having learned the disaster of his advanced-guard, quitted Ferte-sous-Jouarre, and marched all night on the 10th towards Montmirail, after having despatched several messengers to General D’Yorck, who, by his advice, marched from



the environs of Meaux in the same direction. Hence every thing seemed to presage a battle, the issue of which would be of the highest importance.

In the forenoon of the 11th, General Sacken's corps, reinforced by three brigades from General D'York's division, appeared before Montmirail, where Napoleon had already arrived with the division of Ricard and the imperial guard. The Russian army consisted of only eighteen or twenty thousand men, but being no longer able to avoid a battle, they attacked the village of Marchais, where the division of Ricard was posted, under the immediate command of Marshal Ney. This village was twice taken and re-taken ; and the Russians exhibited in the assault as much impetuosity as the French displayed determination and bravery in its defence. At the end of five hours each army found itself in the same position that it had occupied at the commencement of the action. Night was now approaching, and Napoleon, having, in the progress of the battle, received a reinforcement, determined to make a final effort. The success of the day appeared to depend upon assailing the Russian centre at Epine-aux-Bois, which was the key of General Sacken's position. Forty pieces of cannon defended the approaches to this point ; the hedges were lined with a triple row of riflemen ; and the infantry battalions, intended for their support, were stationed in the rear. At the command of the emperor, General Friant darted towards the farm of Haute-Epine, and charged the Russians with great impetuosity. The conflict at this point became sanguinary in the extreme, and success was for some time doubtful. At length the lancers, dragoons, and horse grenadiers of Bonaparte's guard, appeared on the right of Haute-Epine, and threw themselves on the rear of the Russian cavalry, with shouts of "Long live the emperor." The French infantry, availing themselves of the advantages gained by the cavalry, precipitated themselves upon the disordered columns of the Russians, and forced them to abandon the position, artillery, and baggage. The Russians, thrown into the most extreme disorder at all points, retired by the road of Chateau-Thierry, after having sustained a loss of five or six thousand men, killed, wounded, or prisoners.

On the following day Marshal Mortier pursued the retreating army by the direct road from Montmirail to Chateau Thierry ; and Napoleon, who had fixed his head-quarters at Haute-Epine, hastened to advance in the same direction. The Russians, who retired in the direction of Rheims, suffered severely in the retreat, and their loss at the village of Coquerets alone exceeded two thousand men. Victories

so unexpected seemed almost to partake of the miraculous, even in the eyes of those who had achieved them. The French army, of late so much discouraged and depressed, now supported their privations and fatigues without a murmur, and testified the happiest disposition. It was remarked, that under no circumstances of preceding wars had so many Russian prisoners been taken ; and the French soldiers, who suddenly pass from despondency to confidence, began to believe that " France—the sacred country, which the foe had violated, would be found by her invaders a land of consuming fire." These successes, however, were neither complete nor decisive. Marshal Blucher, having heard from the fugitives of the disasters of Generals Sacken and D'Yorck, collected the Prussian corps of General Kleist, and the Russian division of General Langeron, forming in all about eighteen thousand men, and on the 13th marched against Marshal Marmont's position at Etoges, on the road from Chalons to Montmirail. This movement re-called Napoleon, in great haste, from the pursuit of General Sacken, and at three o'clock in the morning of the 14th he quitted Chateau-Thierry, and made a forced march to join Marshal Marmont, with the hope of being able to annihilate the Silesian army. At eight o'clock the cavalry of his advanced-guard appeared upon the heights of Vauchamp, where they seized six pieces of cannon, planted on that station by the Prussians.

The French cavalry, which continually increased in number, suddenly appeared in great force under the command of General Grouchy. The Prussians immediately formed themselves in squares, and for some time firmly maintained their ground ; but being at length overpowered by numbers, two of the Prussian battalions were taken, and three others either sabred or driven into the woods. Marshal Blucher, being thus assailed by a superior force, and having only three regiments of cavalry, resolved to withdraw from a position which he conceived to be no longer tenable. In conducting the retreat, the infantry received orders to march in columns and squares towards Chalons, with artillery placed in the intervals, to repel the advancing enemy, having the flanks and rear covered by the rifle corps. In the progress of this retreat not a single column or square of infantry was charged by, or exposed to, the fire of the French. Napoleon played for a deeper stake ; his object was to surround, and to capture or destroy, the whole of Blucher's force ; and at sun-set the Prussian commander perceived the main body of the French cavalry had turned his flank, and thrown themselves on the line of his retreat. Only one way of escape remained, and that, with



the usual decision and promptitude of the veteran general, was instantly adopted—he ordered his troops to continue their march, and to cut their way through every obstacle. This heroic expedient succeeded, but the loss sustained by the Prussians on this day amounted to at least four thousand men, together with nine pieces of cannon. Napoleon, being now called to the banks of the Seine, where other enemies had appeared in force, still threatening the metropolis, left Marshal Blücher to accomplish this admirable retreat upon Châlons, and to rally and re-unite the scattered corps of his army.

Prince Schwartzburg, desirous of effecting a diversion in favour of Marshal Blücher, developed an immense force upon the banks of the Seine, near Nogent, while Count Wrede and General Wittgenstein marched upon Melun, pushing forward the Cossack force, under Platoff, to Fontainebleau, which city he entered on the 17th. On the same day Napoleon arrived by forced marches at Nangis, in the vicinity of Melun, and about four leagues to the east of that place. Here three divisions of Count Wittgenstein's corps were posted. Good roads, and extensive plains, now allowed the cavalry to manœuvre; and the General of division Gerard opened an attack on the village of Mormant, while the cavalry of Generals Milhaud and Kellerman assailed the Russians on the left, and several batteries advanced to bombard the village. This position was only feebly disputed; the squares into which the Russians had formed themselves gave way before the artillery, and fled in the direction of Montereau, leaving fourteen pieces of cannon, and four thousand prisoners, to attest the triumph of their enemies.

At three o'clock in the afternoon of the 18th Napoleon arrived with his staff from Nangis in front of Montereau, and gave orders for a vigorous attack upon the plain. The French army, amounting to twenty-eight thousand men, and sixty pieces of cannon, now moved from all parts of the line, while, at the same time, General Pagol, who arrived with a reinforcement of fresh troops on the Melun road, made a charge of cavalry, and turned the flanks of the Prince Royal of Württemberg, who commanded on this occasion. The onset was irresistible; and the allies, seeing the greatest part of their artillery was dismounted, fled precipitately into Montereau, vigorously pursued by the French dragoons, while the inhabitants of the place augmented the danger of their retreat, by firing upon them from the windows. The loss on the part of the vanquished army, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounted to about eighteen hundred men; besides which a considerable quantity of arms, and several pieces of cannon,

fell into the hands of the French. The Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, on hearing of the discomfiture of their troops at Montereau, hastily quitted Bray, where their head-quarters had been established ; and Napoleon exultingly exclaimed :—" My heart is relieved ; I have saved the capital of my empire !"

Never was there a change of scene more rapid or complete. Couriers followed each other in succession from the army to Paris ; the populace accompanied them to the Thuilleries with shouts of victory ; and public opinion, which is almost always guided by the fortune of arms, was expressed loudly in favour of the emperor.

The allies had now nearly lost all the ground which they had gained by the battle of Rothiere, and they, in their turn, relied upon pacific negotiations. The Austrian General Count de Paar accordingly presented himself at the advanced posts of the French, on the day after the battle of Montereau, and demanded a suspension of arms, which the allied sovereigns were now of opinion would facilitate the issue of the conferences. That no time might be lost, M. de Rumigny, secretary to the cabinet, arrived on the same evening at the head-quarters of the French army, from the congress at Chatillon, with a draft of the conditions of the preliminary treaty. The proposition transmitted to Napoleon by Marshal Caulaincourt, his plenipotentiary at the conference, comprehended all the bases deemed necessary for the re-establishment of a political equilibrium. The treaty, which, in its leading characteristic, proceeded upon the ground of placing France in the same territorial situation as she stood under her kings, with some small addition to her ancient limits, contained a proposition, that the capital of France should be occupied by the armies of the allied sovereigns till a definitive treaty of peace could be arranged and executed. Napoleon, elevated by his late successes, and apprehensive that some snare lurked under a proposal so humiliating, seized, with a mien of fury, the paper which contained the proposition of peace, exclaiming, while he tore it, " Occupy the French capital ! I am at this moment nearer to Vienna than they are to Paris !" Before he would consent to a degrading peace he resolved to try again the fate of arms, on which he placed much greater reliance than upon deliberations and treaties ; the tide of fortune had recently turned in his favour, and thus he was betrayed by her caresses to the last days of his power.

The allied sovereigns on their part considered their situation as critical : alarmed at the attitude which the peasants of the Brie and Champagne had assumed, they began to dread



a national war, and abandoned the idea of seeking a compensation for their reverses in the hazard of a general battle. With an enemy who fortified himself even in the midst of disasters, and who defied all calculation by the enterprise and rapidity of his movements, a general battle might, in one day, extinguish all the hopes which their prudence and gallantry had brought so nearly to their consummation. Their advantages, however, were immense; every fortress which fell on either side of the Rhine augmented their means of invasion; the Oder, the Elbe, and the Rhine, had become a triple line of reserves, from which they continually drew reinforcements, and by a judicious union of caution, skill, and energy, they hoped ultimately to surmount all the obstacles that had hitherto retarded their progress.

On the 20th the French army quitted Montereau, and on the 21st passed through Nogent. At Mery, on the Seine, a small town, six leagues to the north-west of Troyes, an attempt was made by the allies to check the progress of the enemy, but after an obstinate engagement, in which the bridge was broken down, and the town itself nearly destroyed by fire, Marshal Blucher was obliged to retreat, and on the 24th Napoleon entered Troyes at the head of his victorious army.

The grand Austro-Russian army, continuing its retrograde movements, evacuated the whole country between the Seine and the Yonne, and fell back upon Vandœuvres and Chaumont. But while this retreat of the generalissimo attracted the whole attention of the French army, Marshal Blucher commenced the execution of a plan, by which offensive warfare was about to be renewed on the part of the allies with renovated vigour. From the 24th to the 27th of February, Napoleon, at that time deeply occupied in the pending negotiations, remained stationary at Troyes; and Marshal Blucher, availing himself of this period of inaction, marched, with the Silesian army, in the direction of Ferre Champeoise, towards the Marne, with the intention to form a junction with the corps of Generals Winzingerode and Bulow, who, having forced the northern frontier, and released Belgium from the dominion of France, had advanced into the vicinity of Rheims and Soissons.

Nothing could more indisputably proclaim the declining power of the French Emperor than the fact, that his Belgic frontiers, defended as they were by fortresses almost impregnable, were at once abandoned, and thrown open to the allies, who were thence enabled to penetrate into the heart of his empire. On the advance of the Russians, the small corps of French troops under General Maison had evacuated Brussels,

and on the 2d of February the Cossacks entered that city. In almost all the towns of Brabant the Russians were received with demonstrations of joy; a deputation from Ghent presented the keys of that place to General Bulow, and the allies soon extended their legions over every part of Belgium. In French Flanders intestine commotions prevailed at the same time to a most alarming extent; the country was over-run by refractory conscripts, and the communication between Dunkirk and the capital became subject to daily interruptions.

Vitry, Chalons, Epernay, and Chateau-Thierry, again fell into the possession of the Silesian army, which now occupied forty leagues of the Marne, stretching from the source of that river to Meaux, in the vicinity of Paris. Alarmed by the dangers of the capital, Napoleon quitted Troyes on the 27th, for the purpose of repeating, if possible, the manœuvres of Champeaubert and Montmirail. The same spirit of daring, and rapidity of movement, which had distinguished the first expedition against Marshal Blucher, were employed on the present occasion; but the result was widely different, and in its consequences accelerated the fate of the French empire. On the 1st of March Napoleon arrived on the banks of the Marne, but the Prussian field-marshal, instructed by experience, immediately fell back with the main body of his forces upon Soissons, in order to complete the junction of the Silesian army with the army of the north, under Generals Bulow and Winzingerode. The corps of Marshals Marmont and Mortier, after having followed and harassed the allied army on its march from the Marne, was pushed forward to cut off the retreat of Marshal Blucher, and to prevent the junction of the allied armies, but in both these objects they entirely failed. On the 6th of March Napoleon had moved on Corbenie, and at a short distance he found the Russian infantry posted in front of Craone. Every thing announced the approach of a general battle.

Marshal Blucher now conceived one of those bold plans for which the tactics of that general have been so much distinguished. Having formed his army in *echelon*, from the plain of Craone to the approaches of Laon, he formed a detachment of ten thousand horse, consisting nearly of the whole of the cavalry; the command of this force he conferred upon General Winzingerode, ordering him to march during the night by the roads of Chevrigny and Presle, and after throwing himself upon the French line of communication, to turn Napoleon's position at Craone. That nothing might be wanting to secure the success of this enterprise, Marshal Blucher hastened on his charger to direct the operations in person, but



unforeseen difficulties, arising out of the steep declivities and other impediments with which the country abounds, impeded the progress of this nocturnal movement, and completely defeated its object.

The position taken up by the allies on the evening of the 6th, was unusually strong; the right and left, as well as the front, were protected by ravines, to which there was no approach except by a narrow defile. But nothing could damp the ardour of Napoleon. On the 7th, at day break, he caused this position to be reconnoitred, and at eleven o'clock in the forenoon he commenced the attack with his whole force, estimated at fifty thousand men. While Marshal Ney moved on the right to attack the position of Craone, Marshal Victor's corps, with two divisions of newly levied guards, crossed the ravine, which was guarded by fifty pieces of ordnance, and immediately formed again upon the heights. At this moment the French marshal was struck by a ball, and a great number of his men fell by the determined fire of the Russians; but his columns were followed by numerous trains of artillery, and they succeeded finally in establishing themselves on the heights. At the commencement of the action, Count Strogonoff, the commandant, saw his son fall dead at his side; and three other Russian generals were dangerously wounded. Marshal Ney, having passed the ravine on the left, fell on the right of the enemy's position, while Generals Grouchy and Laferriere, at the head of the cavalry, crossed the defile amidst a shower of cannon shot and musket balls. Both these generals were wounded in the attack, and obliged to quit the field, but General Nansouty, more fortunate, passed the ravine on the right of the Russians, followed by two divisions of cavalry, without sustaining any severe loss. The allies, finding themselves turned, and pressed on all sides, determined upon a retreat in the direction of Laon; but their movements were conducted with such admirable coolness and regularity, that they lost neither cannon nor prisoners, and all the efforts of the French to break their ranks by a general charge of cavalry, failed in their object. Thus the battle of Craone, though dreadfully sanguinary from the ravages made by the artillery, produced no decisive result; the loss on each side was pretty nearly balanced; and the possession of the field by the French was the only reward, and the only sign, of victory.

Napoleon now determined to carry the position of Laon, and on the 9th he marched with the main body of his army from Chavignon to that place. This ancient town, the capital of the department of the Aisne, covers the greatest part of an eminence, and commands a vast plain, studded with villages

and small woods. At the distance of a league from the town the plain becomes narrow, and is bordered on the south-east by a double chain of lofty eminences, intersected by a marshy dale, through which flows the little river Lette. Far from being deterred by the difficulties of the position, the French commander seemed only the more excited to make the attack. Early in the day the enemy advanced to the attack, and, under cover of a dense fog, seized the villages of Semilly and Ardon, situated under the town itself, and forming part of its suburbs. Towards eleven o'clock the fog began to disperse, and Marshal Blucher, perceiving from the heights that the French were in force behind the villages of Ardon, Semilly, and Levilly, immediately ordered the combined cavalry of the rear-guard to advance, and turn the left flank of the French army. At the same time, General Count Woronzow marched with his infantry from the left wing, and pushed forward two battalions of chasseurs, who drove the French advanced posts out of Semilly, and held their left in check till the allied cavalry arrived. The centre and left of the French army were now seen in full retreat, but this movement was merely a feint, preconcerted by the emperor, for the purpose of drawing the allies into the plain, while a more serious and general attack was made upon their position. Marshal Marmont, who had just arrived from Rheims, with an advanced guard of sixteen battalions of infantry, supported by cavalry and flying artillery, attacked and carried the village of Athies, which was defended by Prince William of Prussia; but scarcely had he established himself in his new position when night began to close in upon the combatants, and when a mass of the Russian cavalry put in practice against his troops the manœuvre which had failed at Craone. About seven o'clock in the evening, the Cossacks, with a general *hourra*, surprised his park of artillery, and notwithstanding every effort was resorted to by the French general in order to save his ordnance, so sudden and vigorous was the attack, that the Cossacks succeeded in carrying off thirty pieces of cannon. At this period, Prince William of Prussia, in concert with Generals Horn and Ziethen, and supported by the corps of Generals D'Yorck and Kleist, resuming the offensive, fell upon the flank and rear of the French army, and carried several batteries at the point of the bayonet. The conscripts, terrified by this nocturnal surprise, fled in all directions, taking shelter in the woods; nor did they rally again in numbers for several days after the battle. Forty-six pieces of cannon, fifty waggons, and nearly two thousand prisoners, belonging to the corps of Marshal Mar-



mont and the Duke of Padua, fell into the hands of the Prussians.

Undismayed by this terrible check, Napoleon made his dispositions for a regular and general attack on the morning of the 10th, and orders were issued from his head-quarters, that the position of Laon should be turned on the right and left at the time that it was attacked in front. Nothing could be more hazardous than this enterprise; but feeling that a retreat would, in its moral effects, be equivalent to the loss of a battle, the French army was again marched under the walls of Laon. General Charpentier, with a division of national guards, seized the village of Glacey, on the left of the allied position, and a wood in its vicinity was taken and re-taken several times. In the centre, and on the left, the French fought with unabating intrepidity all the day; but still no impression was made. About an hour before sun-set the village of Semilly was again attacked; here two Prussian battalions, belonging to the corps of General Bulow, were posted, and being supported by two cross fires on each flank, the murderous discharge was found so destructive that this last effort was at length abandoned. A retreat was now ordered; and the French army, after sustaining a dreadful loss before Laon, fell back without molestation in the direction of Soissons.

In vain did Napoleon attempt to palliate the serious check which he had experienced at Laon; in vain did he represent Marshal Blucher as marching without a regular plan, hoping by a *hourra* of the Cossacks to spread a panic, which might pave his way to Paris. Nothing could now escape the attention of the public; the truth soon became known; and the retreat from before the capital of the department of the Aisne destroyed the moral effect of the victories by which it was preceded.

On the side of the Seine, the grand Austro-Russian army had availed itself of the diversion made by Marshal Blucher; after inflicting a severe defeat upon the corps under Marshals Victor and Oudinot at Bar, Prince Schwartzenberg advanced again towards the French capital, and on the 4th of March once more established his head-quarters at Troyes.

In another quarter, the Hetman Platoff obtained possession of Arcis-sur-Aube, which was defended only by a body of infantry, and made the commandant of the garrison prisoner. The next operation of the hetman was directed against Sezanne, which in its turn shared the fate of Arcis. A detachment of five hundred of the warriors of the Don was now despatched in the direction of Montmirail, while strong columns of light horse swept the country from the Seine to the Marne,

and maintained a regular communication between the grand confederated army and the army of Silesia.

Thus, within the short period of a fortnight, were lost all the advantages so recently obtained over the invaders of France ; the alarms of the existing government again revived, and their only remaining hope seemed to repose upon the successful conclusion of the pending negotiations at Chaillon.

The progress of the negotiations had been retarded or accelerated according to the nature of military events ; after the successes of Napoleon on the Marne and on the Seine, his expectations of ultimate success became unduly elevated, and he seemed determined to act upon the resolution formed by the Russians in the campaign of 1812—not to make peace with his enemies till they had withdrawn beyond the frontier. The allied sovereigns, anxious to ascertain his views and intentions, allowed his plenipotentiary at the congress to present a counter-proposition, stipulating only that it should correspond with the spirit and substance of the conditions already submitted. To afford time for the preparation of this document some delay became necessary, and the 10th of March was fixed upon by mutual consent, as the period at which the final determination should be made.

In the mean time, the confederated sovereigns of Europe thought it necessary to draw still closer the ties by which they were united, and for this purpose they entered into a formal engagement, by which they covenanted to bring six hundred thousand men into the field. This new treaty of alliance, on the part of the Emperors of Austria and Russia, the King of Prussia, and the King of England, was signed on the 1st of March, at Chaumont, to which place the sovereigns and their ministers had repaired after the retreat from Troyes. By this treaty, the high contracting powers engaged, that if the French Emperor should refuse to coincide in the propositions submitted to him, they would employ all the means afforded by their respective dominions in a vigorous prosecution of the war ; that they would act in perfect concert for the purpose of procuring a general peace ; and that Austria, Russia, England, and Prussia, should keep constantly in the field, to be actively employed against the common enemy, one hundred and fifty thousand men each ; Great Britain, wishing to contribute in a manner the most prompt and decisive towards this great object, engaged to furnish a subsidy of five millions sterling, to be equally divided among the other three powers ; reserving to herself, however, the right of furnishing her contingent in foreign troops, at the rate of twenty pounds sterling



per annum for infantry, and thirty pounds for cavalry. The treaty finally stipulated that the league should continue for twenty years, and should extend also to such other powers as might determine to join the confederation.

It is believed that Napoleon had no knowledge of the existence of this treaty when he despatched his *ultimatum*; and it appeared as if fortune had a pleasure in perpetuating his illusions, for at the very moment when his pretensions were about to be laid before the congress at Chatillon, she again smiled upon him at Rheims. On the 12th of March General St. Priest had carried that city by assault, and the greatest part of the garrison, as well as the artillery, and several superior officers, fell into his hands. No sooner had the emperor heard of this disaster than he formed the resolution of marching upon Rheims; and on the following day, at six o'clock in the morning, his army was put in motion, leaving at Soissons only the force under Marshal Macdonald. On arriving in the vicinity of Rheims, the allied troops, amounting to about fifteen thousand men, were found posted on an eminence, within a quarter of a league of the city. The advanced guards of the armies immediately engaged; and for several hours the plain between the two positions was a scene of continual skirmishing and cannonade; but it was not till four o'clock in the afternoon that Napoleon arrived with the remainder of his army, and then the attack became general. Fifty pieces of ordnance opened a tremendous cannonade; and the Russians were long exposed to a destructive fire, much superior to their own. General St. Priest sustained this unequal combat on all points with undaunted intrepidity, facing every danger, and exhibiting, amidst a shower of cannon and musket balls, a brilliant example to the chosen troops under his command. At this decisive moment he fell from his horse, mortally wounded, and was carried from the field of battle. The loss of their general threw the Russian battalions into disorder, and General DeFrance, seizing the favourable moment, made an impetuous charge, which completed their rout. The victory in front of Rheims put the French Emperor in possession of this important city; upwards of two thousand Russian troops were made prisoners, and a large quantity of cannon, baggage, and other trophies, fell into the hands of Napoleon—but it was the last triumph of his reign.

Soissons, Troyes, Nogent, Sens, Arcis, and Bar-sur-Aube, had all now been recovered by the French troops; but no sooner did they quit any one of these places than it was re-occupied by a persevering enemy, whose numbers were immense. Thus the theatre of hostilities became gradually

more and more contracted ; if Napoleon succeeded in surmounting one difficulty, another and more dangerous one presented itself ; and this exhausting war realised in some degree the hydra and its renovated heads.

From the 14th to the 16th of March Napoleon remained at Rheims, expecting the result of the conferences at Chatillon, which had been delayed a few days longer than the time prescribed. On the 15th of March, the French plenipotentiary laid before the congress his sovereign's counter-proposition. This *ultimatum* proved that "adversity had not subdued him." He demanded that the Rhine should form the boundary of the French empire ; that Antwerp, Flushing, Nimeguen, and part of Waal, should be ceded to him ; and that Italy, including Venice, should form a kingdom for the Viceroy, Eugene Beauharnois. In addition to these claims, he demanded indemnities for Joseph Napoleon in lieu of the kingdom of Spain ; for Jerome Napoleon, who had lost Westphalia ; for Louis Napoleon, the Grand Duke of Berg ; and finally, for the viceroy as Duke of Francfort.

To these demands the ministers of the allied powers replied, that the extent of dominion demanded by the French Emperor was incompatible with a system of equilibrium, and would confer power on France out of all proportion to the other great political bodies of Europe. The present, they held, was not an ordinary war—it was not undertaken for the purpose of obtaining territorial possessions—its object was not to enforce particular rights, but to defend the cause of the world, and to restore to the nations of Europe a durable peace. It had now, they conceived, become clear, that no such peace could be made with Napoleon ; and that to continue the negotiations under the present auspices would be to renounce the objects which they had in view, and to betray the universal confidence reposed in them. These considerations prevailed. Austria herself abandoned Napoleon to his fate ; and on the 18th of March the congress at Chatillon was dissolved.

At this decisive moment the allied sovereigns renewed their solemn engagements never to lay down their arms till the great object of their alliance was attained. Up to the present time the Emperor Napoleon was at liberty to have accepted the sovereignty of France, as it stood in 1792, but though engaged in a contest against the military force of combined Europe, and placed at the head of an army that did not exceed sixty thousand men, he rejected the proposed bases of peace, preferring rather to stake his empire upon another appeal to arms. The first effort of the French government after the rupture of the congress was to awaken the slumber-



ing energies of the people, and to convert the contest in which they were engaged into a national war. For this purpose orders were again issued to raise the *levy en masse*, and an imperial decree was promulgated, enjoining all mayors, public functionaries, and others, to encourage the people to take up arms; and denouncing as traitors all those who should dissuade them from rallying round the standard of their country. About the same time the generalissimo of the allied armies published a proclamation to the French nation, in which he declared, "that all who resisted the allied arms would expose themselves to inevitable destruction;" and Marshal Blucher, in a similar proclamation, dated on the 13th of March, at Laon, announced, "that painful as he should feel it to confound the innocent with the guilty, he would henceforth cause every town and village to be burnt, the inhabitants of which should dare to take up arms against his troops, and impede his military operations."

A war of extermination seemed thus on the eve of being proclaimed; both the belligerents had expressed their determination to resort to reprisals upon the spot; and the inhabitants of the invaded provinces were reduced to the terrible alternative, either of submitting to the denunciations of their own government, for remaining in a state of inaction; or of exposing themselves and their property to destruction, from the allied troops, if they ventured to take any part in the war.



















